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A NEW
HISTORICAL
OF THE
EAST-INDIES,
ANCIENT and MODERN.
IN TWO VOLUMES.



V O L. I.

Containing the CHOROGRAPHY, NATURAL HISTORY, RELIGION, GOVERNMENT, MANNERS and CUSTOMS, REVOLUTIONS, &c. of those COUNTRIES.

V O L. II.

Containing an ESSAY towards a HISTORY of the COMMERCE of the several NATIONS of EUROPE to the EAST-INDIES.

S H E W I N G

The RISE, PROGRESS, and PRESENT STATE of that TRAFFIC; as carried on by the ENGLISH, DUTCH, FRENCH, PORTUGUEZE, SWEDES, and DANES; from the first Discovery of a new Route to the INDIES, round the CAPE of GOOD-HOPE, to the present Time.

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T H E C O N T E N T S

Of the Second V O L U M E :

P A R T III.

- T**HE Commerce of the Europeans to the East Indies Page 1
C H A P. I. *Of the French Trade* ibid.

An Essay towards a History of the Commerce of the several Nations of *Europe* to the *East-Indies*; shewing the Rise, Progress, and Present State of that Traffic; as carried on by the *English, Dutch, French, Portugueze, Swedes, Danes, and Prussians*; from the first Discovery of a new Route to the *Indies*, round the *Cape of Good Hope*, to the present Time p. 147

B O O K I.

- C H A P. I. Page 149. to C H A P. XXI. Page 296. contain an Account of the Voyages, Discoveries, Settlements, and Trade of the *Portugueze* in the *East-Indies*.

B O O K II.

- History of the Establishment of the Dutch Commerce in the East-Indies.* p. 308

B O O K III.

- History of the Trade of Great-Britain to the East-Indies* p. 405

B O O K IV.

- The History of the other Companies formed for the Commerce of the East-Indies* p. 518

- C H A P. I. *The History of the Imperial Company of the Indies, formerly established at Ostend* ibid.

- C H A P.] [IV. *The History of the East-India Company of Denmark* p. 567

- C H A P. [V.] *The History of the Swedish East-India Company* p. 586



A NEW
HISTORY
OF THE
EAST-INDIES.

PART III.

*The Commerce of the Europeans to the
East-Indies.*

CHAP. I.

Of the French Trade.

THE immense riches which the Portuguese, English, and Dutch had drawn from the East-Indies, invited the French to follow them into those remote and unknown countries, in order to partake of the advantages which commerce was there productive

of. But the profits were so indifferent during the first sixty years, that those who had undertaken it met with their ruin instead of that fortune they had expected. It was in vain that Francis I. by his declarations of the years 1537 and 1543, exhorted his subjects to undertake these long voyages; it was in vain that Henry III. renewed those invitations to merchants, by an edict of December 15, 1578; these exhortations produced no effect. It was necessary that the state should advance a part of the necessary funds for those enterprizes, as in Portugal, England, and Holland. But either the necessity hereof was not known, or the civil wars which dissipated the little revenue that came into the treasury, did not permit it. However, the trade of the East-Indies could never be on a solid foundation, while the king himself was not in the number of those concerned.

Gerard Le Roy, of the Flemish nation, who had made some voyages to the East in Dutch vessels, came to France, and offered his service in quality of a pilot, to a company which was then forming, with design to attempt the India trade. This project had been formed under Henry IV. who accepted the proposals made to him almost without any alterations or restrictions. By his arret of the first of June 1604, " he grants to Gerard and his partners who should disburse the expences and necessary advances for a voyage to the East, a harbour, exemptions, privileges, and two pieces of artillery. He permits them by the fourth article, to enter into an association among

among themselves, into which they should be oblig'd, from the present time, and until six months after their return to France from their said first voyage, to receive all Frenchmen inclinable to enter into it, on each of them advancing the sum of 3000 livres and upwards; and that after the said six months, none should be admitted unless they thought fit; and that his said majesty should expressly prohibit all his subjects, except themselves and their partners, to go to the said East-Indies, during the term of fifteen successive years, reckoning from the day of their departure for their said first voyage, under the penalty of confiscation of ship and cargo."

The fifth and last article bears, "That all chevaliers, lords, barons, gentlemen, officers, and other Frenchmen, may enter into the said company without derogating from, or any way prejudicing, their dignities, qualities, and privileges; on account of the great utility and advantages which may accrue to his majesty and the whole state, by means of so worthy and honourable an enterprise."

This was the first company formed in France to attempt the eastern trade; but we do not find it had any consequences; it was dissolved either by the disagreement among the partners, or the difficulty of finding funds.

The same Gerard, who to appearance had none but his experience in navigation, made a new attempt under Lewis XIII. with the sieur Godefroy treasurer of Limoges, and some others. The king by letters patent bearing date the 2d of

4. A NEW HISTORY of

March, 1611, granted them for twelve years all the privileges they required.

Four years having elapsed without their putting to sea, two merchants of Rouen, Muiffon and Canis, petitioned the king for a conveyance to their privileges, offering at the same time to fit out for the current year 1615, vessels freighted in a proper manner to begin the trade. The company having represented that their delays were occasioned by unforeseen accidents, and that they had not abated of their ardour to execute their undertaking; the king thought fit, in order to increase their funds, to associate the Rouen merchants with them, and to form both into one company. This union was ordained by letters patent of the 2d of July, 1615, and registered in parliament the 2d of September following. The privileges are nearly the same with those granted by Henry IV. to the persons who had made the first proposals to him, with some variations not very essential.

There is no proof that these navigators ever went as far as the East-Indies; but it is certain (*i*) that they made the conquest of Madagascar and some other neighbouring islands, for since then the French have possessed them by that title.

This appears by a new company wherein twenty-four proprietors were concerned, to whom cardinal Richelieu, as superintendant of the trade and navigation of France, granted on the 24th of June 1642, the exclusive privilege of settling colonies

(*i*) Francheville, hist. of the India company, p. 23, & seq.

lonies in these islands; and taking possession of them in the name of Lewis XIII. That prince dying in the month of May the next year, the council of regency under Lewis XIV. confirmed on the 20th of September the same year, 1643, what had been before done by Richelieu.

During the twenty years that company subsisted, they commonly sent a ship every year, which for the most part was unsuccessful, either by shipwreck, or the death of the greatest part of the crew. The ship which flattered the hopes of the proprietors most, brought back about 18 tons of yellow sandal wood, 3300 hides, and 52000 lb. weight of aloes wood, wax, and gum, tacamacu. Another returned loaded with 25 or 30 tons of rock crystal.

The time of the privileges granted to the company being expired, the duke de Meilleray obtained a grant in his own name; and in order to make his court to the king, equip'd and freighted at his own expence two ships for Madagascar in the beginning of 1654; but they had little better success than the rest. He spent all his fortune in fitting out new ones in concert with the company, which had obtained the renewal of their privileges. But it was entirely dissolved by the death of this lord, which happened in 1664. They made a cession of all their funds for 20000 livres to the succeeding one. When this last took possession of Madagascar, the effects found there belonging to the duke of Mazarine, who had relinquished his father's project, consisted of fourteen pieces of iron cannon without carriages, 580

bullets, 1000 pounds of chains, 100 empty grenades, 50 cross-bar shot, some lead, and a barrel of powder; the colony was then composed of 100 French. It must be observed that the duke de Meilleray had been grand master of the artillery, and that those stores had been provided, more at the king's expence than his own.

Nothing less was necessary than the wisdom and care of the illustrious Colbert to engage the French to revive the East-India trade. On the one hand he was sensible of the great advantages that might be drawn from it, if managed with prudence; and on the other, he saw that all those who had hitherto undertaken it had ruined themselves. In order to destroy these notions, and give birth to more engaging ones, he dispersed a memorial which he had caused to be revised by M. Charpentier of the French academy, one of the best pens in Paris, that he might give the greater force to his reasons. As it perfectly represents the situation of that affair, and was the beginning and epocha of the India company, I have thought it necessary to transcribe what is most essential in it.

It is there represented, "That the causes of the failure of the preceding companies, were either the want of funds, or measures ill concerted for the execution of their undertakings; inconveniences into which there was now no danger of falling, because it was certain the king would grant a singular protection to the new company; and that engaging in it himself, with one half of the kingdom, they would have larger funds than the
Dutch

Dutch East-India company had at the beginning."

"Was it the first time, said he, that an undertaking had failed at one time, and succeeded at another? Is not history full of great enterprizes which have not been completed till after more than one attempt. The first Spaniards who went to the American islands were all killed, yet that misfortune did not prevent their sending others thither. The English saw their colonies in Virginia ruined four or five times, yet that did not make them desist. And to take example from the Dutch, the first step that they took for a voyage to the East-Indies had a very unhappy issue. The second time they were there they returned still without profit, yet they were not discouraged. They went a third and a fourth time, and at last gathered with usury the fruits of their perseverance."

Passing from thence to the advantages of the island of Madagascar, where the fleet was to touch, he assured the publick: "That if they took the least care to fortify themselves there, they would not only have one, but several places of an inestimable value, and more consequence than all that the Dutch possessed in the Indies, whether with respect to the places themselves, or the easiness and convenience of trade. That in effect it could not be denied, that that settlement was more convenient and safe than that of Batavia in the island of Java, where the Dutch had established their principal residence; more convenient, because Madagascar was a very pleasant

country situated in a mild climate, and produced all the necessaries of life; whereas about *Batavia*, as it produces in a manner nothing, the company are obliged to bring from a distance rice, flesh, and other necessary provisions for twenty-five or thirty thousand persons, which cannot be done, without great trouble and expence: more safe, because *Java* is peopled with barbarous, valiant, and warlike nations, who endure no strangers, and making profession of the mahometan law, hate and despise christians. That on the one side the Dutch are contiguous to the king of *Mataran*, who has more than once besieged them with a hundred thousand men; that on the other side, they have the people of *Bantam* for their neighbours, who are only twelve leagues distant from them, and have frequently followed the king of *Mataran's* example: whereas all the inhabitants of *Madagascar* are of a tractable temper, and shew a good deal of readiness to embrace the gospel; so that a hundred men are in greater security in *Madagascar*, than above ten times the number at *Java*. Besides that this settlement is safer and more pleasant than that of the Dutch, it may be added, that trade will be carried on there with much less trouble, on account of the nearness of the place, which will shorten one third of the voyage. That the company will moreover avoid all the coasting voyages of the Dutch in the *East-Indies*, where they are obliged to go from one island and town to another. And that they will not have that trouble in establishing their principal magazine; because being there, whether

whether they trade on the coast of the Red Sea, or enter the gulph of Bengal, or pass towards China and Japan, they will never go out of their way, but be continually drawing nearer home."

After this he treated of the means of executing this project of establishing a company in France. He said; "That to bring it about, a fund of six millions was necessary, which should be employed in equipping twelve or fourteen large ships, from 800 to 1400 tons, in order to carry a great number of people to Madagascar, and make a firm settlement there. That his majesty might be humbly petitioned to engage for one tenth, and that it was not to be doubted but that he would willingly comply. That it was certain many great lords would engage for considerable sums, provided the merchants who should form the company at first reckoned it advantageous. That to encourage them the more, there was reason to believe, that his majesty being engaged for one tenth of the first armament, might be prevailed on to furnish more, if necessary, for the second and the following. That his majesty might be petitioned to remit to the company one half of the custom-house entries, and of the duties throughout the kingdom, for the merchandizes brought from the Indies. That the king, to shew himself truly the father of his people, would willingly agree to bear for his share all the loss that might happen for the first eight or ten years, and that by this important engagement, every one would see the king had this affair really at heart.

That

That private persons might be proprietors in the company for what sums they pleased, till the fund was compleat, after which, no more should be received. That to compleat it the sooner, the king might be petitioned to allow foreigners willing to enter into the company, to subscribe for what sums they should think fit. That they should acquire the right of naturalization without having occasion for any other letters, provided they were concerned for above ten thousand livres, to which their relations, tho' aliens, might succeed by inheritance; and that in order to provide for their greater security, his majesty should be petitioned to grant them this privilege, that in case a rupture should happen between this crown and the state whose subjects they were, their effects should not be seized or confiscated in consequence of a war.

That the company should have its directors; and in order to take away all suspicion from the traders of being oppressed by the other proprietors, those directors shall be taken only from among the merchants, and all the funds shall be placed in the hands of one named on their part. And to give the greater encouragement to foreigners, and to testify the trust reposed in them, they should be informed that they might be elected chiefs and directors of the company, provided they had a very considerable interest therein, and came to reside in France with their families.

That the king should likewise be petitioned to grant, that the causes of the company, both in
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suing and defending, should be carried at the first instance to the nearest chamber of justice, and by appeal to parliament. Lastly, that all private persons who should discover any thing for the advantage of the company, or the security of the proprietors, should be welcome to inform them of it, that they should be favourably heard, and their advice taken in what was most expedient."

This is the substance of what Mr. Colbert caused to be published, in order to induce his countrymen and foreigners to form the company, which he proposed to establish on memorials presented to him by nine of the most eminent traders and manufacturers in the kingdom. The address with which the plan was executed, produced all that the minister desired. The merchants in concert with him drew up the articles and conditions of a new company, and presented them to the council, petitioning for its establishment. The project having been examined and approved by the king, he sent printed copies of it to the principal cities of the kingdom on the 13th of June, 1664, to exhort private men to enter into the company, and in the month of August following, the edict of its establishment was drawn up.

As that edict is in a manner the fundamental code of the East-India company, and as most part of the arrêts which have followed for making changes or amendments are relative to it, it is necessary to give here an entire copy of it, especially as it begins to grow scarce. To invest it with all the authority so important an affair required, and to render it more authentick,
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the king, after relating the motives which engaged him to establish this company, concludes the preamble in this manner.

“ For these causes, and with the advice (*l*) of our honoured lady and mother, of our dear and well-beloved only brother the duke of Orleans, and of several princes of our blood, and great and noble persons of our council, We have by these presents, signed with our own hand, statued and ordained, and we do statue, ordain, will, and it is our pleasure.

I. That the company of the East-Indies shall be formed of all our subjects, of what quality and condition soever, who shall chuse to enter into it, and that for what sum they shall think proper, without derogating thereby from their nobility and privileges, to which we may have raised and endued them : that no person have a less share than one thousand livres ; nor shall the augmentations be below five hundred livres, for the ease of the calculations, dividends, and sale (*m*) of the *actions*, (this is the first time this word is used to express the stock and shares of the proprietors,) of which shares, one third shall be advanced in ready specie for the first equipment, and the two other thirds in the two following years, equally, and by one half or moiety, in the month of December 1665 and 1666, under the penalty, that those who shall not furnish their two thirds in the said time, shall lose what they have advanced in their first and second payments, which

(*l*) There was no longer a council of regency, the king being then near twenty-six years of age.

(*m*) Hence it appears that the actions were at a thousand livres at the establishment of the company.

which shall remain to the profits, and in the mass of the funds of the said company, without any proprietor having it in his power to withdraw, unless by selling his action; either to another proprietor, or some other person, who shall always preserve the same share; so that the fund shall never be diminished; which capital fund shall be reputed moveable for every one of the said proprietors.

II. Neither the directors nor the private proprietors shall be obliged on any pretence whatsoever, to advance any sum beyond that for which they shall have obliged themselves at the first establishment of the company, either by way of supplement or otherwise.

III. All foreigners and subjects of any state whatsoever, may enter into the said company; and those who shall have subscribed twenty thousand livres of principal, shall be reputed denizens, without any letters of naturalization, so that their relations, tho' foreigners, shall succeed to all the goods they may have in the kingdom.

IV. The stock and shares belonging to the particular proprietors of the said company, of what quality soever, shall not be liable to be seized and confiscated by us, altho' they should be the subjects of princes and states, with whom we may enter into war.

V. The directors of the said company shall not be liable to be distressed or distrained in their persons and goods on account of the affairs of the said company; nor the effects thereof subject to any hypothec for our affairs, nor seized for what
may

may be due to us by the private proprietors thereof.

VI. The officers who shall have a share of twenty thousand livres in the said company, shall be dispensed from residing at the places of their establishments, as they are obliged by our edicts and declarations of the months of December and March last, and shall enjoy their rights, salaries, and perquisites, as if present.

VII. All those who shall subscribe the sum of eight thousand livres in the said company, shall acquire the right of burghers in the cities of their abode, excepting in the cities of Paris, Rouen, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne, wherein they cannot acquire the said right, unless they are proprietors for at least twenty thousand livres in the said company.

VIII. All those inclining to enter into the said company, shall be obliged to declare themselves in six months, reckoning from the day that the present declaration shall be read and registered in the parliament of Paris; which time expired, no more shall be admitted or received into the said company; and those of our good city of Paris, who shall have declared and paid in their shares, may name, three months after the said registration, the directors of our said city of Paris.

IX. The chamber or general direction of the affairs of the said company shall be established in our good city of Paris, and consist of twenty-one directors, twelve for our city of Paris, and nine for the cities of the provinces, which shall be named and chosen, viz. twelve for the proprietors
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of Paris, and nine for the proprietors of the other cities and provinces; every one in proportion to the sums subscribed into the company; and this shall be regulated in the manner afterwards to be related.

X. Until the company shall be fully formed and established; the proprietors of the cities and provinces after-cited, shall assemble to choose and appoint the number of syndicks, viz. three for the city of Rouen, two for the city of Lyons, and one for each of the cities of Nantz, St. Maloes, Rochel, Bourdeaux, Tours, Marseilles, Caen, Dieppe, Havre, and Dunkirk: which syndicks shall be obliged to repair to our city of Paris the first day of December next, in order to compose the said chamber of general direction with the directors thereof, only to examine into and appoint the cities where it shall be proper to establish the private chambers of direction, and the number of directors which shall compose the said chambers, together with the number of directors which shall enter into and make part of the said chamber of general direction at Paris; at which time the number of general directors may be augmented or diminished; and if any of the syndicks are not then present, the business shall be transacted by those that are.

XI. One month after the choice thus made of the cities, and the number of directors fixed, the private proprietors of the cities and provinces shall assemble and make election of that number of directors fixed at the general direction to compose each particular direction, and shall name those
who

who shall assist at the general direction at Paris, who shall be obliged to repair thither immediately. And the proprietors of the provinces may name their cashier to receive their cash, and remit it to the general cashier in our city of Paris, appointed for the first time by the syndicks thereof; who shall receive the same until the general chamber is established, and give an account of his management to the said chamber, at which time the said syndicks shall be discharged.

XII. The directors shall be chosen from among the merchants and actual traders, at least three fourths of them; and the other fourth from among merchants withdrawn from business, the secretaries of our household and crown who have been in business, and two burgeses, altho' they have never been in trade, provided the number of two shall never be increased, nor any other person of what rank, quality, and condition soever, chosen a director.

XIII. Nor shall any of the proprietors in the said company have a deliberative voice in the election of directors, cashiers and secretaries, if he has not at least six thousand livres; nor chosen for director in our city of Paris, if he has not at least twenty thousand livres, or director for the provinces ten thousand livres, all stock in the company.

XIV. The first directors, chosen as has been said, shall serve seven successive years; which time expired, two shall be changed every year at Paris, and one in the other chambers, which changes during the first five years shall be made by lot, and afterwards

afterwards by rotation, when the time of each director is expired. And in case of death during the first seven years, one shall be chosen in their place by the other directors of their establishments. A director who has been deposed may be chosen anew after six years of interval; but the father, sons, and sons in law, and brothers, and brothers in law, cannot be directors at the same time.

XV. The directors of the said general and private chambers, shall preside therein monthly by rotation, beginning with the eldest, as shall be ordained after the general chamber is established.

XVI. The chamber of general direction may make statutes and regulations for the good and advantage of the company, which shall be observed according to their form and tenor.

XVII. The secretary and general cashier of the company in France, shall be appointed by the plurality of voices of all those who have right to vote for directors, and cannot be changed but in the same manner.

XVIII. A general assembly shall be held every year on the second day of May, in order to deliberate on the most important affairs of the company, whereat those who have a deliberative voice may assist, and the general directors shall be there appointed by a plurality of voices, the time above-mentioned being expired.

XIX. All the accounts of the chambers of particular directions of the provinces, shall be sent every six months to the chamber of general direction of our city of Paris; where the books of ac-

compts shall be examined, inspected, and settled; and every year a general account of all the company's effects shall be given in by the general cashier and book-keeper, which shall be settled, and afterwards the dividends of the profits made, all by the chamber of general direction of our city of Paris, and none of the private proprietors may on any occasion whatever, alledge any other account than the general account, a note or abridgement of which shall be read and examined in the general assembly on the above-mentioned day.

XX. The said chambers of general and particular directions, shall appoint the necessary officers to keep the cash, the books and the accounts. The particular directors shall buy up the merchandizes and make the sales, shall provide the ships and cargoes, and pay the salaries and other ordinary expences of every one in his department, as it shall be settled by the general chamber of Paris, which shall regulate and decide all that is necessary for the good and advantage of the company.

XXI. The directors of the general and particular chambers shall cause to be wrote in their books all the wages and salaries they give to their officers, servants, commissaries, workmen, soldiers, and others; which books shall bear faith in justice, and shall serve to decide the demands or pretensions which any one may have on the said company. And the wages of those employed by them, shall not be liable to be seized or stopped on any account or cause whatsoever.

XXII.

XXII. Nor shall the effects of the company be liable to be seized, by the creditors of any of the proprietors, on account of their private debts, by vertue of sentences or verdicts. Nor can commissaries or keepers be appointed for the said effects, every thing done to their prejudice being hereby declared null. Nor shall the directors of the company be obliged to declare the state of the of the said effects, or give any account thereof to the creditors of the proprietors, reserving to the creditors the right to seize and stop in the hands of the general cashier and book-keeper of the company, what may be due to the proprietors by the accompts settled by the company, and to which they shall be obliged to conform.

XXIII. Nor shall any letters of state, revocation, or supersedeas, be granted to those who shall have bought the company's effects, or disposed of goods belonging to the same: so that the company shall always have the power to distrain their debtors by those means, and as they shall be obliged thereto.

XXIV. All differences which may arise between the directors and proprietors of the company, or among the proprietors on account of its affairs, shall be determined in an amicable manner, by three directors, agreed upon by the parties, unless an office shall be appointed on the spot by the chambers of general and particular direction, where the differences are, in order to prevent the law-suits and divisions which may happen in the company; in whose determination the parties shall be obliged to acquiesce, as to the

decree of a sovereign court, on the penalty of paying all expences, damages, and interest.

XXV. All differences which may happen on any account concerning the company, between two or more directors or proprietors, and a private person for the affairs of the company, its circumstances and dependances, shall be judged and determined by the consular justice, or the judges who exercise his function, exclusive of all others, whose sentences shall be executed sovereignly, and without appeal, to the extent of fifteen hundred livres. And for the above affairs, the sentences and judgements shall be executed, notwithstanding any opposition and appeals whatsoever, and without prejudice of those, whose appeal shall come before the ordinary judges, who ought to take cognizance of them; to which effect we shall cause to be established the said consular justice in the cities where it is not, and where it shall be necessary.

XXVI. All criminal matters in which the company shall be a party, or any of the proprietors, on account of its affairs, whether they be plaintiffs or defendants, shall be determined by the ordinary judges, provided always that the criminal shall not be permitted to bring on a civil action, which action shall be constantly judged in manner as aforesaid.

XXVII. The company may alone navigate and trade, exclusive of all our other subjects, from the Cape of Good Hope, throughout all the Indies, and from the Straits of Magellan and le Maire throughout all the South Seas, for the term of fifty successive

successive years, to begin from the day that their first vessels shall depart from the kingdom; during which time all other persons are expressly prohibited to carry on that navigation and commerce, under penalty of the confiscation of their vessels, arms, ammunition and merchandizes, to be applied to the use of the company.

XXVIII. There shall belong to the said company in perpetuity, and full property, the jurisdiction and lordship of all the lands, places and islands which they may conquer from our enemies, or which they may possess, whether they are abandoned, deserted, or possessed by barbarians, with all the rights of lordship over the oars, mines of gold, silver, copper and lead, and all other minerals, even the right of slavery, and all other useful rights which might appertain to us, on the account of sovereignty, in the said countries.

XXIX. We have given, ceded and granted, and hereby give, cede and grant to the said company, the island of Madagascar, or St. Lawrence, with the neighbouring islands, forts and settlements which our subjects may have made there; and as far as is necessary, we have subrogated the said company to that heretofore established for the said island of Madagascar, in consequence of the contract of cession made by the proprietors of the said old company to the syndicks of the new, passed by the notaries of the chatelet at Paris, which we have approved and ratified, and approve and ratify by these presents, for the said company to possess it in perpetuity, together with the rights contained in the preceding articles, reserving to

ourselves no right, or duty over the said countries comprehended in the present cession, but the sole faith and liege homage, which the company shall be bound to render to us and our succeeding kings, with the duty at every new accession of a king, of a crown and scepter of gold of the weight of one hundred marks.

XXX. The said company shall be obliged to establish ecclesiasticks in the island of Madagascar and other places which they shall conquer, in such a number and quality as shall be found proper, to instruct the people in the catholick, apostolick, and Roman religion, to build churches to settle the said ecclesiasticks there, in the quality of curates and other dignities, to perform divine service and administer the sacraments, and for that effect to take the necessary institutions; and the nomination of the said curates and other dignities shall be in the company, whom they shall maintain honourably and decently, until they can set apart revenues for their subsistence.

XXXI. The company shall have the power and privilege of establishing judges for the exercise of sovereign justice and the marine, thro' all the extent of the said countries, and others which they shall reduce to our obedience; and even over the French who shall be dwelling there; provided always that the company shall name to us the persons they shall have chosen for the exercise of the said sovereign justice, to whom we shall tender the oath of fidelity, that they shall dispense justice gratuitously, and the decrees shall run in our name, for which purpose commissions shall be
expedited

expedited for the said judges, sealed with our great seal.

XXXII. The officers established for the said sovereign justice, may establish such a number of subaltern officers, and in such places as they shall think proper, to whom they shall cause make out commissions under our name, sealed with our seal; which subaltern officers shall likewise dispense justice gratuitously.

XXXIII. The judges established in the said places shall be obliged to judge according to the laws and ordonnances of our kingdom of France, and to follow and conform to the custom of the provostship and vicounty of Paris, according to which the inhabitants may contract, without power to introduce any other custom, in order to avoid diversity.

XXXIV. For the execution of decrees, and for all acts where our seal may be necessary, one shall be made, and put into the hands of him who shall preside in the said sovereign justice.

XXXV. The company, for the command of their armies, shall name a lieutenant general of the country, and of what shall be conquered, who shall be commissioned, and his oath of fidelity received by us; and in case his conduct shall not be agreeable to the company, they may appoint another, who shall likewise be commissioned and received by us.

XXXVI. The company may send in our name ambassadors to the kings of the Indies, and make treaties with them either of a peace or a truce,

even declare war, and do all other acts they shall judge proper for the advantage of commerce.

XXXVII. The company may equip and arm what number of vessels they shall see good, either for war or commerce, hoist upon their sterns the white flag with the arms of France, establish garrisons in all the places above-mentioned, or which may be conquered and built, with such a number of companies and men as they shall reckon necessary, place arms, cannon, and warlike stores therein, found cannon and other arms in all places, and in such a number as they shall have occasion, on which shall be engraved our arms, and below, those of the company, who shall do every thing they think necessary for the security of the said places; which shall be commanded by captains and officers of all ranks, which the company may appoint in what manner they think best; provided always that they take an oath of fidelity to us, and afterwards a particular oath to the said company.

XXXVIII. And to favour the more the inhabitants of the said ceded countries, and to induce our subjects to dwell therein, our pleasure is, that those who shall pass into the said countries, shall enjoy the same liberties and privileges as if they had staid in the kingdom; and that those who shall be born of them, and of the inhabitants of the said countries converted to the catholick, apostolick, and Roman faith, shall be reputed and esteemed denizens and citizens of France, and as such be capable of all successions, gifts, legacies, and
other

other dispositions, without being obliged to obtain any letters of naturalization; and that the artizans who may have exercised their arts and trades in the said countries during eight successive years, by bringing certificates from the officers of the places where they dwelt, attested by the directors of the company, shall be reputed masters of their trades in all the cities of our kingdom where they shall incline to settle, without any exception.

XXXIX. If any captures are made by the company's ships on the enemies of the state beyond the line, and in the seas of the ceded countries, they shall belong to them, and shall be judged by the officers established in the places of the said countries whither they can most conveniently be carried, according to the ordinances of the marine, saving the appeal to the sovereign justice.

XL. We promise the said company to defend them against all, and to employ the force of our arms on all occasions to maintain them in the entire liberty of trade and navigation, and to procure them satisfaction for all injuries done them, in case any nation shall make attempts against them; and to cause escort their outward and homeward bound vessels, at our own charge and expence, by such a number of ships of war as the company shall have occasion for, not only thro' all the coasts of Europe and Africa, but even unto the Indies.

XLI. We promise to cause furnish the company for their armaments and equipments with the quantity of a hundred measures of salt for salting
their

their provisions at Havre-de-Grace, or other convenient places, by the hands of the commissaries of the granaries, at the merchants price, provided always that they shall use it with good faith without abusing the same.

XLII. We have granted to the company the liberty of taking for their arms an escutcheon of a round form, an azure ground, and the field loaded with golden flowers de luce, and for a motto *Florebo quocumque ferar*, and for supporters two figures, one of peace, and the other of plenty; which arms the company may use in their seals, and cause them to be placed on their cannons, arms, ships, buildings, and wherever they shall think proper.

XLIII. The company shall be exempt during the time of their present privilege from all duties of entry on wood, hemp, iron; cordage, warlike stores, and other things necessary for building and victualling their ships, and likewise the said ships shall be exempt from the duties of the admiralty.

XLIV. The merchandizes which shall come from the Indies, and be landed in the ports of this kingdom, to be afterwards transported into foreign countries, shall pay no duties at coming in or going out, but shall be deposited in the custom-houses of the places where they arrive, if there are any; and if there are none, they shall be marked and deposited until they are carried away; at which places the company's factors shall make a declaration of them to the proprietors or commissioners of the five grand farms, signed by one of the directors of the company; and when the factors

factors incline to transport them elsewhere, they shall take an acquittance, provided that in a certain time he produces a certification that they are arrived at the destined place ; and merchandizes that are not known and in the tarif shall pay three per cent. according to a valuation that shall be made of them by the chamber of general direction of our city of Paris.

XLV. And to shew our paternal goodness to our subjects, and to further the establishment of the company so advantageous to private persons and the state, we promise to advance immediately one fifth of all the expences which shall be necessary for the three first equipments ; so that we shall immediately cause to be delivered to the overseer appointed by the company to receive the money, the sum of three hundred thousand livres ; and when he shall have received of the proprietors four hundred thousand livres, we shall cause to be delivered to him three hundred thousand livres more, and so successively to the sum of three millions of livres for the three fifths of the sum of fifteen millions of livres, at which we have fixed the total funds of the company ; which three fifths we shall furnish the first year, in proportion as the proprietors shall furnish four, provided that we shall furnish nothing for the two following years ; which sum we lend to the company without any interest, and even without taking part therein ; but are satisfied with the obligation of the company to repay us the said sum without interest at the end of the ten first years, reckoning from the day when the first capital fund of the company

company shall be completed; and in case it shall be found by a general account at the end of the said ten years that the company has lost of its capital, our pleasure is, that all the loss shall fall on the sum we have advanced to the company; the account of all the effects of which shall be settled by the chamber of general direction at Paris, without the company's being obliged to account in our chamber of accounts or elsewhere, from which we have dispensed and dispense by these presents.

XLVI. And that the company may be the better able to support the expences they will necessarily be at for settlements in countries so remote, we promise to cause pay to them for every voyage of their ships which shall be fitted out and loaded in the ports and harbours of France, to land them in the said ceded countries, and which shall return into the kingdom, the sum of fifty livres tournois for every ton of merchandizes which they shall carry into the said countries, and the sum of seventy-five livres for every ton which they shall bring back and land in this kingdom; whereof we have made and make a present to the company, to whatever sum the whole may amount, without there being occasion for any other letters than these presents. We will, and it is our pleasure, that the said sums shall be paid to the general cashier of the company, by the keeper of our royal treasury, on the certification of two of the said directors, and passed without difficulty in the accounts belonging thereto.

XLVII.

XLVII. And in as much as the success of this great design will particularly depend on the conduct and vigilance of the directors, we promise to those who shall have well acquitted themselves of the said employs, to grant them marks of honour which shall pass to their posterity, even to those of the officers and members of the general council, which shall be established by the company at Madagascar, or at the chief seat of the commerce in the Indies.

Given at Vincennes, in the month of August, the year of grace 1664, and of our reign the twenty-second. Signed LEWIS, and below, DE GUINEGAUD.

These letters patent were registered in September, in the parliament, the chamber of accounts, and the court of aids, with a general applause; and so much the more, that on the 7th of August the king had given an order on the royal treasury for three hundred thousand livres, to be paid to the cashier of the company.

Such was the eagerness of the great Colbert to form the company, such were the motives and means he employed to make this project succeed, and to engage adventurers; the zeal was equal on both sides. The company dispersed on this subject many writings and bills thro' Paris and the principal cities of the kingdom.

The first of those writings contained the regulations and the policy which should be observed in the colony designed for Madagascar. They began by declaring, that they would pay a particular and severe attention to do honour to the holy name
of

of God. That blasphemers should be rigorously punished. That no other religion should be tolerated but the catholick. The exercise whereof should be performed with as much exactness, decency, and ceremonies, as in France itself. Rapes, adultery, and libertinism, were forbidden under severe penalties; theft committed on the natives was to be equally punished; and murder, assassination, duels, and all manner of injustice and violence. Lastly, they declared that the laws of the kingdom of France should be observed there in all their extent.

The severity of these statutes did not prevent a great concourse of people offering to embark themselves for that distant country. On the 7th of March, 1665, the year following, four ships, the first of the new company, carrying 520 men, and fitted out, partly as ships of war, and partly as merchantmen, set sail from the harbour of Brest for Madagascar, where they arrived the 10th of July, after a voyage of four months and three days. As soon as they arrived, they changed the name of Madagascar to that of *Ile Dauphine*, as an acknowledgement to God, says the declaration which ordered this change, for the favours he poured down daily so plentifully on the royal family, and in particular for having blessed the marriage of his majesty with the birth of a dauphine, (then four years of age) who, in his infancy, gave such early and promising hopes of succeeding one day to the piety and virtue of his forefathers. Sixteen years before, that is to say, in 1649, the sieur Flacourt, governor of the conquered countries,

tries, had given the name the *Isle of Bourbon* to Mascaregne, an island in the neighbourhood of Madagascar.

While they were intent on fitting out a second fleet, the company wanting adventurers, fixed up printed papers, where they declared they had resolved to make those who settled in the colony, proprietors of as much land as they could labour, themselves, their families, and servants. This contained a description of the country, and the conditions that should be granted to those who went thither. These two points appear to me of importance.

“ The air of the Isle of Dauphine, said the company, is very temperate; two-thirds of the year are like the spring; the other third is not hotter than the summer in France; people live there to one hundred, and a hundred and twenty years of age.

The fruits there are very good and plentiful; pulse, peas, and all sorts of roots, are good and very wholesome. Rice is gathered three times a year; European grain grows better there than in France; and there are vines, which if cultivated, would yield extremely good wine.

There are great quantities of oxen, cows, goats, hogs, and other cattle. There are gold, silver, lead, cotton, wax, sugar, tobacco, black and white pepper, ebony, all sorts of dying wood, and other good merchandizes. Nothing is wanting but men who have the address to make use of these things, and to set the negroes, the inhabitants of the country, to work, who are docile, obedient,

obedient, and submissive to what is commanded them. Those who are acquainted with the culture of these sorts of merchandizes would make great advantages thereby. Silk-worms are very common upon the trees, and produce silk which is very fine and easily wrought.

To give opportunity to every one to partake of those advantages, all persons of both sexes who offer themselves shall have their passage in the company's ships, which will set sail in the month of July next of the present year 1665, in order to be settled in colonies on the Isle Dauphine, in which, immediately after their arrival, lands shall be distributed among them for their proper abode, in perpetuity, and to their heirs and assignees, paying a small duty for each measure, without any other charge; and shall be maintained during their passage and three months after their arrival in the island; which expence they shall reimburse to the company at a very reasonable rate, and the sum agreed upon shall be paid them in merchandizes which they shall have gathered or traded for in the island, at three terms, every one a year, the first falling a year after their settlement; and they shall be furnished with goods, utensils, and necessary cloaths, in the island, at a very reasonable price.

It will be observed, that all Frenchmen having gone to the Isle Dauphine and other places of the Indies, who shall have staid there the space of eight years, shall be received as masters of their arts and trades in all cities of the kingdom, conformable to the 38th article of the king's declaration of 1664.

For

“For the instruction of the passengers, the company has, and shall carry in all their ships, missionaries and ecclesiasticks, and brothers of the charity, physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, to take care of their health.”

Hitherto the company seem to have confined themselves to the Isle Dauphine, and the advantages they began to draw from thence, gave them the greatest expectations for the future. Two foreigners who offered them their service, excited them to carry their views farther. The first was a Dutchman, named Caron, (*i*) who had been president of the commerce of the republick at Japan, and out of discontent had retired into France. The second was named Marcara Avanchinz, a native of Ispahan in Persia, who had spent a great part of his life in the East-Indies in the quality of a merchant. Mr. Colbert engaged the first to go to make a settlement for the company in the Indies and Japan in 1666. The same year, and a short time after, Marcara the Persian set sail, in order to co-operate with him in the same cause, being invested with the title of counsellor to the sovereign council of the Isle Dauphine, and director of all the factories of the company in the Indies, Persia, and the country of the south.

But instead of acting in concert, a jealousy arose between the two chiefs, and Caron got the better

VOL. II.

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of.

(*i*) See on this epocha the voyages of Souchu de Rennafort. Part II. 1. i, & ii. They are excellent for the beginning of the Indian company. But I cannot make use of them without running into improper digressions.

of his rival, who was condemned and recalled by the company. He pleaded his cause before the publick by memorials, which he dispersed in his justification. What personal things we find there are no longer interesting, but they contain a great many facts, which inform us in what manner the first establishment of the French company in the East-Indies was formed, in which he had certainly the largest share. His apology gives us all the detail necessary for our subject, which is no where else to be met with.

“ The sieur Marcara, say his memoirs, departed from the Isle Dauphine, the 15th of October 1667, with the sieur Caron, in order to settle the first factory of the company at the Indies in the city of Surat. The 24th of December, (that is, after a voyage of two months and nine days they touched at Cochin in order to take refreshment there, and were received with great civilities by the officers of the Dutch garrison. From thence, they arrived at Suali, the port of Surat, the 13th of February 1668. The sieur Caron made a purchase of some very bad indigo there, in spite of all the sieur Marcara could do to the contrary. Thus the company having received it, were dissatisfied, and made complaints about it. The ship after that set sail the 29th of April 1668, for the Isle Dauphine, where it arrived the 21st of June, after a voyage of less than two months.

The 19th of October following, the sieur Marcara set sail again for Surat, together with the sieurs de Faye and Goujon, all in different ships,
and

and arrived at Suali the 15th of March 1669. Some days afterwards it was determined in the council of the company, that the ships named *Marie*, the *Aigle d'or*, and *la Flute*, should be freighted, in order to be sent to different places. The charge of this was committed to the sieurs Marcara and Goujon, whereof they acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of all the world.

The same council afterwards resolved, that the sieur Marcara should go to the court of the king of Golconda, to obtain from him the powers and privileges necessary for the company to trade in his dominions, to buy up, and cause goods to be manufactured there, and to establish a factory of the company at Masulipatan.

According to this second determination, the sieur Marcara departed from Surat for Golconda, the 13th of May 1669, not having been able to do it sooner, on account of the decease of the sieur de Faye, general director, which happened at Surat the 2d of May 1669, as unexpected as it was prejudicial to the company. He landed at Golconda the 21st of June following, with four commissaries who accompanied him, and was very splendidly entertained by Anazarbec, his relation, one of the principal men at the court, and by the king's son-in-law, both his old friends, who did him all manner of good offices. They spoke to the king in so obliging a manner, that that prince ordered Jabarbec, governor of Masulipatan, to hear the proposals of the sieur Marcara, and make a report to him.

The sieur Marcara having been informed of this, made several visits to Jabarbec, wherein he entertained him with the greatness of the French king, the glory of the French nation, and the merit of the company, which eagerly desired to have his permission for trading in the estates of the king of Golconda. He assured him that was the only motive that led him to court, and for which he wished the honour of an audience from the king.

Jabarbec heard him with pleasure and applause, and gave him a favourable answer. He testified no less satisfaction with the king's picture, which Marcara shewed him. He treated him and all his company magnificently, made him very rich presents, amongst others, a Persian horse worth 1800 livres, and gave him his word he would make an ample report to the king of all he had said and proposed to him.

In the interval of those negotiations, the Dutch, who had advice of it, spared underhand no presents nor money to prevent the sieur Marcara having audience of the king of Golconda, or obtaining what he desired of him.

To evade this tempest, the sieur Marcara wrote the king a letter in the Persian language, in which, after having represented in a very respectful manner, that he had waited at the court a long time, without having been able to obtain an audience of his majesty, which he solicited so eagerly, he supplicated him in a very humble manner to grant him that honour as soon as circumstances would

would permit him. This measure had all the good effects the Persian could have hoped from it. The king of Golconda received him very graciously ; he heard him with attention ; and, testifying a singular esteem for the king of France, he promised, in consideration of him, to grant to the company he had established for the Indian commerce, a full liberty of trading in all his dominions. The sieur Marcara then made the prince a present of the king's picture, which he accepted, and, to shew his esteem for it, immediately gave orders to have it set in a frame of massy gold. The sieur Marcara made him likewise a present of five pieces of very fine French gold brocade, thirteen pieces of Dutch cloth, eleven mirrors, four double louis d'ors worth about 3800 roupees, and three great chests of the best Persian wine, which the prince accepted with pleasure ; and by way of acknowledgement, gave the sieur Marcara, and all who accompanied him, very rich cloaths after the country fashion.

After so favourable an audience, the Persian gave advice of it to the sieur Caron, the general director, and to the council at Surat ; and upon the king's promise to grant him all he desired, he sent a merchant and a factor of the company to Masulipatan, in order to make sure of a house to settle a factory there, with the money that was necessary to buy up mercantile goods.

About the 15th of October, the officers of the king of Golconda brought the sieur Marcara a *firman*, or letters patent, which having read, he found was not in the form he wished : he thanked

them for their trouble, and gave them back the firman, refusing to accept it. He solicited another, which had not the restrictions of the first, and he spent near two months in obtaining it. A factor, impatient at this delay, wrote to Surat and Masulipatan, that the sieur Marcara was betraying the company, and that there was no appearance of his obtaining the firman he solicited for.

The sequel made the contrary appear, and shewed the dexterity of the sieur Marcara in affairs. The 5th of December of the same year, 1669, he received the firman in the most ample and favourable form that had ever been granted by the king of Golconda. These letters gave liberty to the French company, to carry on all, and such trades as they should think fit in the kingdom for ever, without paying any duty either at the entrance or clearing of ships, whether they belonged to the king or the company."

It is remarkable, that the Dutch had at all times made extraordinary solicitations, and given immense presents to the king of Golconda, that they might obtain the like privilege, but could never bring it about. If the English obtained it in 1655, it was by the intervention of an extraordinary ambassador, by immense presents, and twenty years services by sea for the interests of the king of Golconda. The sieur Marcara, provided with his firman, took leave of the king, and returned to Masulipatan the 26th of December, in order to settle the company's factory there.

Mamontbek

Mamontbek, who had succeeded Jabarbec a little before in the government of that city, was advertised of it by letter, in which the king commanded him to do more honour to Marcara than to any other stranger. Accompanied by all the great men of the country, he went to meet him two leagues from Masulipatan, received him in a magnificent manner, and conducted him to his palace with great ceremony. He immediately caused the firman, which the sieur Marcara presented to him, to be made publick in a solemn manner, and to be registered in the chancellery of Masulipatan, promising to take care it should be punctually executed. Then he conducted him to the house that had been hired for the company's factory, where he resided, and managed the commerce in the best manner possible.

He was in this situation, when in 1671, he was informed by a letter from Batavia, that the sieurs Gueston and Blot, general directors of the company, had left France to come to Surat, in order to preside at the council and in the commerce of the company; and that Mr. de la Haye accompanied them with a considerable army. The two directors arrived at last, bringing with them a long memorial from Mr. Colbert, which made a new regulation for the council and officers of the company at Surat, which turned out and directed the trial of Marcara's friends, without however naming him, or charging him in any manner, and gave the first rank every where to the sieur Gueston, the second in the Indies to the

sieur Caron, Marçara's rival, and the third to the sieur Blot.

“ The arrival of these directors, the memoirs of the sieur Marçara resume in this place, was not agreeable to the sieur Caron, because he apprehended they would examine into his conduct, and compare it with his rival's, whom he had decied at the court of France. He exerted himself in settling a factory at Bantam, and on that account gave a petty prince of the country 30000 roupies, amounting to 45000 livres, without any advantage to the company. Immediately after this, he went aboard the St. Paul, accompanied with the Vulture, and bent his course to Surat. At last he went for France, under pretence of carrying thither a vessel loaded with eastern merchandizes, which arrived at Port Lewis the 26th of May 1673. But not daring to land himself with all the treasures he had amassed at the expence of the company, and fearing he might be called to account for it, he resolved to save himself in Portugal. When he entered the harbour of Lisbon, the cables of his ship failed all on a sudden, the vessel split in two, and thus he perished with all his riches.”

One great advantage attending the memoirs and the cause of the sieur Marçara, is this; that the king having taken cognizance of his affair, which had been examined by Monf. Colbert, solemnly discharged him by an arref of his council, of all the false imputations wherewith his enemies had accused him. And indeed, we can never enough commend

command his zeal, his disinterestedness, and the great service which he had performed to the company by the privileges he obtained of the king of Golconda, and which would have been followed with consequences still more advantageous, had he not been obliged to return into France. It is also true, that the sieur Caron settled factories at Surat, and at Bantam; but this was no hard matter in a country where strangers are not excluded from trading. The great point was to obtain the exemption from duties on commodities; and this is what the sieur Marcara brought to pass, to whom the company will be eternally obliged, as to one of her principal founders in the East-Indies.

The advantages which he procured for the company in the kingdom of Golconda, were so much the more valuable, as they began to perceive the small profits that were to be made in the isle Dauphine. Besides, every thing was very ill managed in that island by the directors and presidents of the council, who changed all the regulations made by the king and by the company; both in respect of the conditions agreed upon with the new inhabitants, the appointments of the factors, the manner of employing the company's funds, whereof 40000 livres had been found to have been embezzled, and for which the king ordained a rigorous enquiry to be made by an arret of the 1st of April 1669. His majesty having taken upon himself the losses which the company should sustain in the first ten years of this enterprize, was in a particular manner interested

rested in repressing those abuses. He determined to take back the sovereignty of the isle Dauphine which he had yielded in property to the company, by the articles 27th, 28th, 29th, of the celebrated edict of 1664, and which the company willingly abandoned. This change was decided by an arret of the 12th of November 1670.

The company turned their hopes with better grounds to the coast of the East-Indies. The sovereign council of the isle Dauphine having been suppressed, was transferred to Surat under the direction of the sieurs Gueston, Caron, Blot, and Baron, to whom were given full powers both in civil and criminal cases, by letters patent of the month of January 1671. The king had already granted two millions to support this new enterprise, when it was known that the sieurs Caron and Marcara were happily arrived on the coast of Coromandel. This is known from an arret of the council of the finance of the 21st of September 1668. This was followed by several others, which confirmed and augmented the privileges of the proprietors, such as exemption from all local duties, grants upon their merchandize, that of grabeau, aunage, and one *per cent*.

We must add to these favours, the permission granted the company, by a declaration of the month of June 1666, to make establishments at Port Lewis for their magazines, and at a place called Feandick, and others, along the rivers Hennelon and Ponscot, for dock-yards fit for the building of their ships. They had also granted them

them to this effect by the same declaration, all void and waste places belonging to the king, which were in the place abovementioned. It is from this that Port l' Orient was formed, which the company of the Indies possess to this day in absolute property and lordship, conform to the title of concession, and without any tax or duties, except the sole fuc and homage-liege at each succession to the crown.

Altho' the privileges of the company of the East-Indies seem to comprehend in general all the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, notwithstanding a new company was formed at the same time, that is to say, in 1660, which had the trade to China for it's particular object. One Fermanel, a rich merchant of Rouen, seems to have been the author and principal conductor of it. According to the scheme which he published, a fund was required of 220000 livres or thereabouts, as well for the fitting out of ships, as for purchase of merchandize proper for the trade of the East. The assurances which he gave of making their fortune, engaged several persons of all ranks to become proprietors. However, no more than 140000 livres could be made up, as we learn from the subscriptions of the persons engaged.

The articles of this undertaking were settled in the house of the sieur l'Hoste, the 15th of April 1660; and they comprehended twenty-three heads. It is there said, that it's principal object was the glory of God, and the propagation of the faith;

faith; and to gain credit to this pretext, bishops and missionaries were to have been sent aboard the ship, whose expences were to be borne, and who should labour in the conversion of the infidels. They were to land these prelates named by the pope, in one or more ports of Tonquin, Cochinchina, or China, in their own option. They were to be entreated to take particular care that none of the funds of the company were misapplied, and that a good and faithful register should be kept of all the purchases, and sales of commodities, made by the factors. They were to be empowered to cause money to be given to those factors for extraordinary contingencies, and to go, if need were, farther into the countries to discover and learn their commerce.

Fermanel had in charge to build in Holland or elsewhere, a ship from three to four hundred tons, to arm, equip, and provide her in every thing after the manner of the Hollanders; the whole for two years, that is to say, for so long a time as was necessary to go and return, for the greater security. Fermanel might take what number of officers and sailors he judged necessary, without, however, admitting above twelve or fifteen foreigners, amongst whom one or two were to have been such as were expert in the commerce of China. But neither were to be paid till their return.

All the merchandizes which should proceed from that voyage, were to be sold in common in order to keep up the price, and not to be divided
according

according to their different species. Before that the stock and profits should be distributed, it was agreed to take up so much of as it should be necessary for a second voyage, &c.

The profits were so far from being considerable enough to engage in a new enterprize, that it appears that they stuck at the first, the bad success of which dissolved the company. It is not even known whether they obtained of the king letters confirming that establishment: for it was then a maxim among the Chinese to shut up their ports from all foreign nations, for fear that the frequency of strangers might corrupt their laws, or give occasion to form enterprizes against their liberties. The emperor who reigned in that kingdom in 1685, was the first who changed this policy. Immediately the Indians and Europeans hurried into this trade; but the situation of the French did not permit them to carry on any trade thither but what was very inconsiderable. It was not till the year 1698, that the new company of China was formed, as I shall relate in it's place.

The company privileged to trade in the East-Indies, was so far from being in a condition to augment their commerce, that they had lost a considerable part of their funds, a thing almost inevitable, in all beginnings of enterprizes. The king being informed of this by the general account laid before the assembly of Paris, took this misfortune into his consideration, and was faithful to the promise he had made. The 13th of September he made a declaration, by which he ordained

dained a repartition of ten per cent. to all the proprietors of the company, who had been found to have exactly performed the advancement of the funds, which they had undertaken to pay at different terms, and he granted a particular gratification to the directors of the company, as well as to the widows of the persons concerned. In order to give them a new proof of his zeal and attachment, he adds; "Having regard to the losses which the company has sustained in the beginning of their establishment, and since that time, which have been found to exceed the four millions which we have agreed to lend them, and have caused to be paid into the treasury of the said company, on the conditions which our edict bears, of the 20th of September 1668, we have discharged, and by these presents do discharge, the company and their directors, from the said sum of four millions of livres, absolving them from making restitution of all or any part, and from giving any manner of account in our chamber of accounts, board of finances, or elsewhere; holding ourselves satisfied with the enquiry made into the affairs of the company by the commissioners by us deputed to that effect."

Monf. Colbert, ever equally zealous for an establishment, whereof he foresaw the future successes, however unprosperous they had hitherto been, procured to the company, in the month of February 1676, a new arret, which exempted, from all duties inwards and outwards, all merchandize bought at the publick sales of the company

pany of the Indies, conform to the 4thth of the famous declaration of 1664. The proprietors of the four great farms had obtained a contrary arret of the 2d of September 1673, and the 4thth of September 1674. But the king dispenses with it by this other arret above-mentioned, excepting only such goods as should be transported to Lyons, which should pay one fourth only of the duties inwards, and the customs of the said city.

Notwithstanding the small profits arising from the trade to the Indies, the king's protection kept up their hopes, and brought from time to time new proprietors to engage, or private merchants who were willing to engage in the trade to the East, without entering into the company of the Indies. His majesty gave permission to these with restrictions, which shewed his concern for the interest of the company. These conditions were, 1st, That the private merchants should make use of the company's ships for carrying goods and passengers, as well going out as returning. 2dly, That they should pay on both these accounts, the freight agreed upon before their departure. 3dly, That goods imported as returns on the account of private merchants, should be lodged in the company's warehouses, to be there publickly sold together with those of the company, to the highest bidder, excepting pearls, diamonds, and precious stones, which should be restored to the private proprietors. 4thly, That of all other merchandizes that should have been sold with those of the company, the amount of the sale should be exactly paid to the private proprietors,

prietors, in money and bills of exchange, in the same manner as they should have been paid by the buyers themselves, deducing the duties inwards due to the king, the payment of which the directors were to take upon themselves for the proprietors. 5thly, That this permission should hold good for five years only, to commence on the 1st of April 1682. Lastly, That if it was found that this permission was prejudicial to the interests of the company, the directors should be empowered to revoke it, or cause it to cease in whole or in part, or to prorogate and extend it for their own advantage, for so long time, and in what manner they should judge it expedient. And all this, notwithstanding the 27th article of the declaration of 1664, with which the king dispenses in this respect only. This permission is dated the 20th of January 1682.

This regard for the company did not prevent a treaty with which they were very ill satisfied, and which was not only prejudicial, but scandalous, as shewing the small degree of confidence that the people reposed in them, but also their weakness and declining condition. In order to dissipate these notions of the publick, and to create a more advantageous opinion of them, there was held a third general meeting in the month of April 1684, in which it was found that the company's funds were reduced to three millions, three hundred and fifty-three thousand, nine hundred and sixty-six livres, thirteen sous, and four deniers. This decrease was attributed, 1st, to the war with the Dutch from the year 1672 to 1678, in which they

they had done us abundance of damage both at sea and in the Indies; 2dly, to the bad conduct of the directors and factors; 3dly, to the negligence or timidity of the proprietors, who had been very much behindhand in the advance of the funds which had been agreed upon. To remedy all these abuses, it was decided, that all the old directors in the general chamber of Paris, all particular chambers, and those employed in them, should be suppressed: that twelve directors should be named out of the proprietors of the city of Paris, who should have furnished at least 30000 livres of a new fund for their part of the supplement, in place of those proprietors who had not paid up their fourth. That the sums requisite, which were to be delivered at the general board of the company, should be paid to those twelve officers; and that they alone should have the administration and general direction of them. That those proprietors who should not have paid up their fourth, as had been ordained, should forfeit the interests and capitals which they had in the company; and that those who in their default should pay up this sum in two years without interest, be substituted in their rights.

This regulation was confirmed by a declaration of the king, of the month of February 1685; wherein the king adds, that he leaves to the company the liberty of keeping in sovereignty the isle Dauphine, or of restoring it to him, in their own option. Altho' they had given it up in the year 1670, as a burthensome possession, and that the sovereign council had been transfer-

red to Surat, the king was still willing to give them their choice; but they did not hesitate to abandon it entirely; and their renunciation was ratified by an arret of the 4th of June 1686.

This change and reform which the company had made in their administration somewhat revived their hopes. It received additional increase by the treaty concluded between the king of Siam and Lewis XIV. by the means of Mons. Constance, minister of the Indian prince, and Mons. de Chaumont our ambassador, the 10th of December 1685. If these conventions had been sincere on the part of the king of Siam, the catholick religion and commerce would very soon have made great progress in his estates. But those flatterers who had pretended the sending mandarins on behalf of the king of Siam, who they said was willing to make an alliance with France; and to embrace christianity, made very little ado about the small success of our embassy, or of the execution of the treaty which had been concluded; for it never took place with respect to either of the two articles which were the object of it.

This was not the only blow which the company received at that time. One of the principal articles of their commerce consisted in cloths of cotton, white or painted, and in stuffs worked with gold or silver, which they imported into France. They even caused these cotton cloths to be painted at home in the manner of the Indies. The novelty of these sorts of goods, and the cheapness of them in the country, procured them
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a prodigious sale, and sunk the price of most part of the manufactures of the kingdom.

However desirous the king was to protect the company, he could not dispense with putting a stop to the hurt which this trade did to that of France. On the remonstrances addressed to him on the part of the farmers general, merchants and manufacturers, he gave an arret of the 27th of January 1687, forbidding the use of painted cottons of whatever fabrick they might be. I confine myself to relate the enacting clauses: "His majesty grants leave to the company to have painted, if they think proper, the white cloths sold by them in the month of October last preceding, as also those they have since received, or may receive during this present year, by the ships they have sent to the Indies 1685, and 1686, till and including the last of December 1688 only; till which time the molds serving for the painting of the said cottons shall not be broken, and that the said cottons may be sold and retailed freely without incurring the penalties imposed by our arret; which time expired, and reckoning from the 1st of January 1689, all manufactures established in the kingdom for the painting of cottons shall cease, and the molds and utensils be broken, with prohibition to repair them. His majesty likewise grants leave to the company to sell all painted cottons of the Indies which they have imported, or which shall be imported on their account, till the last of December 1687 inclusive, and to such*merchants as shall have bought them to retail, till the said last of December 1688 in-

clusive, his majesty expressly prohibits the said company to import, sell, or retail in this kingdom, any painted cottons, under the penalties mentioned in our arret of the 26th of October last preceding. Those which shall be found remaining in the hands of the merchants on the last of December 1688, shall be taken back by the directors of the company at their price on the sales, to be by them exported forth of the kingdom; and with respect to stuffs of silk, gold, silver, and barks of trees of the Indies, and of China, his majesty grants leave to the company to continue to trade in them, and to import to the amount of 150000 livres yearly; as also to import all manner of white cottons, excepting such as are prohibited by our arret of the 26th of October last, and all other sorts of wares and merchandizes of the produce of the countries in this grant, on payment of the duties settled by the tarif of the month of September 1664 only; which shall be also observed with respect to the painted cottons which the company is permitted to import till the last of December next ensuing; and all this, notwithstanding what is contained in our arrets of the 15th and 26th of October preceding, on condition always of performing the engagements entered into by the said directors, of sending out goods of the manufacture of France to the amount of 500000 livres yearly. His majesty prohibits the farmers of the united farms and all others to exact any other or greater duties than those mentioned by the said tarif, under the penalty of being punished as extortioners.”

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The farmers general, who had obtained this arret, saw it put in execution with all the severity imaginable. In the beginning of the year 1689, absolute orders being issued to break all the molds for painting of cottons, it became requisite to effectuate the engagements which the company had entered into, to take back the painted cottons sold to the merchants. They alledged different excuses, in virtue whereof they obtained a farther delay of three months. But at last it became necessary to put them in execution; and all the favour which the king granted them, was to permit them to reimburse the merchants in four equal payments, from three months to three months, taking back the goods unfold, at the same price as they had bought them. From this time forwards, the company was not permitted to sell painted cottons in the kingdom, except by extraordinary graces, such as those granted them in 1701 and 1702, when they received from the Indies 7964 pieces of painted cottons, carpets and coverlets, and 1541 pieces made of bark of trees. They were permitted to sell them at Nantes; and those merchants who should buy them, to retail them for a year after their being marked. This prohibition was so much the more prejudicial to the company, as there was very considerable profit to be made on all sorts of cottons, especially such as had been bought of Indian private merchants.

With respect to stuffs of silk, gold, and silver, we have seen by the foregoing arret, that permission had been granted to import and vend

In the kingdom, to the amount of 150000 livres yearly, on condition that they exported to the Indies the manufactures of France to the extent of 500000 livres. This permission, which had been confirmed by different arrêts, was absolutely revoked in 1702, by a declaration which at the same time prohibited the company to export into the countries of their grant, any other merchandize of France, than those which they might sell there to most advantage.

The case was not the same with respect to white cottons and mullins. The permission granted the company in 1687, to continue to trade in them, has been extended to the year 1719, and always with the formality of the mark, but which could not but be very advantageous for the company, since it was invented with no other view than to hinder the sale of any other cottons in the kingdom, than those of the company. Notwithstanding their effects were sometimes marked with the leads of the farmers general, or of the intendant of Britany, when they had no permission granted them to import a determinate number of cottons or stuffs. It is to be remarked, that the company of the Indies did not experience those affecting changes, till after the death of Mons. Colbert, which happened in 1683. It appears that at that time (under M. de Pont-Chartrain,) the general farms enjoyed the good graces of the court; this is evident from the most part of the arrêts given with respect to the affairs disputed between the two companies, during the ministry of this comptroller general.

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These disputes about rights and privileges, broke out with animosity in 1700, when the company were briskly attacked by the farmers general, who intended this process as plaintiffs. The arret which intervned on the 2d of November on this subject, informs us of all the particulars of the history of this contest, which have any relation to this trade.

M. Thomas Templier, farmer of the united general farms of his majesty, presented a request to the king, praying that it might please him to give order that the goods of the East-India company, arriving at Port Lewis, should be there marked and leaded, in order to be viewed at their arrival at Nantes. That masters of vessels should be obliged to make their reports of them at the custom-house of Nantes, and to produce their invoices and land permits; and that after waiting till they should be unpacked and searched, they should be discharged in presence of the commissaries of the said Templier, and lodged in the warehouses of the company of the Indies under two keys, whereof the commissaries of Templier were to have one. That those goods should be subjected to the duties of the provostship of Nantes, and all others united to the five great farms, which are payable at Ingrande in Anjou, over and above the duties of the tarif of 1664. That the said company should be obliged to pay the duties upon iron bought for the building of their ships.

To this request, which tended to destroy the company of the Indies, the directors opposed another, in which they prayed the king to give

order that the 44th article of the edict of the establishment of the said company of the month of August 1664, and the arrets given in consequence thereof, concerning the privileges of the said company, might be executed according to their form and tenor. And further, that the goods of the company should be discharged at l'Orient, at Port Lewis, and at Nantes, as usual, and without being subject to be searched and leaded, or any other formalities to which the said Templier pretended right: that the company might not be obliged to pay for the goods at their sales, in whatever place they were sold, other or greater duties in lieu of all duties inwards and of the united farms, than those of the tarif of 1664, and that only for the goods mentioned in the said tarif, and three per cent. for such as are not expressed therein, in pursuance of the arret of the 22d of November 1692. To condemn Templier and his securities to make payment and restitution to the company of the sum of eighteen thousand and odd livres, which had been paid for the duties of the provostship of Nantes, according to the discharge of the receiver, and all other sums received by them; or by their commissaries and overseers, as well for the said duty of provostship, as for all the re-united duties of Ingrande, together with the interests of the said sums, from the day in which payment was made of them. To which effect they shall be constrained by all methods, as lawful trustees or depositaries; discharging the farmers of the united farms, their commissaries and overseers, to exact any thing of the company
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in lieu of the said duties in all time coming, no more than for iron and other goods which they shall buy or cause to be bought for their account, to be made use of in building, careening, equipping, and victualling their ships.

The report of these two requests being heard by *Monf. de Chamillard*, comptroller general of the finances, (*M. de Pont-Chartrain* being then chancellor) the king in council ordained, That the directors of the company of the Indies, or their commissaries and overseers, shall be obliged to furnish to the commissaries of his majesty's farms at Port Lewis, or other ports of the province of Britany, where the ships of the company of the Indies shall arrive, a copy of the bills of lading of the said ships; and to deliver at the board of his majesty's general farms at Paris, a copy of the invoices of the cargoes imported from the Indies in the said ships, the whole certified under the hands of the directors; which being performed, the commissaries of the farms of Port Lewis, or elsewhere, may not search nor lead any bales, parcels, or cases, in which goods shall have been imported, but shall be allowed only to be present at the delivery of the said goods, if they see cause: that such goods being transported by sea or land from Port Lewis to Nantes, shall there be warehoused at their arrival, in the warehouses of the company of the Indies, under the key of the directors only; at the delivery of which goods at Nantes, the commissaries of the farms may also be present, without the directors, commissaries, or overseers of the company of the Indies

Indies being obliged to advertise or wait on them; provided, however, that the masters of vessels shall be obliged to produce to the commissaries of the farms at Nantes, when they arrive there, copies of their bills of lading, and the carriers over land, copies of their land permits; that as well the masters of vessels as land carriers, shall make the usual declarations of the goods with which they are loaded, and that after the sales, the dispatches depending on the commissaries of the farms shall be delivered as usual. As also his majesty ordains, that the goods of the said company arriving at Nantes by sea, shall pay the duties of the provostship of Nantes, according to the pancarte or tarif, of the said duties, which shall be determined by the weight, at the rate of two sous six deniers the load of 150 pounds weight, and wools of Boulan, stuffs of barks of trees, silk handkerchiefs, rice, sandal wood, sapan wood, terra merita, cottons; spiceries, such as cinnamon, nutmegs, cloves, pepper, amber, and musk; on cowries; canes, cravats striped with silk thread, muslins wrought with thread and silk. And at the rate of the fortieth part of the value on cotton thread, horse hides, raw silk, stuffs all of silk, cotonis, and chuquelas, taffetas, armosins, belts and garters of silk, and stuffs of atelas with flowers of gold; that the said merchandizes of the company of the Indies shall pay likewise the duties of *Paris*, twelve and six deniers in passing at Ingrande, as local duties, over and above the duties of the tarif of 1664; and as to what remains, that the company of the Indies shall enjoy an exemption

emption from all duties inwards and outwards for warlike stores, provisions, and all other things necessary for the building, victualling, armament, and careening of the ships which they shall equip; the whole conform to the 43d article of the edict of establishment of the said company of the Indies, of the month of August 1664, and to the said arret of council of the 30th of September 1665. Done in council, &c.

This opposition of Messieurs the farmers general to the company of the Indies, discovered itself more openly; and prevailed immediately after the death of Mons. Colbert, it's founder and protector. It is true, that by the arret of it's establishment in 1664, the king had not entirely exempted them from the duties inwards; but he had fixed them so low, that they could not look upon them as burthensome. According to the tarif then settled, they were to pay eighteen sous per piece on cottons, measuring ten aulnes, or ells, only, and other goods were taxed in proportion. With respect to those imported afterwards, and which had not been comprehended in the tarif, the duty was fixed upon such at three per cent. This imposition appeared too gentle to the farmers general. They presented a new memorial to the council, which gave them a favourable hearing, and granted all their demands.

The 30th of April 1686, three years after the death of Mons. Colbert, they obtained an arret, bearing; That from that day forwards, there should be paid, over and above the duties of the tarif of 1664, six livres on each piece of cottons

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of ten aulnes in length, and four livres per pound weight on coverlets, pieces for waistcoats, and other manufactures of cotton, at importation, on pain of confiscation of the said merchandizes which should be landed in any ports other than those which had been prescribed.

On the 15th of October of the same year, a second arret was given, which ordained, that from that day forwards, there should be paid, over and above the duties of the tarif of 1664, at importation into the realm, twenty livres per aulne on stuffs of silk, wrought with gold and silver; eight livres per aulne on small stuffs of wrought silk and mixed with gold and silver; fifty sous per aulne on taffetas and sattins unmixed, and thirty sous per aulne on stuffs of silk and bark of trees unmixed.

Lastly, the arret of the 26th of October of the same year, and whereof we have already spoken; prohibits the importation and manufacturing of all sorts of painted cottons, as well as of stuffs of silk of the Indies and of China, with gold and silver flowers, and the wearing of all these merchandizes in the kingdom, on pain of three thousand livres fine, payable by the wearer. All these arrets, and others, were explained and renewed by a long declaration of the 13th of July 1700, wherein the king grants the company leave to import from the Indies to the amount of 150000 livres, of silk, or gold and silver stuffs, yearly, which may be sold and vended in the kingdom, after being marked, on condition that they export yearly to the amount of 500000 livres of goods manufactured

manufactured in France. They are also permitted to import yearly to the amount of 150000 livres in painted cottons and stuffs of barks of trees, in order to be re-exported, without being suffered to sell them to the merchants of France, even on condition of their re-exporting them, a thing always permitted heretofore:

To render the execution of this arret the more strict, his majesty prohibits all persons of whatever quality or condition, to use, wear, or make any manner of garments or furniture of bark of trees, or painted cottons; and all taylor, mantua-makers, upholsterers, and brokers, to use or have in their custody, any painted cottons, or stuffs of the bark of trees, on pain of confiscation, three thousand livres of fine; loss of their freedom, and being rendered incapable of exercising the said trades; and 150 livres of fine to be paid by persons found wearing garments of these sorts of stuffs, or who shall have in their possession any furniture made of them. Lastly, the king ordains, that the judges of the police shall make search throughout the kingdom, in the houses of merchants, dealers, taylor, upholsterers, and brokers; and that all stuffs of silk, or mixed with silk or silver, of the manufacture of the Indies, found unmarked, as also painted cottons, or stuffs of bark, in pieces, garments, or furniture, shall be confiscated and burnt.

While these contests were carried on, the company changed the seat of their jurisdiction in the Indies. The Dutch, jealous of their establishing a trade which they wanted to engross to themselves,

selves, sent an army to attack the company's garriſon at Pondicherry, which they had conquered, and where they intended to eſtabliſh their principal factory. The courage of a hundred and fifty men, could not reſiſt the continual aſſaults of the enemy. They made an honourable capitulation, and evacuated the place. But it was rendered back five years afterwards in 1697, by the eighth article of the treaty of Ryswick, as we ſhall ſee below.

The company having again taken poſſeſſion of ſo advantageous a poſt for commerce, becauſe it is ſituated on the middle of the coaſt of Coromandel, and near the great iſlands; reſolved to eſtabliſh here their principal factory once more. Heretofore it had been at Surat, as well as the ſovereign council, by the arret of 1671. But as this city was four hundred leagues diſtant from Pondicherry, on the oppoſite coaſt of Malabar; the company thought proper to create in this laſt a new ſovereign council, on which ſhould depend the factories of Ougli, Bellezor, Kaſumbazar, Caſſipatan, Maſulipatan, and others in the kingdom of Bengal, and along the coaſt of Coromandel.

For this effect his majeſty granted letters patent, bearing; That he conſtituted a ſovereign council in the city of Pondicherry, for the diſtribution of juſtice in civil and criminal matters, to all his ſubjects inhabiting that city and its dependencies, and in general all the factories depending thereon: that this council ſhould be compoſed of the directors general of the company, in caſe there were any reſiding in the city and fort of Pondicherry,
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and in their absence, to consist of the director general of this factory, and the merchants of the company there residing : that these directors, or merchants, should do justice in civil and criminal matters, in court, and on the days and hours fixed for that purpose : that the sentences passed by three of them in civil matters, should be held and reputed sovereign sentences, and executed as arrears of the company, without appeal : that with respect to criminal actions, they should be drawn up and tried in common form by the said directors and merchants to the number of five, and not under : that the heads of particular factories should be empowered to execute judgement in matters as well civil as criminal, in the first instance, reserving an appeal to the sovereign council : that the sieurs Francis Martin, knight of the order of St. Lazar and Mount Carmel, commandant of the city, fort, and habitation of Pondicherry, and director general of the company ; Francis de Flacourt, Pierre le Pheliponnat, de Chalonge, and Claude de Boivin d'Hardancourt, merchants for the company in the factory of Pondicherry, shall be instituted and commissioned there to hold the sovereign council, and to render to the French there inhabiting, justice, in matters as well civil as criminal, wherewith they are charged in honour and conscience : that they shall be empowered to commission such persons as they shall think proper to take in the name of the king and for the interest of the publick, as well in civil as criminal matters, the necessary requisitions, as likewise a recorder, to receive and make out their sentences, and

and all other acts of justice : that these sentence shall run in the name of the king, and be sealed with the arms of France, and a seal like that of the sovereign council at Surat ; which seal shall be placed in the hands of the said sieur Martin, who shall be the keeper thereof, and in his absence the senior member of the council. Lastly, that the general directors of the company of the Indies, shall be empowered to recall the said sieur Martin, de Flacourt, le Phelipponnat, and others, when they shall see cause, on condition of presenting others to the king, who shall be established by his majesty on their nomination. These letters bear date in the month of February 1781.

While the company of the Indies were employed in France in defending their rights and privileges against the farmers general, they were likewise obliged to support them against the high admiral, the count of Thoulouse. This first office of the marine being suppressed in 1626 and 1627, and not revived until 1683, no regard was paid to it in the arret of 1664, for the establishment of the company. On the contrary, it would seem provision had been made for the advantage of this last against the difficulties which might arise, should the admiralty be re-established, as it was 19 years after in 1683, in favour of the count of Thoulouse. The 39th article of the arret of 1664, bears in effect : " That if any captures are made by the ships of the company on the enemies of the state, and in the seas of the ceded countries, they shall belong to them, and shall be judged by the officers established in the places
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of the said countries, whither they can most conveniently be carried according to the ordonnances of the marine." The 43d article says: "That their ships and merchandizes shall be exempt from the duties of the admiralty, and *de bris*, that is to say, ships wrecked,"

In 1707, the count of Thoulouse opposed these two privileges of the company, which they had enjoyed ever since their establishment. He presented a memorial to the king's council, importing, that it might please his majesty to ordain for the time to come, that the managers of the ships of the said company should be obliged to execute the ordonnance of the marine in 1681, as to what regards them; that the ships of the said company shall not set sail from the ports of France without leave or commission from the admiral, under pain of confiscation; and that the tenth of all the prizes taken or to be taken by the ships of the company, shall be paid to him conformable to the same ordonnance of 1681. In a second memorial, the high admiral, persisting in those demands, alledged that the masters or captains of the company's ships should be obliged at their return from each voyage, to make a report to the admiralty, and to deliver up the papers and prisoners of the prizes they should have taken, to the officers of the admiralty, that they might proceed therein after the usual manner. The company answered these two memorials by pleading the privileges which had been granted at their establishment, and the peaceable possession whereof they had enjoyed ever since.

His majesty determined this difference, and ordained by an arret of the 26th of November 1707, that the ordonnance of the marine, of the month of August 1681, shall be executed according to it's form and tenor, by the ships of the company of the East-Indies; and consequently, that the captains, writers, and other officers of the said vessels, should be obliged to take out licences and commissions of war, to make their report to the officers of the admiralty, to deliver up the papers and prisoners found in the prizes, in order to proceed therein, and generally to conform to what is prescribed by the said ordonnance, as it is practised by all the other ships of his majesty's subjects. As to what concerns the tenth of the prizes, his majesty having regard to the edict of 1664, confirmed by the declaration of the month of February 1685, maintains and confirms the said company in the exemption from the admiral's tenth of the prizes which have been taken by them before, or shall be taken afterwards beyond the line only. And with respect to the prizes which have been, or shall be taken, on this side the line, his majesty declares them subject to the said duty, conformable to the ordonnance of 1681, with consent of the company, which his majesty has moreover confirmed and maintained in their privileges and exemptions.

But the merchants associated to the company of the East-Indies, were not comprehended in that arret which granted them an immunity from the tenth. They remonstrated to them the prejudice this subjection to the tenth would occasion
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to them, and that it was their interest they should likewise be effranchised from it. This occasioned the company's addressing a request to the king, in which they represented to him the bad condition of their affairs, and the impossibility of continuing their commerce, if it was not supported; therefore they supplicated his majesty, that the exemption from the tenth which had been granted them, should likewise have place for the prizes taken, or to be taken by the ships of those with whom they had contracted to navigate and traffick in the ceded countries. This request was communicated to the count of Thoulouse, who, more anxious for the publick good, than his own interest, consented to all the company required, provided that, it should be acknowledged, that in quality of admiral, he had a right to exact the tenth; that his generosity might not be prejudicial to those of that office with which he was invested. The cession he made, for this time only, was declared and confirmed by an arret of the 3d of September 1712.

The low condition to which the company saw themselves reduced, was sufficient cause for their petitioning the prince for some ease of the severity of the arrets which had been given against them. They represented, that they would be necessitated to give over the trade, and the proprietors ruined, if they were not permitted to vend and retail in the kingdom muslins and white cottons, which were one of the best parts of their trade, and which did no prejudice to France. The king gave his consent by an arret of the 10th of December.

1709, granting them permission to vend these sorts of cottons in the kingdom, where the liberty of wearing them should be restored; on condition however, that they should be marked in the manner accustomed, lest the private merchants should sell cottons bought from foreigners. But stuffs of silk wrought with gold and silver, as also those of the bark of trees, were still prohibited, and even forbid by new arrets. Notwithstanding the importation of unwrought silks was still allowed, on which was imposed a duty of seven sous, six deniers per pound weight, for the use of the farmers general. But two years after, in 1714, these joined themselves with the deputies of the chamber of commerce of Marseilles, and the general syndic of the province of Languedoc, to petition the prohibition of all manner of silks and silk manufactures of the Indies, whereof they had imported heretofore from six to seven thousand livres yearly.

Mean time the company's privilege was near at an end, which had been granted them in 1664 for fifty years. The directors represented to the king, that in order to put them into a condition of paying the debts which they had contracted to support the trade, they most humbly prayed him to extend their privilege ten years longer. His majesty granted their request, with this restriction only, that the tenths of all prizes taken by the company's ships, or those of their associates beyond the line, should henceforwards belong to the high admiral of France. This arret, which is of the 29th of September 1714, renews the pro-

prohibition against importing into the kingdom any painted cottons, or stuffs of silk unmixed, of silk and cotton mixed with gold and silver, of bark of trees, and unwrought silk, even under pretext of exporting them abroad.

Two years afterwards, in 1716. were included a second time in that prohibition, white cottons and muslins, which was a very great prejudice to the company.

So many repeated blows announced their decline and total downfall. In 1682 they had already permitted private merchants to send goods into the Indies, on condition that they should be transported in the company's bottoms, and on paying the freight only. In 1708, using every method to discharge their debts, they consented that M. Croizat should equip two ships in the name of the company of the Indies, to whom he was to pay fifteen per cent. on the sale of the goods, without any deduction of the king's duties, and two per cent. on such prizes as he should take beyond the line; the company reserving to themselves the liberty of importing in these ships to the amount of ten tons of India goods. Lastly, in 1712, they were obliged to renounce their trade entirely, and to abandon it to the merchants of St. Malo, in hopes that the benefit which should redound to them from it, in consequence of their agreement, should enable them to discharge the whole, or part, of more than ten millions of debts which they had contracted, as well in the Indies as in France. Thus when they petitioned the renewal of their privilege in 1714.

it was not with a design to make use of it themselves, but to cause it to be carried on by others, and to draw some advantage from their advances and gains.

But this remedy was not equal to the greatness of the evil: there was a necessity of having recourse to another more solid and efficacious, I mean the formation of a new society. Besides the company of the East-Indies, there were three others established in the kingdom: that of China, that of the West or America, and that of Senegal or Cape Verd, by which our ships enter Nigretia from the ocean. As these separate companies had had little success, it was believed that as theirs extended to the four quarters of the world, a general company which should have an equal privilege with all the others, and should act on the same principles, would succeed much better, and procure very great advantages to France. Nothing can be better drawn up than the edict given for the union of these four companies, in May 1719. As I have already given that of 1664, for the establishment of the East-India company, I am now going to present the reader with that of the company of the Indies, such as it subsists at this day, as being more interesting than the first.

LOUIS by the grace of God, king of France and of Navarre: to all present and to come, **HEALTH.** Since our accession to the crown; we have made it our business to repair the draining of the state by the long wars in which it has been engaged, and to procure to our subjects that
plenty

plenty and happiness which they deserve. We observe with satisfaction the quick circulation of money, and the restoring of trade. But we are resolved not to rest satisfied with these advantages. The credit of the West-India company, altho' lately settled, has determined us to examine the situation of the ancient companies; and we have with grief observed, that notwithstanding the benefactions they received from the liberality of the late king, our most honoured lord, and great-grandfather, they have not been able to support themselves. The company of the East-Indies, established by the edict of the month of August 1664, instead of employing for the aggrandizement of trade the exclusive privilege which had been granted them for fifty years running, and the repeated succours in money and ships given them by the late king, after having contracted debts both in France and the Indies, have totally abandoned their navigation, and have resolved to yield their privilege to private merchants, upon payment of ten per cent. on the product of their sales in France, and five per cent. on prizes, and retaining fifty livres per ton on goods exported, and seventy-five livres on goods imported, which had been granted them by way of gratification. We are sensible that their want of success has not at all been owing to the nature of this trade, but to their bad management; and that this company, like those of neighbouring states, might have rendered this commerce of advantage both to the proprietors and the nation. This enterprize had been formed with a capital insufficient to carry it

on. The directors have destroyed one part of those funds by too hasty dividends, at a time when there were no profits; and to supply these deficiencies, they had borrowed money upon the places at excessive interest, even to ten per cent, and at other times had borrowed money on bottomty, at the rate of five per cent. per month; so that the profits of the trade were exhausted and below the charge they were at in carrying it on. Nevertheless, notwithstanding this bad management, the late king, always continuing the protection he had granted this company, and with the view to put them into condition of paying their debts, has granted by the declaration of 1714, the continuation of their privilege for ten years, to commence from the first of April 1715. But instead of fulfilling so laudable an object, the Indians have laid before us repeated complaints, that the company paid them neither principal nor interest; and that for more than sixteen years past they had not sent one ship to Surat. Thus this commerce languishing for several years, began to be entirely ruined, if care had not been taken, because those private merchants who had purchased the privilege from the company, being charged with the payment of ten per cent. to them, could not carry on this trade in concurrence with foreigners; and moreover, for fear of having their ships seized for the company's debts, they durst not send their ships to Surat, a principal city of the mogul's country, from whence they had their cotton, wool, and cotton thread, and almost all the drugs and spices of India and Arabia; so that

that our subjects are obliged to bring from other countries the most part of the goods of the Indies consumed in the nation, and those proper for the trade of Guinea and Senegal, which they bought at treble the value, and so were for ever deprived of the advantage of buying these sorts of merchandizes in the kingdom. We have also been informed, that the separate company of China, established by the arret of our council of the 28th of November 1712 (*n*), and which formerly had been included in the grant of the said company of the Indies, have made no use of the exclusive privilege which had been given them; and that this company is in still greater disorder, if possible, than that of the Indies. We should think ourselves wanting to the duties which we owe to ourselves and our subjects, in suffering such disorder any longer to subsist in one of the most considerable branches of traffick in our kingdom; and we are also of opinion, that it is for the advantage and good of our state to re-establish and advance the French trade in the Indies, and to preserve the honour of the nation in paying those people their debts contracted by the company. For this effect, we have resolved to suppress the privileges granted to the companies of the Indies and of China, and to unite them to that of the West. The establishment of this company settled some time ago, the protection which we have given them, their prudent management, the credit which they have acquired, the consider-

(*n*) The king speaks of a second company, which succeeded that whereof I have spoken,

able funds which they will possess by the unanimous conjunction of these different companies; all these and many other advantages cause us to believe, that we could not trust the trade of the Indies, and of China, to better hands. Moreover, by this means, and by the union made between this company and that of the West, and Senegal, we unite in one sole company the trade carried on to the four quarters of the world. This company will have within itself every thing necessary for carrying on these different branches of trade; they will import into our kingdom things necessary, useful, and convenient; they will export the superfluous to foreign countries; they will increase navigation, and form officers, pilots, and sailors; and as their whole management will be regulated by the same maxims, there will arise union and oeconomy, on which depends the success of all mercantile enterprizes. FOR THESE CAUSES, and others us thereto moving, by the advice of our most dear and well-beloved uncle the duke of Orleans, grandson of France, regent, of our most dear and well-beloved uncle the duke of Chartres, first prince of our blood, of our most dear and well-beloved cousin the duke of Bourbon, prince of our blood, of our most dear and well-beloved uncle the count of Thoulouse, lawful prince, and other peers of France, great and notable personages of our realm; and by our certain knowledge, full power, and royal authority, we have by this present edict, perpetual, and irrevocable, enacted, statuted, and ordained, and enact, statute, and ordain, will, and our pleasure is;

I. That

I. That all privileges granted to the company of the Indies, and to that of China, shall remain extinct, revoked, and suppressed.

II. We have granted, and do grant to the company of the West, the sole privilege exclusive of all our other subjects, to trade from the Cape of Good Hope, in and through all the seas of the East-Indies, isles of Madagascar, Bourbon, and France, coast of Sofala in Africa, the Red-sea, Persia, Mogul, Siam, China, and Japan; as also from the straits of Magellan and le Maire into all the South-seas.

III. We prohibit all others our subjects to carry on any manner of trade in the said places, on pain of confiscation, for our use, of the ships, arms, stores, and merchandizes.

IV. We give and yield to the company of the West in absolute property, the lands, isles, forts, habitations, magazines, moveables, immoveables, rents, ships, barks, warlike stores, provisions, negroes, bestial, merchandizes, and in general, all that the company of the East-Indies, and that of China, have acquired, or conquered, or which has been yielded to them, as well in France, as in the Indies, and in China. . . On condition of making payment as well to the French as Indians, all lawful debts of the companies of the East-Indies and of China. . .

VI. To enable the company of the West to satisfy the creditors of that of the East, as well in France as in the Indies, and for the future to carry their commerce to all the extent it ought to have, a thing which cannot be done but by the help

help of considerable funds, we have permitted and do permit them to make to the amount of twenty-five millions of new actions, which cannot be bought except for ready money only, and on payment to the cashier of the said company of the West five hundred and fifty livres for each action; the which shall be of the same nature with the hundred millions of the company of the West, which are in the publick, and whereof the numbers shall immediately follow the last numeroes of the actions which constitute the first hundred millions; and in consideration of ten per cent. which the buyers shall pay above the par, we will that they enjoy the same advantages with the other actions.

IX. We permit the company to import from the countries in their charter, all sorts of stuffs of silk and cotton, mixed with gold and silver, of bark of trees, cottons dyed, painted and striped. Our will is, that the said merchandizes prohibited in the kingdom shall not be sold, but under express condition of their being exported to parts beyond seas; and that to this effect they shall be lodged and deposited in the warehouses of our general farms under two keys, whereof the farmers general, or their commissaries, to have one, and the directors of the company, or their overseers, another; and using all other precautions necessary to hinder the said merchandizes from being sold for the consumpt of the realm.

X. The said company may also import from the countries in their charter, all sorts of white cottons, raw silks, coffee, drugs, spiceries, metals,

tals, and others, excepting those prohibited by the preceding article, on paying the duties presently paid by the company of the Indies, according and conformable to the edicts, declarations, arrets, and regulations.

XI. We will that the company of the West be henceforth named and intituled *The company of the Indies*, and that they bear the same arms which the company of the West have used heretofore.

XII. We maintain and confirm the said company in all rights and privileges to them granted by the edicts of the months of August 1664 and 1685, and other declarations, regulations made in favour of their commerce, without exception, as if they had been renewed by these presents, in manner as the company of the Indies enjoys them; excepting such as have been revoked or explained, and without prejudice to the rights of the admiral of France, which he has or ought to enjoy, conformable to the declaration of the 3d of September 1712, and the regulations made in consequence thereof.

Also we give in charge, &c."

This new establishment gave so advantageous an idea of the company of the Indies, that strangers as well as French were eager to be admitted in the number of the proprietors. Although the king had ordained that actions should not be bought but on the footing of ten per cent. above par, the old ones were in so great request, even before the publication of the edict, that they arose to a hundred and thirty per cent. and that subscribers undertook for the new, for more than fifty

fifty millions, instead of the twenty-five millions; which had been fixed by the edict, his majesty was obliged to give a new arret in the month of June of the same year 1719, to give some order to the subscriptions, and to take some method to render them more difficult. The third article in effect bears, that besides the payment of ten per cent. of the total amount of the subscriptions, no person should be received to subscribe but who should undertake for four times the amount in old actions, as the sum for which each proprietor would subscribe in new ones should amount to; so that in order to subscribe for five thousand livres, he must undertake for twenty thousand livres of old actions. Besides, the book of subscriptions was to be open no longer than twenty days.

The credit and progress of the company advanced with such rapidity, that in the space of one year, they found themselves already in condition to render to the king and state the most important services. His majesty being willing to retire that immense quantity of billets which they had been obliged to make in order to carry on the wars of Louis XIV. created to this effect in the month of June 1720, the fund of twenty-five millions of rent of the town-house of Paris. But this sum being still insufficient to retire all these billets which circulated in the trade in a manner very little to it's advantage, the company of the Indies offered to supply that deficiency, and to free them at the rate of fifty millions per month, consecutively, till it should amount to six hundred millions of billets; so that on the first of August

1721, there remained none of them in the commerce. All the acknowledgement they asked was, to enjoy for ever all privileges which concerned their commerce in the different parts of the world where it extended. The king gave publick testimony to this generous zeal. He says in his arret of the month of July 1720, that having caused to examine this proposal in his council, it appeared to him so much the more advantageous, as it put him into a condition, without imposing any charge on the treasury or his subjects, to compleat the retiring out of the commerce all those billets which had not been discharged by the funds of the twenty-five millions of rent which he had created. In consequence, he granted to the company the perpetual enjoyment of the rights and privileges which had been regulated by the old arrets, and whereof they were in actual possession, and gave it the title of *The perpetual company of the Indies*. This edict contains fourteen articles, as flattering as they were advantageous.

Lastly, two years afterwards it was found and enacted, that the company was in condition to pay for ever without any diminution, ten per cent. on each action. As the funds had been of five hundred livres, the interest or the rent was fifty crowns, whereof the dividend has ever been paid with the greatest exactitude, without regard to the price of actions or the place. The company is not accountable to the proprietors for the detail of what they export or import. One year makes good the deficiencies of another; and the profits serve to augment and secure the capital of
the

the trade, as we shall see below. Thus it would be the greatest ignorance and injustice to imagine that any part of these profits goes into the king's coffers, and that the remainder is divided between the directors and the syndics.

Such were the different conditions of the company of the Indies from it's establishment to the union of all the companies in 1720. We have seen in this historical account, it's origin, it's privileges, their extensions and diminutions, by the different arrêts of the council, and lastly, it's decline and re-establishment. From this first part, which may be called the history of the company in France, we must pass to it's history in the East-Indies, where we shall see the company arrive by degrees to the most honourable and solid establishment imaginable. All I shall say in the sequel, shall be drawn from the archives and originals themselves, or from memoirs communicated to me by M. Dumas, who resided there near thirty years, during which time he was employed in the most distinguished offices, and at last, in that of governor general.

The city of Pondicherry being the seat of the French, who possess it in property, it is necessary to begin by the history of that establishment. We shall there see what I have already remarked, namely, the difference of the title whereby we possess, and of that whereby all the other European nations possess the places they occupy. They have seized them by violence, destruction, expulsion, bloodshed, and the force of arms, as their own histories testify. The French on the contrary

trary have acquired Pondicherry by the gracious and voluntary grant of the prince to whom it belonged, a thing as flattering as advantageous to the nation. In order to render the recital more authentick, I shall relate it as I find it in the archives of the company, No. 1.

In 1674, on the 9th of January, messieurs Baron and de la Haye, directors of the company in the East-Indies, perceiving that the Dutch, with whom France was then at war, kept them besieged by sea and land at St. Thomas, a city belonging to the Portugueze, besought the sieur Martin to go to Pondicherry, in order to wait on Chircam Loudi, governor, or rather master of all that country, under the authority of the king of Visapour, the declared friend of the French nation.

After the surrender of St. Thomas, messieurs Baron and de la Haye followed him with what troops they had left; and having spent some time there in order to become acquainted with the place and its advantages, M. Baron departed for Surat on the 6th of May, leaving about sixty French behind him, including the crew of the frigate called *la Diligente*. From thence he wrote to the company in France, that being deprived of St. Thomas, Pondicherry might be preferred to many other places on that coast; and that if they could obtain the property of the place, they might fortify themselves there in such a manner as to be afraid of nothing. He and the other directors applied their cares to bring this about.

M. Martin at the end of the year 1675, seeing that the condition to which he was reduced in the Indies would not suffer him to apply to commerce, that he might not leave the fund the company had there entirely uselefs, lent part of it on interest to the lord Chircam Loudi, at one and a half per cent. per month, which interest should replace part of the charges he had been at. The said sieur further observes, that tho' the company had been sufficiently advertised of the advantages they might expect from the settlement of a factory at Pondicherry, he could not dispense with letting them know, that there was no place on the coast where they could procure guineés and salempouris so easily and so cheap, as at Pondicherry; and that if the company wanted to the value of two hundred thousand crowns of these goods, it would not be difficult to get them together in a year, and even for a greater sum, provided they had advice from France time enough to take their measures beforehand.

In the year 1676, in the month of February, the lord Chircam Loudi who was entirely in the interests of the French nation, foreseeing the disputes he would have with the brother of the deceased regent Cavescam, governor of Gingy, which is the capital of the province, and his ordinary place of residence; and foreseeing likewise that the French who were then at Pondicherry, would not be free from the visits of the rovers, sent the sieur Martin three hundred infantry, to remain there and be at his command; and as the house where they and all the French dwelt (without including

cluding a captain and eight horsemen which had been there for some time) was spacious and defenceless, that general wrote to him to fortify it that he might remain there in some safety, which expence amounted to seven hundred crowns.

M. Martin, by his letter of the 17th of January 1677, informs the company, that he had let out in lease the Aldée of Pasquinambat, about a quarter of a league from Pondicherry; that it grew more beautiful and populous every day; and that since the three months he had been there, in order to direct the building a new village, there were already forty houses finished; that they still went on building, and that before six weeks were at an end, he could draw from thence every month one hundred and fifty pieces of guinees, which would increase in proportion as the village was peopled; and that to engage workmen to settle there, he had granted them a year of franchise, wherein they were to pay no duties, and that the price of the farm was good, considering he had caused value a great deal of land which had been abandoned.

In the year 1677, on the first of October, M. Martin observes to the company the great changes that had happened in the province of Gingy; that the lord Chircam Loudi hoping to finish the war against the duke of Gingy within the year, by making himself master of the city of Gingy, a place of great importance and of the utmost consideration in the Indies, an unexpected enemy had just broken all his measures, the execution whereof was of the greatest advantage to

the company. This enemy was Sivagy, who having become master in the kingdom of Golconda, obliged the king to pay him a considerable sum, made an alliance with this prince for the conquest of that part of the kingdom of Carnate which belonged to the king of Visapour, and then marched against the city of Gingy. The duke who held this place, and who perceived that his government was far from being settled, made his terms in a few days, put the place and all the other lands which he held of the dependencies of Gingy into the hands of Sivagy, in lieu of other lands which they had promised to give him in the kingdom of Golconda. Sivagy, sensible of his good fortune, after reducing the city of Gingy, marched his army against Velours, another fortress of consequence, heretofore the abode of the kings of Carnate. The governor who held it for the king of Visapour having always courageously defended himself, and still holding out; and Sivagy knowing from experience the vigorous resistance of that governor, and that he was not likely to reduce it soon, left troops before the place to block it up; and with the rest of his army, consisting of ten or twelve thousand horse, and twenty-five or thirty thousand foot, marched against Chircam, who had then no more than three thousand horse and a few thousand infantry. Chircam, having done every thing that a man of courage could do, and seeing that the chance was not equal, was obliged to retire in disorder, and went to a place called Bounegupamant, where he was besieged by Sivagy, and Chircam was obliged

liged a few days after, to render up to the conqueror the places which he held for the king of Visapour, and to pay him the sum of twenty thousand pagods. For security of the payment, he left his son as a hostage, and retired into the woods distant four days journey from Pondicherry, whence he dispatched several couriers to the court of Visapour, to give information of the state of the province.

The sieur Martin having received advice of the march of Sivagy towards Pondicherry, assembled a council to know what measures they were to take to secure themselves from the insults to which they were subject by the passing of armies; and altho' that prince declared himself the friend of his nation, he nevertheless took his precautions, and made use of a Portuguese ship which lay at anchor before Pondicherry to send the effects of the company in the Indies to Madras. The sieur Martin seeing that Chircam was in no condition to resist Sivagy, and that the small number of French in Pondicherry were not in condition to assist this general, took the resolution to send a bramin in the service of the company to visit Sivagy, and wrote to the prince to congratulate him on his coming into the province, and on his success. The bramin had three audiences by means of a friend of his order, who acted as lieutenant general in the army. Complaints were made in these audiences of the French nation for what they had done against the duke of Gingy; but the envoy gave satisfactory answers to all, excepting at the same

time against paying a sum of money which they demanded of the French nation, and at last obtained of Sivagy a caoul, which is an assurance, by which the French were allowed to continue at Pondicherry, but on condition that they should remain neuter in all his wars. Sivagy some time after drew near to Pondicherry, and being only eight leagues from it, the sieur Martin sent the sieur German to pay him a visit more in form than the first, with one Anthony Cattel a Portuguese linguist with some presents: they came to the camp, the presents were accepted with difficulty, because something of greater value was asked, and the French were anew confirmed by the letters of Sivagy, in the hopes which they already entertained from the caoul.

In the year 1679, the 18th of February, M. Martin, after having again acquainted the company with all the obligations which the French nation had to Chircam Loudi, told them farther, that this lord had joined a prince of these parts, called the Naik of Maravas, and that he had gained several considerable advantages over his enemies; and that the troops of Visapour were on their march to reduce the province to their duty, and that the king of Golconda was on the eve of losing a part of his estates, for having granted Sivagy passage thro' his country: that foreseeing that all these movements might cause some change in the province, and having no other motive but to secure the company's effects, he had pressed the lord Chircam Loudi to reimburse him not only of the sums which he had lent

lent him, but also for the interests, amounting in all to 69741 rials. By the same letter he observes, that there were thirty-four Frenchmen in Pondicherry, who were not well employed, but that this number was not amiss in the place, because of the state of the province, and the jealousy of the Dutch towards them.

In 1680, the 30th of September, M. Martin sent the copy of the firman to the company, for the gift whereof he made Sivagy a present of 500 pagods, worth 1600 roupies; and observes by the same letter, that being not able to get payment of the sums which he had lent to the lord Chircam Loudi, he had obtained of him the cession of the revenue of the lands of the district of Pondicherry till payment.

In 1686, the 30th of September, after considering that all the wars of the country were quieted, and that he was in a very peaceable situation, examining the smallness of the building which was covered only with thatch, he begun two great warehouses of brick, and other apartments of the same, which have since been finished.

In 1688, the 27th of September, M. Ceberet, who was then at Pondicherry, having examined the bad condition in which things then were, sought the means of confirming himself there by stealth, and begun to fortify himself, by erecting a strong wall on the western side, which has since been continued on the south, as well as the walls on the other sides of the lodge.

In 1689, the 10th of October, M. Martin used his influence with the officers of Sommagy

raïa, to get permission to fortify himself entirely in Pondicherry, which was granted him with great difficulty; nevertheless, having surmounted all obstacles, he obtained leave to flank the courtins with four towers. About this time he had certain information of the taking and death of Sommagy raïa, son of the famous Sivagy raïa, to whose dominions he had succeeded. That unfortunate prince, having been betrayed by one of his ministers into an ambush laid for him by the troops of the mogul, was afterwards carried before the conqueror, who ordered his eyes to be put out, and his head to be cut off, which was publickly exposed in several of the most considerable cities of the mogul territories: this cruel action compleated the disorder of the province.

In the same year they received advice in the Indies, of war being declared between France and Holland; and the Dutch, tho' not very strong on the coast, used all their endeavours to take it from the company, forasmuch as that post was a great eye-sore to them by the settlement of its commerce; however, they exerted themselves to the utmost to prevail on the mogul to take it from them; and perceiving that the first attack would not be sufficient to carry it, they were obliged to apply to Ali raïa, general governor of the province, by sending a deputy to him, with proposals to pay him a considerable sum of money for the subsistence of the army of Ranu raïa, successor and brother of Sommagy raïa, and to make him besides large presents, on condition he would

would abandon Pondicherry to them; but all these propositions were ineffectual. However, the French did not fail to be on their guard, mounting six pieces of cannon on each of the towers where they could all be easily managed, and placing barricades at the avenues of those streets which led to the lodge, guarded by the soldiers of the country.

In 1690, the 9th of September, the English and Dutch threatened to cannonade and demolish it: and in the year 1691, on the 26th of September, the sieur Martin perceiving that all their measures tended to get possession of that post, and that they were providing an armament of ships, barks, boats and sloops at Tontoucourin, sent away all the useless people to the Portuguese at St. Thomas, who gave them a very kind reception. He besides got together provisions and some other stores, and caused raise a redoubt on the place where the capuchins had begun to build their house: and caused fortify another spot of ground, where he imagined the enemy might probably make a lodgment.

All these preparations continued till 1693, when the Dutch fate down before Pondicherry, with a force sufficient to attack the strongest place in the Indies. Their squadron consisted of nineteen ships, several boats, sloops and small craft of the country; above 1500 regular troops under several good officers, a great number of sailors, above 2000 Boughis, Maccaffars and Cingales were landed, together with fifteen or twenty pieces of cannon carrying eighteen pound,
twenty-

twenty-four field-pieces, six mortars, and warlike stores much more than were necessary to carry the place; besides which they had obtained the assistance of the prince of the country, who had sold them Pondicherry with all its dependencies: this negotiation cost them above fifty thousand pagods. Pondicherry was vigorously attacked, and after a resistance of several days, the sieur Martin, seeing it impossible to hold out any longer, capitulated on the 6th of September, and obtained honourable terms.

In the beginning of the year 1699, Pondicherry was restored to the French company, in consequence of the treaty of Ryswick; who soon after gave orders to the sieur Martin to cause it to be fortified, and put into a posture of defence, in case a new war should break out. For this purpose they sent thither a great quantity of warlike stores, with two hundred French soldiers for a garrison, besides three hundred which the sieur Martin had brought from Bengal, part of whom were of the country, and called *Topases* soldiers: they likewise sent officers to command these troops, a commandant and two engineers to raise new fortifications, which they proposed to compleat in three or four years, the expence whereof might amount to 80000 livres.

The sieur Martin informed the company in the end of 1699, that he had caused a hundred houses to be built in the city, in order to increase it and engage the people of the country to reside there. It is a place of great consequence, in which there are at present, in 1710, above fifty or sixty thousand

land inhabitants, and will in time become one of the most considerable cities in the Indies, where there is a prospect of soon finding a large consumpt for the manufactures of France, and a great vent for wines and spirituous liquors.

This place has cost the company, from 1685 to the present year 1710, above eight hundred thousand livres, and does a great deal of honour to the French nation in the Indies. Here end the memoirs of the archives.

The declining state into which the trade of the company of the Indies afterwards fell, put a stop to the projects they had formed to aggrandize and fortify Pondicherry. In the mean time the number of the houses and inhabitants increasing every day, they came to the resolution to cause it to be surrounded with walls, and were at one part of the expence themselves, the inhabitants contributing the rest, every one being taxed at two sous per month, or a day's work. This imposition, tho' moderate, very much facilitated the advancement of the work, which was begun in 1723, and carried on with a great deal of assiduity.

The pains which the governors have been at in marking out the ground, and giving directions to each private person who asked leave to build, have insensibly formed as regular a city as if it had been traced out at once. The streets are entirely straight; and the principal street, which runs from south to north, is in length a thousand toises, or half a Parisian league, and that which crossed the city in the middle six hundred toises; the houses being every where contiguous. The
governor's

governor's is the principal house. On the other side, towards the west, lie the company's gardens, planted with fine alleys of trees which serve for publick walks, with a large building richly furnished, where foreign princes and ambassadors are lodged by appointment of the governor. The jesuits have a fine house, in which are twelve or fifteen priests, who teach the youth reading, writing and mathematicks, but latin is not taught at all in the city. There are only two or three priests in the house of the messieurs of the foreign missions; and about seven or eight in the convent of the capuchins. Some private persons who are rich are very well accommodated in their houses, tho' they consist of only one story, as is usual in most of the cities of the province. The gentiles or idolaters have two pagods, which were preserved at the request of the kings of the country, with bramins or brames, according to the pronounciation of the place. They are poor, but indefatigable and laborious, and in effect are the sole source of the riches of the city and country. Their houses are commonly eight fathom in length and six in breadth, containing above fifteen or twenty persons; and all so dark, that it is difficult to conceive how they are able to carry on their manufactures for want of light. Most of them are weavers, painters of stuffs, and goldsmiths. They pass the night in their courts or on the tops of their houses, lying almost naked on a mat; which is indeed common to them with the rest of the inhabitants. For Pondicherry lying in the twelfth degree of northern latitude,
and

and consequently in the torrid zone, is not only very hot, but, throughout the whole year, it never rains there except for seven or eight days at most, about the end of October, which indeed constantly happens, and is perhaps one of the most extraordinary phenomena in nature. The best pagan workman does not gain above two sous, a day; which is yet sufficient to maintain his wife and children. Rice boiled in water, which is very cheap, is their only food; unleavened cakes baked in the ashes are the only bread they use, and that very seldom, altho' there is as good bread at Pondicherry as in Europe itself. Notwithstanding the dryness of the country, it produces a prodigious quantity of rice, which may be said to grow only in water, all owing to the indefatigable labour and industry of the pagans. At certain distances in the fields they dig wells from ten to twelve feet in depth, and fix a swive on the top, with a weight without and a great bucket within. A pagan gets upon the middle of the swive, and works it by leaning alternately with one foot on each side, singing, as he makes each movement, in the malabar their ordinary language, *and one, and two, and three, &c.* reckoning in this manner how many buckets he has drawn. This well being exhausted, he goes to another, and so on thro' the whole day. These people distribute and manage the water with a surprising dexterity. They preserve it as in Egypt, in ponds, lakes and canals, after the overflowing of the great rivers, such as the Colram, which is not far from thence. But the mahometans or moguls, commonly called *Moors,*

Moors, altho' white, the reason and origin of that name not being known, are as lazy and indolent as the pagans are industrious.

The city of Pondicherry lies about forty or fifty fathoms from the sea, which does not flow above two feet in that place. It is no more than a road, to which vessels cannot get up; so that mercantile goods must be brought in boats from the distance of a league out at sea; which is no small defect in that city, so plentiful and flourishing in every thing else. Living at this place costs almost nothing, and all sorts of provisions are exceeding good, as well butcher's meat, as wild-fowl and fish. If they want the summer fruits which grow in Europe, the country produces others which we have not, and which are better than ours.

The governor general of the company has twelve horse-guards, cloathed in scarlet, with a black facing and a border of gold; their captain is cloathed in the same manner, but with lace on the borders and seams. He has also three hundred foot-guards, called *Pions*, who, upon occasion, are made use of in other services. All this retinue accompanies the governor, when he receives a king, a prince, or an ambassador extraordinary. In these ceremonies, wherein there is a necessity of conforming to the pomp of the Orientals, he is carried by six men on a palanquin, the couch and canopy of which are adorned with embroidery and tassels of gold; and he appears in the country with a magnificence suitable to the rank he possesses.

According to the latest computation, there were

were reckoned in Pondicherry a hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, christians, mahometans, and gentiles. The city has several great magazines, six gates, a citadel, eleven forts or bastions, and four hundred and five pieces of cannon mounted upon the walls, besides bombs, mortars, and other pieces of artillery in the arsenal. In fine, it is one of the finest and strongest places at this day on all the coast of Coromandel.

The reputation which the French enjoy in this place, and we may add the wise conduct of M. Dumas, who was made governor in 1735, have acquired those privileges, honours, distinctions and advantages from the Indian princes, which are so extremely flattering to the nation.

The first favour of this kind was the permission to coin money with the stamp of the mogul emperor, a privilege the Dutch have never been able to obtain, notwithstanding the great offers of gold and silver they made for it. It is true, the English have enjoyed it for some time; but different revolutions have determined them to abandon it. This favour was granted to M. Dumas, in 1736, by a firman or letters patent, of Mahomet Shah, mogul emperor, addressed to the nabob or viceroy of the province of Arcatte.

Immediately upon receiving the paravana he made use of it, perceiving the advantage of it to the affairs of the company of the Indies; and from 1737 to the end of 1741, when he returned into France, he caused coin to the amount of five or six millions of roupies each year. This coin is a piece of silver, bearing the stamp of the mogul,

mogul, something larger than ours of twelve sols; and at least three times its thickness. Its value is forty-eight sols.

In order to conceive the advantage of this new privilege to the company, it is necessary to know that M. Dumas conforming himself to the value of the mogul roupies, put the same alloy in those of Pondicherry, and established the same duty of seven per cent. . Now according to the calculation which has been made, it has been found, that by the coinage of these five to six millions of roupies; value in specie above twelve millions of livres, the company have drawn from thence four hundred thousand livres of profit yearly. This profit increases daily by the surprising circulation of the roupies of Pondicherry in trade, where they begin to be better received than all other monies of the Indies. They are not only made of the ingots which the company commonly sends thither; but also all the other nations carry thither their bullion, whereon the mint makes a profit in proportion to the quantity of alloy.

Henceforth there are none but pagods and schins which can rival the money of Pondicherry in trad. The pagod is the ancient money of the Indies, being a piece of gold, exactly of the shape of a small waistcoat button, and of the value of eight livres ten sols. The under part is flat, representing an idol of the country; and the upper part is round, and marked with small grains, like some sorts of sleeve buttons. The schin is a piece of very fine gold, and worth ten livres of our money. It is a little broader than a piece of
twelve

twelve fols, but not so thick; on which account most of them are crooked; and in examining a purse of them, which came from the Indies, I scarce found one that was otherwise. Some are bored thro', because the Indian women wear them about their necks like medals. These pieces are very common in the country, and coined only at Venice. They come thither by means of the Venetians, who carry on a very considerable trade at Bassora in the bottom of the Persian gulph, at Moka in the straits of Babel-mandel, and at Gedda, which is the port of Mecca. The Indians carry thither every year a much greater quantity of merchandizes than the French, Dutch, English, and Portuguezé take off; and sell them to the Persians, Egyptians, Turks, Ruffians, Poles, Swedes, Germans and Genoese, who all come to purchase them in one of these three ports, and then carry them to their own country by way of the Mediterranean or on land carriages.

That esteem which the Indians entertain for the French, appeared in a remarkable manner about five years ago, when a king, who was driven from his dominions, had recourse to them in order to recover his throne, tho' he might have asked the assistance of the Dutch and English, who are much more powerful, and have settlements nearer his capital. This preference piqued and irritated them not a little against us.

Cidogy king of Tanjaour, dying in the month of February 1738, left his kingdom to Sahagy Maha Rajou his nephew. A natural son of the king, who had possessed a large share of the government

during his father's life-time, having made a considerable party at court, seized on the palace and places of strength in the city of Tanjaour by force of arms. Sahagy having just had time to save himself on horseback with a few of his friends, passed the Coldram (*a*), and retired to Chalambron (*b*), a large fortified pagod twenty leagues to the north of Tanjaour, and eight to the south of Pondicherry. There he was joined by some troops; but wanting arms and warlike stores, the governor, who is a Moor, advised him to enter into a friendship with the French, who, he assured him, by their bravery and generosity, were more capable, than any other nation to furnish him with the necessary succours to recover his throne. The prince took his advice, and sent three envoys to the sieur Dumas at Pondicherry, to treat with him, and obtain the necessary succours from him; offering to give to the French by way of acknowledgment the city of Karical, the fort of Karcangery, and ten villages in the country adjacent, with all the lands depending on them. The company of the Indies and the governors of Pondicherry, had been long sensible of the utility of a settlement in the territories of the king of Tanjaour; and had often endeavoured to obtain it, tho' in vain, being prevented by the intrigues of the Dutch settled at Negapatam; that nation had

(*a*) A great river of the Coromandel coast which separates the dominions of the king of Tanjaour from those of the great mogul,

(*b*) This great pagod, which is surrounded by very thick and high walls, belongs to the Moors, who maintain a governor and a garrison there.

even found means to engage the king of Tanjaour to drive the French from a settlement called Cancripatuam, which the old company of the Indies had made on his dominions on the Coromandel coast in 1688.

The sieur Dumas thought it his duty to take advantage of this favourable opportunity: he made a treaty with the envoys of Sahagy, whereby he obliged himself to furnish that prince with two hundred thousand livres of our money, in silver, arms, gun-powder, and other warlike stores, promising at the same time to give him all the other assistance in his power; in consideration of which the king of Tanjaour sent him a formal cession in favour of the French nation, of the city of Karical, the fortress of Karcangery, and the lands depending on them. The sieur Dumas immediately caused equip two large ships belonging to the company, the Bourbon of sixty guns, and the St. Geran of forty, and embarked troops on board them, with artillery and all other warlike stores, in order to take possession of Karical, and carry the stipulated succours to the king of Tanjaour. While these things were in agitation, Sahagy Marajou having gained by his large promises the principal lords of the usurper's party, a sudden revolution happened in his favour, Cidogy was seized in his palace; and Sahagy, who had hitherto remained at Chalambrou, returning with all expedition to Tanjaour, was unanimously proclaimed king. The usurper having been delivered into his hands, he ordered him to be quartered, and one quarter to be set up on

each gate of the city. In the time that this sudden revolution was carrying on at Tanjaour, the French ships set sail for Karical, where they cast anchor in the beginning of August.

As soon as the Dutch at Negapatam, which is but four leagues from Karical, perceived them, and were informed of the treaty they had concluded with the king, they sent in all haste trusty persons to Tanjaour with presents to engage that prince and his ministers not to execute the treaty; and even employed menaces to deter them from it. This gentile king, little regardful of his word, and not having any more the same necessity for the succours which the governor of Pondicherry had provided him, not only deferred under frivolous pretexts to cause render up the fortress and city of Karical, to the commandant of the ships sent by the sieur Dumas to take possession of them; but it may also be presumed that he had given secret orders to hinder their landing. One of his generals called Kansaeb, who commanded a body of three or four thousand men in those quarters, came down to the sea-side, and sent word to the French commander, that if he landed any of his men, he would give orders to charge them on the spot. The two ships having been two months at anchor before Karical, the sieur Dumas sent orders to them to return to Pondicherry. It would have been easy for him, notwithstanding the menaces of Kansaeb, to have made himself master of Karical. But this could not have happened without the loss of lives on both sides; such expedients were very improper
to

to form an establishment, whose principal object was trade; and it was not fit to irritate the king and the people of the country against the French nation. This prince however always promised to execute the treaty in a little time; after he he should have made peace with the nabob of Trichenapoly, with whom he was at war; and who held him almost shut up in the city of Tanjaour, from whence he dared not to stir. This viceroy, whose name was Sander Saheb, was a particular friend of the sieur Dumas, and had a great esteem for the nation. Having been informed of the treaty which the French had concluded with the king of Tanjaour, and that this prince eluded the execution of it, he wrote to the sieur Dumas, offering to drive Kansab from the territories of Karical, to take the fortress of Karangery, and to deliver the whole into his hands: the sieur Dumas accepted his offers. This mogul general, who is renowned throughout all the Indies for his bravery and generosity, did not delay the execution of his promise; he caused four thousand horse to march towards Karical, commanded by the sieur Francis Pereyra, a Spaniard by nation, one of his principal officers, and who had been for a long time very much attached to the French.

The commandant of the king of Tanjaour's forces in the territories of Karical, took to flight at the approach of those of the nabob, thinking he had all the army of this viceroy to deal with. He abandoned the country to him, leaving only between three and four hundred men in the fort.

of Karçangery, which the sieur Pereyra caused immediately to be stormed, and made himself master of it, the enemy not daring so much as to put themselves in a posture of defence. This action happened the sixth of February 1739. The sieur Pereyra having left the command of his detachment to a Moorish officer, hastened to Pondicherry with this news, and to offer to put in execution the promises of the nabob Sander Saheb. The sieur Dumas caused that instant equip a small vessel of one hundred and fifty tuns burthen, which lay ready in the road of Pondicherry, and along with her as many troops and warlike stores as she could contain. The sieur Pereyra thereupon returned to Karical; they arrived in twenty-four hours, and as soon as they had landed, the sieur Pereyra and the Moorish governor delivered up to the French the city of Karical and fort of Karçangery, in pursuance of the order they had received from their general. The act of taking possession bears date the 14th of February 1739; three or four days after the sieur Dumas gave orders to fit out a great ship loaded with every thing necessary to put the settlement in a state of security.

The king of Tanjaour received this news without much regret; he had not eluded the execution of his treaty with the French, but at the solicitation of the Dutch who had given him money; he was moreover well pleased that the French should form an establishment in his country, of which the agent, retained by the sieur Dumas, made him see the advantages; and fear-
ing

ing on the other hand, that the French would not pay him the sum they had promised, he wrote to the governor of Pondicherry, complaining that he had made use of the Moors his enemies, to make himself master of a place which he had given him, assuring him at the same time, that he had never for one single instant abandoned the design of executing the treaty of Chalambron in all its extent. He sent him the ratification of it, with orders to all the inhabitants of Karical, and its dependencies, to acknowledge for the future the French as their sovereigns. These instruments are dated the 20th of April 1739.

Scarce had Sahagy Marajou dispatched them, when his two uncles who had restored him to the throne, dissatisfied with his conduct, caused him to be arrested in his palace; and put Pradap-singue one of his cousins in his place, who a few days after ordered that unhappy prince to be suffocated in a bath of warm milk.

The new king who had made his peace with the Moors, sent almost at that instant the ratification of the treaty made with his predecessor, to the governor of Pondicherry, and even granted him a larger extent of land, by means of some presents added to the sum promised in the treaty.

The French have been since that time in peaceable possession of Karical, where they have fortified themselves; and king Pradap-singue has been to pay them a visit with all his court, in the beginning of the year 1741, and confirmed at Karical all their privileges.

The establishment of Karical is situated on the coast of Coromandel, in ten degrees thirty-five minutes north latitude, and seventy-eight of longitude from the meridian of Paris, four leagues north from the city of Negapatam belonging to the Dutch, two leagues south from Tranquebar, an establishment belonging to the Danes, and twenty-five leagues south from Pondicherry.

This establishment contains as follows, viz.

The city of Karical, which is very ancient, and appears to have been very considerable; there remain in it at this day upwards of six hundred houses of stone and brick, without reckoning those made of clay and covered with straw: and it is reckoned to contain five mosques, five large pagods, nine small ones, and above five thousand inhabitants. This city is situated on one of the branches of the Colram, into which those vessels of the country called Champanes, of two or three hundred tuns burthen, as also sloops and long boats of men of war of fifty guns, may easily enter.

The fortress of Karcangery seems to be very ancient. It is built after the country fashion, being flanked with eight large towers; and lies about a cannon shot from the city of Karical, and half a quarter of a league from the sea-side; the French have blown up part of it, having judged it more convenient to settle themselves at the entrance on the banks of that branch of the Colram which runs to Karical.

Tiroumale Rayan Patuam is a very considerable town, lying to the south of Karical, and one of its

its dependencies, being about a league distant from it, and one thousand two hundred fathoms from the sea: it consists of five hundred brick houses, four mosques, four large pagods, twenty-eight small ones, and twenty-five inns for the reception of travellers. According to a computation that was made at taking possession of it, it contained two thousand five hundred men.

The rest of the territory of Karical consists of nine towns or villages, extending to five or six leagues round. The soil is excellent, very fertile, and abounding in rice, cotton, indigo, and other grain: a great quantity of cotton and painted stuffs are manufactured there.

The revenues of the lands of Karical and its dependencies, the farms of tobacco and betel, and the customs, amount annually to ten thousand pagods of gold, near one hundred thousand livres of our money.

It may be said with truth, that none of the European nations possess on the Coromandel coast an establishment so considerable and extensive.

Thus the honour and dominions of the French in the Indies continued to increase in a glorious manner, when there happened one of the greatest and most fatal revolutions that had been seen for a long time in the peninsula within the Ganges. An irruption of barbarous gentiles threatened to swallow up and destroy every thing; the wise conduct of the governor of Pondicherry put a stop to their fury, delivered those from the sword
 who

who would otherwise have been its victims, and and at last dispelled the storm.

To trace this event up to the principles which gave occasion to it, it perhaps would be necessary to give an account of the war which Mahomet Schah, emperor of the Moguls, maintained in 1735 and 1736 against Nadir Schah king of Persia, better known under the name of Thamas Kouli Kan, which he bore when a private man, and with which all the universe has rung. But the history of that incurfion being already written, I refer the reader to it, not having myself any new memoirs on that subject.

After the mogul emperor had been dethroned and made prisoner in his capital, from whence the conqueror carried off immense treasures, some nabobs (c) or viceroys of the peninsula, imagined this was a favourable moment to aspire to an independent sovereignty. They flattered themselves they might attempt it with so much the more success, as there was no appearance that the king of Persia, after having traversed so vast an extent of country, and having been so well rewarded for his enterprize, should think of coming to attack them in a region so little known to him, as was the neighbourhood of cape Comorin. It was towards these provinces that the nabob of Arcatte, Daoust Aly Kan, the same who had granted the French leave to coin money, flattered himself with the hopes of erecting a kingdom for his

(c) Archives of the company of the Indies, n. 161, c. 83. l. 1. f. 3. with a private memoir.

eldest son Sabder Aly Kan, and another for his son-in-law Sander Saheb, young men, ambitious indeed, but destitute of the necessary talents to succeed in such a design. Arcatte is a large city, thirty leagues south-west of Pondicherry, and one of the ugliest in the world.

The moguls, who had extended their conquests far into that part of the Indies under the reign of Aurengezebe, of whom I have spoken, had still suffered the kingdoms of Trichenapaly, Tanjaour, Madura, Maiffour, and Marava, to subsist. These estates were governed by gentile princes, subjected to pay an annual tribute to the mogul emperor, which they did not always perform with the greatest punctuality. From time to time the emperor had been obliged to send his armies against them, in order to force them to satisfy his demands. They came at last to be in great arrears, thro' the weakness of the government of Mahomet Schah, more taken up with the pleasures of his seraglio, than with the cares of his dominions, which he abandoned to ministers as voluptuous and dissipated as himself.

Daoust Aly Kan, nabob of Arcatte, laid hold of this circumstance to make war upon the gentile princes his neighbours. He assembled an army of horse from twenty-five to thirty thousand, with a proportionable number of infantry, the command whereof he gave to Sabder Aly Kan his son; and Sander Saheb his son-in-law, who began their warlike operations by seizing the territories of Trichenapaly, and laying siege to the capital, a large populous city, lying
about

about thirty-five leagues south-west of Pondicherry. It was compleatly invested by the army of the Moors on the 6th of March 1736, and taken by assault the 26th of April following. Sabder Aly Kan established his brother-in-law Sander Saheb in the government of Trichenapaly, who took upon him the title of nabob or viceroy.

After having made themselves masters of all the country, they invaded the kingdom of Tanjaour, and laid siege to the capital of the same name, where Sahagy the king had shut himself up with all the troops he could get together. That place being very well fortified for people unacquainted with the methods employed in Europe, by which the strongest and best-defended cities are at last taken, they turned the siege into a blockade, after having attacked it to no purpose for the space of six months.

While Sander Saheb commanded at the siege, his brother Bara Saheb advanced towards the south with a detachment of fifteen thousand horse, and made himself master of Marava, Madura, and the country about cape Comorin. Then ascending along the Malabar coast, he pushed his conquests into the province of Travancour. In these circumstances it was, that Sander Saheb put the French in possession of Karical, as we have already related.

All the gentile princes, greatly alarmed at those conquests, dispatched messengers on messengers to the king of the Marattes, representing to him, that if they were not speedily assisted, their principalities and religion must be entirely destroyed by

by the mahometans. The chief ministers of that prince, most of whom are bramins, persuaded him that it was an indispensable article of his duty to comply with their request.

This king is named Maha Raja, professes the same religion, that is to say, the same idolatry with the people of Trichenapaly and Tanjaour, and reigns over a vast extent of country. He has frequently with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand horse, and as many infantry, ravaged the dominions of the mogul, and drawn from thence immense contributions. The Marattes his subjects are little known in Europe. War is their chief business. They dwell on the south-east of the mountains which lie beyond Goa towards the Malabar coast; the capital of their country, a very considerable city, is called Satara.

The solicitations of the king of Tanjaour and the other gentile princes, together with the desire to pillage a country, that had been long enriched by the gold and silver which all the nations of the world had carried thither for the purchase of their commodities, at last determined Maha Raja king of the Marattes to send thither an army of sixty thousand horse, and a hundred and fifty thousand foot, under the command of Ragogi Boufoula Sena Saheb Soula, his eldest son, who began his march in the month of October 1739.

Daoust Aly Kan, nabob of Arcatte, having had advice of their approach, wrote to his son and son-in-law, who still kept the king of Tanjaour blocked up in his capital, to join him with
all

all expedition, in order to cover their own dominions. But these two generals, loth to abandon their conquests, were in no haste to obey. The army of the Marattes advanced in the mean time by long marches to Arcatte, pillaging and ravaging all the country through which they passed.

The nabob, having assembled all the troops he had left, took possession of the straits of the mountains of Canamay, twenty-five leagues to west of Arcatte, a very difficult pass, which a small number of troops might defend against the most numerous army. He likewise caused all the other places, thro' which he thought the Marattes might penetrate into his dominions, to be guarded.

They arrived at the mountains of Canamay in the month of May 1740: but perceiving that they could not force the nabob in his post, without great loss, they encamped at the entrance of the defiles, and sent some of their people to a gentile prince, who guarded another passage with five or six thousand men, on whom Daoust Aly Kan had imagined he might depend. But that prince soon suffered himself to be corrupted by the remonstrances, the promises and money of the Marattes. His bramins removed the difficulties which he had to consent to this piece of treachery, by giving him to understand that the success of this war might destroy the mahometan superstition in their part of the world, and re-establish the religion of their ancestors. He promised to deliver the passage which he guarded to the Marattes;

rattes; and while they were amusing the nabob with slight skirmishes, they marched their troops towards the small defile, of which they took possession on the nineteenth of May. From thence they marched to surprize him in the rear, and had come within two cannon shot of him, before he had any intelligence of his having been betrayed.

When he was informed that on the side of Arcatte there appeared a body of cavalry advancing towards his camp, he imagined they were the troops of his sons coming to join him. But as soon as he heard the furious discharges of the musketry, he no longer doubted that they were the Marattes who attacked him. His son Aly Kan and several general officers immediately mounted their elephants, and defended themselves with much valour and intrepidity. But they were overwhelmed by so great a fire and such a terrible discharge from the slings, that all those who accompanied them either perished or took to flight. The nabob and his son, having received several wounds by gunshot, fell dead from their elephants; and their fall occasioned so great a panic, that the rout became general throughout the army. Almost all the general officers were killed or trod under foot by the elephants, which sunk down to the middle of the leg in the mud; the ground being extremely wet by the rains which fell the night before. Some who had been present at the engagement, affirm, that never field of battle presented a sight more hideous, of horses, camels, and elephants wounded

wounded and furious, mingled and overwhelmed together with officers and soldiers, sending forth frightful cries, making vain efforts to escape from the sloughs full of blood wherein they were plunged, and stifling and crushing to pieces those wounded soldiers who wanted strength to rise.

Cityzor Kan, general of the mogul army, and intimate friend of Imam Saheb governor of Masulipatan, and one who had done the company the most important services, was shot in five places, and besides dreadfully wounded by a stone from a sling, which struck out one of his eyes and overthrew him from his elephant, after he had defended himself a long time against that multitude of enemies which environed him *. His domesticks who were about him, seeing him fall to the ground, carried him to a neighbouring wood, and thought of nothing but making their escape from the enemy. After a march of ten or twelve days, they arrived at Alemparvè, otherwise Jorobandel, with their wounded master. His jawbone was broke in pieces, and half of his tongue carried away by a musket-ball; another had lodged in his breast, and three more in his back, and one of his eyes was struck out. The surgeon major to the company was sent to him, who waited on him five and twenty days, without being able to save him; this brave officer died thirty-five days after the battle. On the approach of the Marattes, Imam Saheb had retired to Jorobandel; and when he saw his friend arrive in

* It may here be remarked, that a discharge of slings from the Marattes, is more terrible than the most violent fire of muskets.

that condition, he was penetrated with grief; he never left him a moment till his death, at which he felt the deepest concern.

This dreadful battle was fought on Friday the 20th of May 1740. The Marattes took a great number of prisoners, the chief of whom were Taqua Saheb, grand divan, son-in-law of Daoust Aly Kan, and the nabob Eras Kan Mirzoutou, general of the horse. They plundered the camp, carried off the military chest, and took the standard of Mahomet and that of the emperor, above forty elephants, and a great number of horses. The body of Aly Daoust Kan was found among the dead, but that of his son could not be distinguished, which without doubt had been crushed to pieces by the elephants, as had been the case of many others.

As soon as the report of this defeat was spread thro' the country, the alarm and consternation which it occasioned are inexpressible. People at Pondicherry would not believe it, even when they saw a prodigious multitude of Moors and gentiles running thither for shelter, and earnestly demanding an asylum, as in a place which they reckoned the safest of all the coast, and where they expected to meet with the greatest assistance and the most humane reception. In short, the crowd became so prodigious, that they were obliged to cause the gates to be shut against them. M. Dumas, the governor, let the world see of what he was capable in such a juncture. He greatly reinforced the gate of Valdaour; he was

there night and day, preventing confusion, and giving the necessary orders. The quantity of grain and baggage of all kinds, which on that occasion came into Pondicherry during fifteen days, is incredible. The houses and the streets were so filled with them, that it was with difficulty one could pass along; all the merchants within and without the city, who had considerable quantities of effects at Arcatte or in the country, having caused them to be carried thither, at the first news of the approach of the Marattes.

On the 25th of May, the fifth after the battle, the widow of the nabob Daoust Aly Kan, all the women of his family and their children, presented themselves before the gate of Valdaour, earnestly beseeching that they might be received into the city, to which they had brought all the gold, silver, jewels, and other valuable effects which they could get together.

This was a delicate juncture for the French. It was to be feared that the Marattes, when informed of the place where the whole family of the nabob had taken refuge with their treasures, would lay siege to Pondicherry, in order to carry them off. On the other hand, the French would be dishonoured throughout all the Indies, if they refused to receive that fugitive family, which had commanded for a long time in the province, and had favoured them on all occasions. Besides, the least revolution might bring about a change in the face of affairs, and oblige the Marattes to return to their own country; in which case Subder Aly Kan and all his family would become the irrecon-

irreconcilable enemies of the French, and take all the revenge against them in their power.

The governor, resolving to take nothing upon himself, assembled the sovereign council. He laid before them the reasons which weighed on either side; but he made it appear that gratitude, honour, humanity, and those sentiments wherein the nation placed their glory, would not permit them to send back a family so respectable, and so many unfortunate persons who came to throw themselves into their arms; therefore he was of opinion to receive them, and to grant them the protection of their standard. This resolution was generally approved in the council, and applauded by all the French in Pondicherry.

Immediately they went in great ceremony to meet the nabob's widow, all the garrison was put under arms, and the ramparts were manned. The governor in a magnificent palanquin, accompanied by all his horse and foot guards, went to receive her at the gate of Valdaour. That princess, her daughters and relations, were in two and twenty palanquins, followed by a detachment of one thousand five hundred horsemen, eighty elephants, three hundred camels, above two hundred chariots drawn by oxen, in which were their retinue, and lastly, above two thousand beasts of burthen. As soon as the princess entered the city, she was saluted by a general discharge of the cannon in the citadel, and conducted with all her relations to the apartments provided for her: all the mogul officers gave marks of extreme joy and

satisfaction at the good reception they met with on this occasion.

Never was a day more glorious and flattering to Pondicherry and the French nation in the Indies. It had been in appearance safer and more obvious, for the widow of the nabob and all that fugitive people, to take refuge at Porto-Novo, Tranquebar or Negapatam, among the English and the Dutch, nearer and more powerful than us. But all, without hesitation, came to put themselves under the protection of the French; evidently shewing that they had more esteem and reposed greater confidence in them, than in all the other nations of Europe.

In the mean time Sabder Aly Kan, eldest son of Aly Daoust Kan, with eight hundred horse, arrived within a day's march of Arcatte, two days after the battle. But being informed of his father's death, and the fatal issue of the engagement, his men abandoned him, and he was obliged to take shelter in the fortress of Velours. Sander Saheb his brother-in-law, having left Trichena-paly with four hundred horse, to come to the assistance of his father-in-law, was likewise informed on the road of this melancholy piece of news, and found all the country already in arms against the Moors. Several paliagares or petty princes in the neighbourhood, and the mainards, or provosts of the jurisdiction, carried away by the general fright and the torrent, declared against him, and formed a resolution to seize him, and deliver him up to the general of the Marattes, in
order

order to gain his favour. But having got intelligence of their design, he made a hasty retreat to the fortress of Trichenapaly, where he shut himself up.

The next day after the battle, the general of the Marattes entered Arcatte, of which he made himself master without any opposition. All the city was plundered, and part of it burnt, after the barbarians had made a prodigious booty. Afterwards they sent different detachments on all sides, in order to lay the country under contribution. Nothing escaped their cruelty and avarice. It being a law amongst them, that the chiefs of those flying parties should have for their share one half the booty they make, they exercised all imaginable barbarities against the gentiles, tho' of the same religion, and still greater against the Moors or Mahometans. They carried iron chairs along with them, to which they chained down those whom they were to put to the question, having first stript them naked; then they set fire under them, and thus tortured them till they had discovered all their effects to the last roupie. The number of people that perished by this cruel treatment, and the sword, is almost incredible, for they put to the sword those who were poor and had nothing to give. All the places into which they made their irruptions were utterly ruined and destroyed; which occasioned a great loss to the country in the manufacture of stuffs, most of the gentiles being weavers, and very dextrous at that business.

While these barbarians were thus laying waste

the province of Arcatte and the neighbouring country, Sabder Aly Kan, still shut up in the fortess of Velours, sent deputies to the chief of the Marattes, to make proposals for an accommodation. After various negotiations, the treaty was concluded on the following mortifying conditions: That Sabder Aly Kan should succeed his father in the place of nabob of Arcatte; that he should pay to the Marattes a hundred lacs, or a hundred millions of roupies; that he should evacuate all the territories of Trichenapaly and of Tanjaour; that he should join his troops to those of the Marattes, to drive his brother-in-law Sander Saheb out of the city, fortress and territory of Trichenapaly, which he had seized; lastly, that all the gentile princes of the Coromandel coast should be reinstated in the possession of those countries they had occupied before the war. This treaty was signed at Arcatte, towards the end of August 1740.

Tho' the Maratte general might very well be satisfied with it, two other reasons engaged him to comply; the motions of the king of Golconda, and the firmness of the French.

As soon as Nazar Sinque, soubah of Golconda, and son of Nisam El Mouk, chief minister to the mogul, was informed of the devastations those foreign barbarians were committing in Carnate, he thought it his duty to endeavour to stop their progress, that he himself might not fall a victim to them. He set out on his march against them with an army of sixty thousand cavalry, and a hundred and fifty thousand foot. But at his arrival

val on the banks of the Quichena, twelve days march from Arcatte, he found the river so swollen that it was impossible to pass any farther. The Maratte general being informed of his approach, and knowing that he only waited the fall of the waters to continue his march, was afraid of losing all the advantages he had gained by the arrival of so formidable an enemy; this reflection facilitated the conclusion of the treaty with Sabder Aly Kan.

The resistance made by the French entirely determined him. Above a year before this incursion, a Moor of distinction came on purpose to inform the governor of Pondicherry, who was his particular friend, of this affair, and would not leave him, till he had taken it down in writing. It is not known in what manner, a person at so great a distance, and so long before, could come to the knowledge of it. The moment he received intelligence of the first motions of the Marattes, M. Dumas took every proper measure for his security. The fortifications of the city were not as yet compleated on the side of the sea, wherefore he caused build a strong wall on both sides of the city, in order to shut up an interval of forty or fifty toises which remained open from the houses to the sea; he repaired the old fortifications, built new ones, furnished the place with provisions and warlike stores, put arms in the hands, not only of the garrison and the guards, but of all the inhabitants of the city who were in a condition to bear them, and appointed to every one his post and his

office. These preparations for defence partly engaged the people of the neighbourhood to run thither in crowds, demanding an asylum after the battle of Canamay.

The event justified the wisdom of all those precautions. The conquering general having taken possession of Arcatte, threatened to attack Pondicherry with all his forces, unless he had immediate satisfaction made by the payment of considerable sums. Several letters passed between him and the French governor on this head. The Marratte general demanded fifteen millions of livres as a preliminary to the treaty, an annual tribute to be paid, and the wife and son of Sander Kan, with his elephants, horses and riches, to be delivered up to him. But M. Dumas shewed by his answers that he was not terrified at his menaces. And indeed he had made sufficient preparations against any sudden attack of those barbarians, having laid in a great quantity of provisions and warlike stores in the city, and mounted above four hundred pieces of cannon and mortars on the fortifications. He had likewise formed a body of infantry consisting of twelve hundred Europeans, whom he exercised daily both in the service of the cannon and the musketry; and another of Malabars or mahometans, to the number of four or five thousand, who, tho' not much to be depended on, being bad soldiers, yet greatly relieved the garrison, as they mounted guard regularly on the bastions and courtines.

Thus they continued under arms at Pondicherry from the month of May 1740, to April 1741.

In

In the mean time Ragogi Boufoula general of the Marattes ravaged and laid waste all the country about, being more intent upon making booty than taking places and keeping them. He found most resistance at Trichenapaly, of which he was desirous to make himself master, that he might take Sander Saheb who had shut himself up there, and still defended himself with a great deal of courage. Trichenapaly is a strong city for the Indies, being surrounded with a strong high wall, and flanked with towers at certain distances, with a double rampart and a ditch full of water. The Marattes, after having entirely invested it, opened the trenches on the 15th of December, and formed four attacks, which they pushed vigorously by sapping the walls under galleries that were perfectly well formed.

Bara Saheb being informed that his brother Sander Saheb was hard pressed by the barbarians, departed from Maduras with eight thousand horse, in order to endeavour to enter Trichenapaly, and force the Marattes to raise the siege. But they, having had advice of his approach, marched out and met them at some leagues distance from their camp with twenty thousand horse and ten thousand foot. They engaged him in several bloody battles, in which Bara Saheb was killed, his army cut in pieces, and his camp pillaged. His body was carried to the general of the Marattes, who seemed affected at the death of so accomplished a person, who had given such great proofs of his valour. After he had viewed it with regret, he
caused

caused it to be covered with rich stuffs, and sent it to Sander Saheb his brother, that he might give it the usual honours of a funeral.

This melancholy event overwhelmed Sander Saheb with grief, and entirely discouraged him. Having been for a long time in want of provisions and warlike stores, and of money to pay his garrison, and now finding himself reduced to the last extremity, he surrendered himself prisoner of war. The general of the Marattes, satisfied with his submission, granted him his life and liberty, on the condition of a high ransom, took possession of the place on the last day of April 1741, after a siege of five months, abandoned it to the pillage of his army, and placed a garrison of six thousand men in it, till he should receive farther orders from the king of the Marattes his father.

His army having been more than sufficient for the siege of that city, he had sent a detachment of eight thousand horse and about as many foot, to the sea-coast, who attacked Porto-Novo about six leagues to the south of Pondicherry, and easily made themselves masters of a city which was entirely open. They plundered it, and carried off all the merchandizes found in the magazines of the Dutch, French and English. Luckily the French company did not lose above the value of three or four thousand pagods in blue stuffs, which were still in the hands of the weavers and dyers; for M. Dumas having foreseen these troubles for some time before, had caused the value of twenty thousand pagods in them to be carried to Pondicherry.

From

From Porto-Novo the Marattes marched to Goudelour, an English settlement four leagues to the south of Pondicherry, which they pillaged, nor were the cannon of Fort St. David able to prevent them. After this they encamped at Archiouac, a league and a half from Pondicherry, without daring to approach nearer the city. From thence they attacked Congymier and Ladras, two considerable establishments belonging to the Dutch, whose magazines were entirely plundered.

From this place the chiefs of the detachment wrote several times to M. Dumas, and even sent a principal officer, a mogul by religion, to repeat their menaces and demands; protesting that in case of refusal, they had orders to intercept all the provisions carried to Pondicherry, and that the rest of their army would lay siege to the place as soon as Trichenapaly was taken, which could not now hold out above fifteen days. The governor gave this officer, who was a man of courage and merit, a very polite reception. He shewed the condition of the place and the artillery, the great quantity of provisions with which the city was provided, and likewise the strength of the citadel, which could in an instant be blown up into the air by the mines dug below it. He assured him that he had resolved to defend it to the last extremity, rather than comply with any of the demands made by the general of the Marattes, which besides were not in his power to grant. He added, that he had caused all the remaining merchandize goods and most valuable effects to be

be embarked on shipboard; and if by a series of misfortunes he found his resources exhausted, that it would be an easy matter for him to embark and return to his native country; and by this means they would have nothing to gain, but a great deal to lose. The mogul officer, who had never seen a city in his country so well fortified, was struck at the sight; and returned perfectly well satisfied with the civilities of the French, and full of esteem for them.

A very inconsiderable present which M. Dumas made him, contributed more than all the fortifications and artillery of Pondicherry to put an end to this cruel war. This is a fresh proof of what has been so often observed: That the most important events depend frequently on the greatest trifles. It being the custom of the country to make always some present to strangers of distinction, M. Dumas gave the mogul ten bottles of the different liquors of Nantz, under the name of cordials; for if he had told him that the foundation of them was spirit of wine, he could not have accepted them, because the mahometan religion prohibits the use of them. The officer having given a taste of them to the general of the Marattes, who was not prohibited their use, found them excellent, and his mistress still better: she demanded of the general to procure her some, and told him that she must have them at what price and condition soever. Ragogi Boufoula, embarrassed with her continual and pressing importunities, durst not ask them directly of M. Dumas,
for

for fear of lying under an obligation to him, and being under a necessity to acknowledge it. He caused indirect proposals to be made that he should sell him some of them, offering him a hundred roupies and more for each bottle. The governor, who was acquainted with the cause of this extraordinary eagerness, feigned ignorance of these offers proceeding from the general of the Marattes, who began to be in bad terms with his mistress. That prince not being able to see her in a bad humour with him, consented at last to a step which cost him dear, and which he looked upon as contrary to his interest and his honour: he caused the liquors to be demanded in his name, promising to acknowledge the favour gratefully. M. Dumas pretending that he had been hitherto ignorant that the Maratte prince wanted them for himself, sent him thirty bottles of different sorts, causing him to be told that he was charmed with having any thing that could be agreeable to him. The Maratte received them with great joy, gave them immediately to his mistress, who was appeased and contented; and when he sent to thank the governor, he gave him a passport for two of his people, whom he begged him to send to him, in order to treat of an accommodation. This desire which the Maratte had to procure his liquors, had already caused him to prohibit his troops from insulting the city of Pondicherry; around which they had remained encamped for several months.

The governor taking advantage of these favourable moments and dispositions, chose two bramins
of

of the city, men of spirit and entirely in his interest, whom he sent immediately to the general of the Marattes, with instructions and powers to negociate a peace. They represented to him the injustice of his pretensions, the difficulty he would have to obtain them by force, and the impossibility of the governor's being able to satisfy them. They very dexterously made appear the advantageous situation of Pondicherry, the numerous artillery with which it was defended, the quantity of provisions with which it was furnished, the precautions which had been taken to retire by sea in case of necessity, and lastly, the resolutions of the French to defend themselves to the last extremity. This report having been confirmed by the mogul officer who had been at Pondicherry, let the Marattes understand, that in attacking that place they had much to lose, and nothing to gain. They agreed about the beginning of May to return to their native country, according to the advice of their general, and even demanded nothing of the French. Thus by a very singular occurrence, and by the wisdom of the governor of Pondicherry, this horrible scourge of the Marattes was averted, which had threatened the utter destruction of the French nation in the Indies.

The testimonies of esteem and gratitude which the good conduct of the governor procured him were great. The widow of the nabob Daouft Ali Kan, highly sensible of the civilities she had received every day from the governor and his lady,

dy, informed her son Sabder Aly Kan of it: who more sensible of the generous reception she had met with, than if it had been done to himself, wrote to M. Dumas in the most obliging and affectionate terms.

This prince's mother being informed that he had made peace with the Marattes, sent to him, desiring she might see him, in order to alleviate the grief she felt at her husband's death. Sabder Aly Kan promised immediately to obey her. He and his brother-in-law Sander Saheb, with some of their principal lords and domestics, having at M. Dumas's desire left their troops encamped without the limits of the company's lands, arrived at Pondicherry on the first of September towards the evening. M. Dumas received him at the gate of Valdaour, and as soon as he alighted from his palanquin, embraced him with great demonstrations of friendship and respect. He embraced in the same manner the grand divan, Taka Saheb, son-in-law of Daoust Aly Kan, Sander Saheb, and all the other nabobs and lords of distinction. Then he took the nabob by the hand, and led him to a tent provided for his reception, adorned and illuminated in a magnificent manner. The greatest part of the garrison, and sailors of the European ships in a military dress, were under arms, and guarded the gates and the walls.

After resting a short time in the tent, the nabob made a pompous entry into the city, and was conducted to the company's gardens, where his
mother

mother and sisters were lodged. The two first days were spent in mourning and tears, according to the custom of the Moors; and the visit to the governor was deferred till the 4th of September.

M. Dumas received him with all the honours due to his rank. Sabder Aly Kan made use of the most lively and affectionate expressions, to testify his gratitude to the governor, for the asylum the French had afforded to his mother, at so critical a juncture, declaring that neither he nor his should ever forget it; and that for the future M. Dumas should be as much master in the province of Arcatte as himself.

After a conversation of some time, M. Dumas having paid the usual compliments of setting betel before them, and sprinkling the head and cloaths of the persons of the greatest distinction with a little rose-water, offered in the name of the company the usual presents to the nabob and the lords of his retinue; for it is the established maxim of the country to make presents on all visits and extraordinary occasions. The lords took what was given them; but the nabob would accept only in sign of friendship, of two vessels for holding rose-water, a little vermilion and filigreen work. He returned to his apartment highly satisfied with his polite reception, and the honours done him. That very evening, in testimony of his gratitude, he sent the governor a serpeau, and one of his finest elephants, which in that country is looked upon as the most honourable present that can be made.

Some

Some days before he had made him one still more real and considerable. When he gave him notice of his arrival at Pondicherry, he caused to be delivered to him the *paravanas*, or letters patent, whereby he ceded to him personally, and not to the company, the Aldees, or lands of Archionac, Tedouvatanam, Villenour, and three others bordering on the southern territory of Pondicherry, which bring in a yearly revenue of twenty-five thousand livres.

To this act of generosity, Sabder Aly Kan a year afterwards added another present equally magnificent and honourable: this was the armour and habit of ceremony which belonged to his father Daoust Aly Kan. Sabder Aly Kan sent this present to M. Dumas a short time before he returned to France, that he might give him the last testimony of his friendship, and engage him to remember him, even in those extremities of the world to which he was soon to pass. He accompanied this present with a letter carried by Mirgoulam Ouffen Kan his principal favourite.

When it was known at the court of Dely, that Sabder Aly Kan had ceded several Aldees personally to M. Dumas, so far from being offended that a Frenchman had become proprietor and lord of lands depending on the empire, a thing hitherto without example, the mogul emperor on the contrary, caused that donation to be ratified by a *firman* (*b*), the most authentic of all their letters patent.

(*b*) *Paravanna* is the word used for the letters patent of the princes or nabobs: and *firman* for those of the mogul emperor.

Soon after this favour was crowned by another still more honourable, which shewed the esteem the Indian princes bore to M. Dumas, and the confidence they reposed in him. This was the dignity of nabob and of mansoupdar, which gave him the command of four azary and a half, that is to say, of 4500 mogul cavalry, two thousand whereof, even in time of peace, he might keep about him as a guard to his person, without being at any charge for their maintenance. No European had ever been favoured with such an honour in the Indies; and it shews the great esteem and confidence with which the princes of the country honour the French nation.

The more splendid that dignity was to the person who bore it, the more flattering it was to the nation, and advantageous to the French company, who should henceforth be defended by the troops of the great mogul and his generals, the colleagues of the governor of Pondicherry, the more was M. Dumas sensible of how great importance it was to have that title and its privileges transmitted to his successors. Having been determined for two years before to return to France, and every day expecting the permission from the king and the company, he petitioned the mogul emperor, that the title and privileges of nabob, with which he had honoured him, might not be entirely personal to him, but that his majesty would be graciously pleased to confer them in perpetuity on the governors of Pondicherry. To have deserved and obtained the first favour, was an assured pledge that the second would not be refused to him.

him. Accordingly the great mogul graciously granted it to M. Dumas, and immediately caused a firman to be expedited to that effect.

When M. Dumas, now on the point of returning to France, resigned the government of Pondicherry to M. Dupleix in the month of October 1741, he likewise put him in possession of the title of nabob, and caused him to be acknowledged in that quality by the 4500 horsemen whom he commanded. This title is so much the more valuable, that it shews the preference the Indians give to the French above all other nations of Europe, none of which enjoy any rank or privilege in the least resembling this; that it associates the governor of Pondicherry to the generals of the mogul; that it engages them to protect us against all those who may attack us; and that in time it will contribute greatly to the solidity and aggrandizement of the company's commerce.

It would not have been just if so many and such important services rendered to the company, and, it may be said, to the state to which the trade of the Indies is so advantageous, had remained without their reward, after having been honoured by the Indian princes themselves. The king in this prevented the solicitations, and even the thoughts of M. Dumas, by sending him in 1737 while at Pondicherry, not only letters of nobility, but likewise the cross of St. Michael. He arrived at Paris the 23d of June 1742, and the 4th of September following his majesty issued out new letters patent confirming the former, wherein is related all he had done in the East-

Indies, from his first voyage till his return. I shall give an extract of them below, in order to excite the emulation of those who hereafter go to those foreign countries in the service of the company.

** The king having resolved, to honour with the cross of St. Michael, his dear and well beloved the sieur Benedict Dumas, heretofore governor of the East-Indies and Pondicherry, and at present director of the company of the Indies, in consideration that he has given for the space of thirty years, constant and distinguished marks of his zeal for the service of his majesty, and for the improvement of the commerce of his kingdom. Having gone to the Indies in 1713, at the age of 17 years in quality of servant to the company, he was made counsellor of the supreme council of Pondicherry the 22d of June 1718, and procurator general in June 1721. Being named to the general government of the Indies, he obtained the office of general director for the company of the Indies in the islands of France and Bourbon; then he was made president of the supreme council, and afterwards governor of those islands. In 1735 he was appointed governor of the city and fort of Pondicherry, and commandant general of all the French forts and establishments in the East-Indies. In 1737 he obtained of the mogul emperor permission to coin roupies at Pondicherry, from whence the company draws a yearly profit of four hundred thousand livres. That all*

** Extract of the Letters Patent given by the king the 4th of September 1742, which confirm the ennobling of the sieur Dumas, which the king had granted him when he sent him the cross of St. Michael at Pondicherry, in 1737.*

these services determined his majesty to enoble him in 1737, and to name him an associate of his said order of St. Michael. That his conduct has ever justified the rewards he has received from his majesty, having moreover obtained gratuitously from the king of Tanjaour in 1739, the fort of Karcangery, and the city of Karical, the lands and duties of which are farmed by the year at a hundred thousand livres. In 1740, the Marattes having attacked and defeated the army of the Moors, and killed their general the viceroy of Arcatte, the sieur Dumas found it necessary to give refuge in Pondicherry to all the family of the viceroy and the remains of his scattered army. That then the Marattes made dispositions to besiege Pondicherry; but by a negociation of the governor, which did great honour to the French nation in the Indies, the sieur Dumas not only dissuaded the barbarians from that design, but determined them to send an ambassador with a present, to request the friendship of the French nation. That in acknowledgement of all those services, the mogul emperor Mahomet Schah, honoured the governor of Pondicherry in perpetuity with a patent for being mansoupdar or commandant of 4500 horse, and confirmed the donation made by the viceroy of Arcatte to the sieur Dumas, of a territory of the yearly revenue of twenty-five thousand livres, adjoining to those possessed by the company at Pondicherry. In consideration whereof, his majesty ordains the marechal duc de Duras, &c.

It is evident that the reputation, credit and power of the French in the Indies, have a pro-

digious influence on the trade they carry on ; and that it was partly owing to the want of those assistances that the old company of the East-Indies came to fail. Possessing only the small funds of Pondicherry, the city or rather village of which contained no more than what lay between the little rivulet and the sea ; having little or no connection with the princes of the country ; and lastly, being continually thwarted in their sales and purchases by the Dutch and English, who traded with loss in the view of ruining them, that fate they met with became inevitable ; and they were obliged to abandon their commerce to different private persons, and in the last place, to the merchants of St. Malo, on condition of being paid certain duties by virtue of their privilege.

They were reduced to these extremities when the duke of Orleans the regent, undertook to restore the trade of the Indies by uniting together all the companies, I mean those of China, of the East-Indies, of Senegal, and of America or the West. This union was declared by the edict of March 1719. But as it did not provide the necessary funds for the trade, the 20th of June following the king created twenty-five millions of new actions at 1500 livres each, bearing interest of ten per cent. and of the same nature with those already created for a hundred millions in August 1717, which composed the funds of the company of the West, which was then in the most flourishing condition.

Notwithstanding this augmentation of the funds, the commerce of the new company continued

tinued to languish for several years, whether on account of the immense debts with which that of the East was loaded both in France and the Indies, where they had borrowed at enormous interest as long as their credit lasted; or because they had no ships in a condition for the sea; or lastly, on account of the bad state of their establishments in the islands of Bourbon and France, and of their factories in the Indies, which obliged them to suppress the sovereign council at Surat.

At this time a resource offered, which promised every thing that could be hoped for; but like a flash of lightning, it glared for a time and then disappeared. I speak of the fatal system of 1720, when all France, as if in a fit of madness, eagerly ran to destruction by the route of chimerical millions. It was then the new company, enriched for a moment with part of the spoils of the kingdom, which the system had procured them, sent three ships to the Indies richly laden not only with European merchandizes, but likewise with gold and silver. The directors of Pondicherry, ignorant of what had passed in France, were extremely surpris'd, after so great a decline of their commerce, to receive all on a sudden such immense sums in crowns and louis'dors, that the like had never happened before nor since.

But these flattering expectations of the re-establishment of trade, vanished almost as soon as they appeared. The greatest part of the money received in the Indies, was swallowed up in paying the most pressing and considerable debts con-

tracted by the old company at Surat, Camboya, Bengal and elsewhere; and the company received a very indifferent cargo in return for the prodigious sums they had sent out.

The resource of the system having failed, and the billets which the company had in great plenty, having been totally suppressed before the end of the year 1720, they could find no more funds to make remittances to the Indies. So that in 1721 and 1722, not one ship set sail; which drew upon us the raileries and insults of all the nations in the Indies, and reduced the officers of the company to the most melancholy situation, having neither credit, effects, money nor resources.

The company exerted themselves, and the king afforded them some assistance, by which they recovered insensibly, tho' slowly. In 1723, two ships were fitted out, which served rather to subsist the officers and factors, and to pay their debts, than to enrich the company by their returns. However, from 1724 to 1726, they set out three or four every year, which re-established them by degrees.

The reader will not be displeas'd at finding here a state of the ships which have sail'd from Pondicherry to France, with the prices of their cargoes, from 1727 to 1741. He will there see the progress of the company's commerce, and especially its prodigious increase since 1737, under M. M. Orry and de Fulvy, during whose administration it was first, doubled and then tripled. I shall only observe, 1st. that as many ships set sail every year from Bengal as from Pondicherry, consequently

quently that the number in this list ought to be doubled. 2d, That the number of pagods set down is the prime cost of the cargoes. 3d, That a pagod is valued at 9 livres of our money.

There failed from Pondicherry for France.

In 1727, October, and 1728, January, in three ships, to the amount of 248265 pagods in mercantile goods.

In 1728, September, and 1729, January, in three ships, 200320 pagods.

In 1729, September, and 1730, January, in three ships, 248083 pagods.

In 1730, October, and 1731, January, in four ships, 600711 pagods.

In 1731, October, and 1732, January, in four ships, 302006 pagods.

In 1732, September, and 1733, January, in four ships, 260640 pagods.

In 1733, September, and 1734, February, in four ships, 392987 pagods.

In 1734, September, and 1735, January, in four ships, 375341 pagods.

In 1735, September, and 1736, January, in three ships, 223484 pagods.

In 1736, October, and 1737, January, in five ships, 351691 pagods.

In 1737, October, and 1738, January, in five ships, 522315 pagods.

In 1738, October, and 1739, January, in five ships, 586156 pagods.

In 1739, October, and 1740, January, in four ships, 485732 pagods.

In 1740,

In 1740, October, and 1741, January, in four ships, 555643 pagods.

In 1741, October, and 1742, January, in seven ships, 954376 pagods.

The sale, which was made this year 1742, at at Port l'Orient, amounted to twenty-four millions, without including four millions of merchandizes which were left on purpose in the magazines that the price might not fall too low by the great quantity of goods in the mercat. I am informed that the two first ships which have arrived this year 1743, are loaded each to the value of eight hundred thousand roupies, that is to say, about two millions prime cost of merchandizes, a thing which the company had never seen before.

From hence, it is easy to form a notion of the extent of their actual commerce, and the solidity of their actions. The proofs of this are evident.

1. From fifty-six thousand actions at which the king fixed the company in 1723, forming a fund of one hundred and twelve millions, and eight millions four hundred thousand livres of dividends, they have withdrawn five thousand, which were annulled and publickly burnt by arret in 1725. Besides the dividends of the fifty-one thousand actions remaining are satisfied by the eight millions which the farmers general pay every year to the company for the farms of tobacco, the *exclusive, perpetual, and irrevocable* privilege of which was granted to the company, especially for that destination, in 1723 and 1725, and by the castor of Canada.

2. So

2. So far from being embarrassed with the payment of their dividends, the fund for them is fixed and settled even in that of the farms general, to which none can refuse their confidence.

3. Thus the commerce of the Indies, the extent, solidity, and produce whereof we have seen, becomes an additional security, the profit of which remains in stock, and forms a growing fund, yearly employed to increase their cargoes, and render that of the actionairs surer, in the same manner as a merchant throws his profits successively into his trade.

4. Altho' the original fund of the action, which was but one thousand five hundred livres, and since that time has had no fixed price, has been always paid without any delay on the footing of ten per cent. interest, which has no other lawful example in commerce and the state; the actionairs expect and have a right to partake of the surplus which the company shall draw from their commerce, as the declaration of 1685 promises and bears. If they have shared nothing as yet, they ought to reflect that till these late years the trade has been in a languishing condition; that the company has been obliged to repair the loss of several large ships; to satisfy their old debts; to pay the annuities with which they are burthened, which fall but slowly; to repair their settlements, which were in a very bad state, and to build and fit out ships; to buy lodges and factories, to build magazines in them; to expend above fifteen millions at Louisiana; to build the magnificent port of l'Orient with all its dependencies;

dancies; and to be at other very considerable charges on account of their commerce, marine, troops and fortifications. But I am authorised to say, that when these extraordinary expences shall be at an end, and the funds shall have attained to a certain pitch, the company will augment the dividends, by adding every year the surplus of their profit, the funds whereof appertain really and solely to the actionairs. Thus it is in one sense indifferent whether the actions rise or fall, since the caprice of the publick makes no change in the solidity of the funds, or in the payment of the dividends.

5. It would then be an effect of gross ignorance, to imagine that the king carries on the trade in name of the company; that he gives a share of the profit to the actionairs, and that the remainder goes into his coffers, or into those of the directors. Whoever would inform himself, and make the least reflection on so many edicts and arrangements, which cannot with any probability be supposed illusory, will perceive that no suspicion was ever more chimerical or worse founded. The company of the Indies is nothing but a society of those who have contributed more or less to the establishment of its commerce, under the protection of the king and the administration of the directors. The edict of 1725, article XI, explains all in a few words, and leaves no difficulty.

“ Our will is, says the king, that it remain, conform to its institution, a company purely of commerce, applied solely to maintain that which

is entrusted to it, and to advance with wisdom and oeconomy the good of our subjects who are concerned in it, so that the funds of the company of the Indies shall in no ways be employed to any other use than its commerce.”

6. From what quarter is it possible that the actions can at present be in danger? It cannot be from the payment of the dividends, which is supported on the produce of the farms of tobacco. It is not from the king, who will never seize on the *patrimony of the actionairs*, as he expresses himself in the edict of 1725; who has himself obviated this odious apprehension by article IV. of the declaration of 1664 above related, who is moreover interested to support the greatest commerce of his kingdom, without which above twelve millions must every year be carried to foreigners; and not to weaken a fund of a hundred millions, which is continually circulating in the state, and is equivalent to a like sum of money. Lastly, the fall of the actions can never proceed from foreigners, or from our situation in the Indies, which is more advantageous than ever we could have expected, seeing we are the friends and allies of the mogul and the Indian princes, and so particularly regarded by them, that they have demanded of us the title of *brothers*, as much out of esteem as gratitude, resolving henceforth, that our interests and our enmities should be the same with theirs.

To these reflections on the solidity of the actions we may add others to this effect. Two
men

men lay out each a hundred thousand franks; one buys an estate, and the other actions. The revenue of the first is not above half what the other enjoys; his tenants seldom pay him punctually; every year some reparations are necessary; the inclemency of the weather frequently destroys the whole harvest, which has been observed to happen several years successively; the stoppage of his rents embarrasses the proprietor; he is obliged to borrow; he seeks a moderate sum, which often he is not able to procure, and thus he may be in the most deplorable situation, tho' possessed of an estate worth one hundred thousand franks.

He on the contrary, who has the same sum in actions, receives above double the revenue of the former; he is regularly paid every six months; he is not troubled with the cares of management; it has been made evident that he has nothing to fear for the security of the funds; and if it should happen that he has occasion for money, he may get as much as he pleases at any time without being obliged to trouble his friends.

Lastly, in order to give a notion of the external commerce of the company of the Indies, for I do not enter into what regards its produce and internal arrangements, I shall here give the state of the merchandizes brought from the East, both with respect to quantity and quality.

According to the posted bills of last year, the first debarkation of the ships *le Comte de Toulouse*, *le Duc de Bourbon*, *le Triton*, *le Pentbievre*, *l'Argonaute*,

gonaute, la Balene and *le Mars*, which arrived in May, June, and July 1742, consisted of the following articles.

- 400000 pounds coffee of Moka.
- 1240000 pounds ditto of the island of Bourbon.
- 426811 pounds bohea tea.
- 16501 pounds kamphou ditto.
- 10178 pounds pekeau ditto.
- 9697 pounds faotchaon ditto.
- 60660 pounds green tea common lonlo.
- 82695 pounds superior ditto.
- 9340 pounds haysoen ditto.
- 3740 pounds imperial ditto.
- 595377 pounds pepper.
- 533895 pounds red wood.¹
- 66788 pounds cauris.
- 49947 pounds tautenague.
- 23167 pounds esquine.
- 16869 pounds galeugal.
- 3040 pounds curcuma.
- 137 pounds sago.
- 230 pounds rhubarb.
- 43200 pounds tany filk.
- 9577 pounds raw filk of Nanquin.
- 2070 pounds spun cotton.
- 5300 pieces white falempouris.
- 46395 pieces white guinees.
- 690 pieces ditto unwashed.
- 2960 pieces white doutis.
- 2640 pieces deriabadis.
- 8100 pieces percales.
- 6840 pieces socretons.
- 2800 pieces chavonis.
- 3780 pieces tanratannes.

15108 pieces

- 15180 pieces betilles.
 740 pieces organdis.
 98 pieces steinkirks organdis thread.
 1300 pieces basins of the coast.
 995 pieces stuffs with three threads.
 51710 pieces white garas.
 13780 pieces white baffetas.
 1200 pieces adatays.
 6900 pieces fanas.
 4440 pieces hamans.
 14340 pieces casses.
 243 pieces nensougues.
 7199 pieces tangebs.
 12680 pieces mallemolles.
 349 pieces atarafoye.
 6080 pieces terindans and terindins.
 300 pieces tocques.
 5280 pieces doreas of Bengal.
 1900 pieces basins.
 150 pieces dissoutis.
 100 pieces of table-cloths.
 100 pieces of napkins.
 592 embroidered steinkirks.
 1252 pieces of different embroideries of
 Daca,
 10 pieces of jamdanis.
 7858 pieces of different stuffs of Patna.
 23200 pieces of napkins of Bengal.
 6540 pieces ditto of Tranquebar.
 24356 pieces ditto of Masulipatam.
 900 pieces ditto Paliacatte.
 9400 pieces ditto of Pondicherry.
 76 pieces of steinkirks, of organdis thread,
 with blue and red stripes.
 960 pieces

- 960 pieces blue falempouris.
 11940 pieces blue guinees.
 17700 pieces guingans.
 400 pieces bojutapauts.
 560 pieces neganepauts.
 2160 pieces chazelas.
 100 pieces chabbafs.
 400 pieces elatchas.
 200 pieces chuguelas.
 240 pieces allibanis.
 400 pieces diffouchaye.
 600 pieces firfakas.
 100 pieces guingans of Balacor.
 200 pieces pinaffées.
 200 pieces nelis.
 500 pieces foucis.
 100 pieces tepays.
 640 pieces gourgourans.
 488 pieces of plain damas.
 50 pieces ditto of two colours.
 100 pieces ditto with large stripes.
 50 pieces large damas for furniture.
 640 pieces plain pequins.
 100 pieces plain fatins.
 95 pieces ditto striped.
 194 pieces pieces padiffoy.
 50 pieces large lampus.
 15 pieces flowered gauze.
 26 pieces nanquin.
 2257 fans.
 2085 tea chests.
 126 chests of porcelain.

345 parcels of ditto.

3367 parcels of rotins.

The sales of this present year 1743, have been much higher than those of the last, as may be seen by comparing the two posted bills, whereof these are the first articles.

526000 pounds coffee of Mocha.

1985000 pounds ditto of the island of Bourbon.

883581 pounds bohea tea.

16114 pounds green tea common sonlo.

139385 pounds superior ditto.

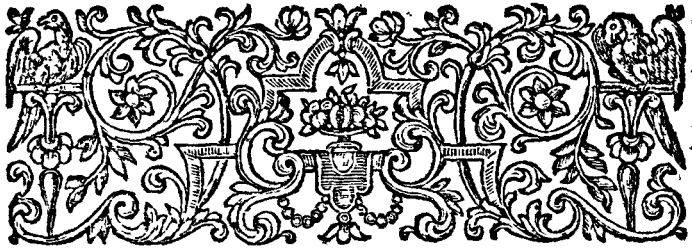
795000 pounds pepper.

The five other ships, called *le Condé*, *le Duc d'Orleans*, *le Duc de Charles*, *le Chavelin* and *le Heron*, which did not arrive till September 1742, were loaded with the same merchandizes, such as coffee, tea, woods for dying, pepper, spices, medicinal drugs, salt petre, silk, cotton thread, cotton stuffs of many different sorts, gourgourans, damas, sattins, gauzes, jappanned furniture, and porcelain from China; for it is a popular error, and still common enough to believe that porcelain is made in the Indies.



A N
E S S A Y
T O W A R D S A
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
C O M M E R C E
O F T H E
S E V E R A L N A T I O N S O F E U R O P E
T O T H E
E A S T - I N D I E S ;
S H E W I N G

The RISE, PROGRESS, and PRESENT STATE of
that TRAFFIC; as carried on by the ENGLISH,
DUTCH, FRENCH, PORTUGUEZE, SWEDES,
DANES and PRUSSIANS; from the first Dis-
covery of a New Route to the INDIES, round
the CAPE of GOOD-HOPE, to the present Time.



A N
E S S A Y
T O W A R D S A
H I S T O R Y, &c.
C H A P. I.

COMMERCE is coeval with human society, to whose wants and imbecillities it owes its being. In proportion as societies increased, and states were formed, traffic, which in the first ages supplied the necessities of life, was employed to feed that luxury which the common prosperity had begotten. Private gain was the first motive to the mercantile life. But experience, the parent of wisdom, having shewn that wealth and treasure contributed in a surprising manner to the glory and power of nations, states, and princes, warmed by the love of their people,

ple, or fired by their private ambition, turned to the public advantage that endless thirst of gold which agitates the heart of man. Thus they, by wise institutions promoting industry and arts, acquired infinite wealth; and the sovereignty of the ocean gave them to protect their allies, and to restrain the boundless ambition of their enemies.

Never was there a more abundant source of wealth than the traffic of the Indies. For nature has not only bestowed the necessaries of life on those happy regions in the most plentiful manner, but has also overflowed this tract with such a profusion of delights, unknown to other climes, as fills us with wonder and astonishment: as if by the alluring delicacies of Asia, she had intended to tame and mollify the rugged sons of the North; and that the East by her blandishments, should have wherewith to avenge herself of those nations, whose force and steel she was not able to withstand.

Its wealth drew the first sons of fame into those countries which lie beneath the rising sun. Bacchus, or Dionysius, the first of conquerors, and of legislators, has the glory of having penetrated before all others into India, and to have subdued and given laws to this empire. It was the fame of their riches, and the charms of gold, ever a powerful motive to a female heart, which allured that celebrated woman who swayed the Assyrian scepter, to attempt the conquest of the Indies. Hercules, the model of heroism, exercised his valour on this theatre: and Sesostris, whose

whose fame has almost made all the other kings of the Egyptians forgotten, visited those countries, as far as that sea which washes the shores of Japan. Arabia, a country barren of even the necessaries of life, is said to have acquired such immense wealth in this traffic as gained her the title of the happy; and the Ethiopians, barbarous as they were, perceived the advantage of discovering the Indies; for an expedition is mentioned which that people made into the eastern world, the particulars whereof time has consumed. There are no monuments of an established maritime trade of greater antiquity than that which the Egyptians and Phenicians carried on to those parts; chiefly these latter, the most ancient body of traders that exist in the annals of human affairs. These illustrious merchants, together with the Egyptians, possessed at once the trade of Europe, of Asia, and of Africa, that is to say, of all the known world, exclusive of all others: exchanging the rich commodities of the Indies, to which they were the sole navigators, for those of the North and West. Solomon, the wisest of all the sons of men, esteemed this traffic next to the favour of the God of wisdom, the brightest gem in his diadem; and drew such immense treasures from the oriental commerce, as rendered his nation and government the admiration of the most distant kingdoms. Under the empire of the Persians, the Phenicians conducted their trading fleets into the eastern ocean: and when the despotic government of that people had chased commerce from Phenicia, Alexan-

dria became then the mart and emporium of all the Indian merchandize. Alexander the conqueror of Asia, in founding this city, intended to establish this commerce ; a project after the conquest of the world, still worthy of Alexander. The Ptolemies, his successors in the Egyptian monarchy, reaped the fruits of a design which adds so much to the glory of that heroic prince ; and the wealth which this commerce poured into Egypt, and which by means of this city it continued to possess for ages after, at once the cause of its prosperity and ruin, drew thither the Romans, ambitious to possess a trade, which brought along with it so much treasure and so vast a maritime power.

We may judge how dearly the ancients valued this traffic from the labour they used to seize it, and to deter or hinder all other nations from attempting it. The Romans were told by the Arabians, that these precious commodities were no where to be found except in frightful places, guarded by hideous dragons, and other monsters of terrifying forms. The love of gold triumphed over their fears. For Augustus, who founded the imperial power at Rome, had resolved upon the conquest of the Arabian peninsula, partly, because it would infallibly open to him all the oriental commerce, and also suppress the pirates, who from the Asiatic side of the Red-sea infested the Roman navigation. His attempt failed, as did several other weak efforts, in a state very little favourable to trade or discoveries ; that of the Roman republic, changed into a military and despotic

despotic government. Titus and Vespasian had no better success. Their last effort was that of Trajan, whose sole motive was to possess himself of the riches of the Indies with which Arabia then abounded.

After Constantine had translated the seat of the empire to Byzantium, the eastern trade still subsisted. Alexandria continued to be the principal emporium. Seleucia of Syria was the route of the more inland commerce; and the barbarians that dwelt on the bleak borders of the Euxine, felt the charms of the wealth which the East poured into the Greek empire through this sea.

At last, this commerce shared the fate of the provinces through which it flowed. The military genius of the Arab princes, the successors of Mahommed, extinguished for some time the spirit of traffic. Fury and barbarity seemed to be let loose, to lay waste and confound every thing upon the face of the earth. No sooner had the grandson of that monarch, who tore Affric from the descendants of Mahommed, founded Cairo, and protected merchants, than did the rich flow of eastern wealth return to its ancient channel; and the new built city became at once the chief mart of the western world, and the seat of a new empire.

The Venetians and Genoese raised themselves on the ruins of the Greek empire; and profiting by the general confusion, seized part of its dismembered dominions. They succeeded at the same time to the trade of the Indies, the commodities

modities whereof they distributed all over the North, an infinite source of wealth and power to those states.

Whilst these possessed the wealth of this traffic in Europe, the Arabians were the sole merchants in the commodities of the East. This was the situation of the eastern commerce when the Portugueze nation discovered a new route in the Indies through the ocean, which gave them the sole possession of the riches of the East for ages afterwards.

C H A P. II.

HENRY, the fifth son of John the First, king of Portugal, was he who formed the design of discovering a new passage into the eastern ocean. The glory of so vast a project enflamed his soul to such a degree, as not to suffer him to sleep by night or by day. Nothing employed his thoughts but expedients which might serve to promote his favourite scheme. Men skilled in navigation and sea affairs were allured into Portugal by great rewards. Nothing was talked of but equipments and new discoveries; and no obstacles were able to alter the fixed resolution of this great prince, zealous for the prosperity of his country. Neither the weak condition of the kingdom, but just escaped the perils of a civil war, nor the emptiness of the royal exchequer; nor the want of people in a country almost depopulated by the late disasters; nor the opposition and remonstrances of those who were admitted
into

into the councils of the realm ; nor the expence, the difficulties, the danger, and uncertainty of such an undertaking ; nothing could make any impression on the resolves of a man whose soul was naturally vast, and who was formed for great designs. The prospect of the ocean, which almost washed the walls of his palace, and which seemed by the roaring and whelming of his billows, to put him in mind of the vast advantages he was ready to procure him and his nation, if he himself was not wanting to both, inflamed his ardor incessantly.

He resolved to begin with the conquest of the Canaries, or Fortunate Islands, celebrated among the ancients for the benignity and sweetness of the climate, and the happy fertility of the soil, as one of those happy seats, where the souls of departed heroes enjoyed eternal felicity. Macoit, or as others say, John de Bethancour, had in the year fourteen hundred and one, discovered and conquered these islands by the orders of Henry, the third king of Castile who bore that name. The king, pleased with the Frenchman's success, afforded him all the assistance and encouragement he wanted ; and to inspire others with courage to undertake great and hazardous discoveries, gave him the title of king of the Fortunate Islands, on condition only that he should hold them of the kingdom of Castile. The Spanish monarch saved Henry the trouble of a conquest, to whom he yielded them for a valuable consideration. But the designs ¹⁴⁰⁶ of the prince did not stop here. This sublime genius

genius was not to be satisfied with the conquest of seven islands, whose greatest value to him was their fame, and the use he intended to make of them in the discovery of the vast extended continent of Africa. He sent Ferdinando de Castro to take possession of them; and proceeded to build ships for further discoveries.

No Portugueze had ever beheld the land of Africa, beyond a certain promontory, by the natives called Chaunar, but which seamen know best by the name of Cape-Non. Those vessels full of caution, and never losing sight of the coast, proceeded as far as Cape-Bojadore, lying twenty-six degrees on this side the equinoctial circle. A strong current which runs near this promontory, and which breaks in huge mountainous waves over the sands, forms a spectacle terrible to seafaring men. Here the terror of this sight, and their ignorance of the coast, stopped them. The prince perceived that which had escaped the adventurers; this was, that by keeping farther out at sea, the cape might be doubled. Two years afterwards, in 1439, he sent Juan Gonzales Zarco, and Tristan Vaz Texeira, with orders to pursue the shores of Barbary, to pass that dreadful headland, and to discover all those lands of Africa which according to the opinions of learned men, and the information of the Arabs, ran on as far as the equator. They had not reached the coasts of Africa when a furious storm overtook them, which threatened to bury them in the waves. They were driven, without knowing which way the violence of the tempest

tempest hurried them, to a little island, which from the safety it afforded men in despair, they called Porto Santo, or Holy Haven. The year following, the island of Madeira was found, so called from the woods with which it is covered.

King Edward, the successor of John, was taken with the projects of the prince, and as a mark of his satisfaction, gave him the sovereignty of Porto Santo, Madeira, and all the islands he should discover on the western coast of Africa. It was not till the year one thousand four hundred ¹⁴³⁹ and thirty-nine, that Henry's pilots ventured beyond Cape-Bojadore, an exploit, from the danger which attended it. deemed by the people of those days, equal to the labours of the son of Alcmena. The year following they had scarce got within ¹⁴⁴⁰ twenty degrees of the line. Soon after ¹⁴⁴⁵ were discovered Rio del Aro, or the Golden River, and also some small islands. In ¹⁴⁴⁶ fourteen hundred and forty-six, Nuno Trifan sailed beyond Cape-Verd in the latitude of fourteen degrees forty minutes. ¹⁴⁴⁸ Two years afterwards Gonzalo Vallo visited the Western Islands, othewise, from the number of hawks seen on them, called the Azores; for AZOR in Spanish signifies a hawk. ¹⁴⁴⁹ The ensuing year was distinguished by the discovery of the islands of Cape-Verde, tho' all of them were not known till eleven years, ¹⁴⁶⁰ after.

Don Pedro, the brother of Henry, and regent of Portugal in the minority of king Alphonso the fifth of that name, their nephew, confirmed the former

former gifts. But Henry, that no sort of right might be wanting to his new domain, sent Ferdinando Copez, vested with the character of ambassador, to Martin the fifth, then the sovereign pontiff, with orders to communicate to him his discoveries, and to represent the vast advantages which must redound from them, not only to the christian religion, but in particular, to the power of the holy see; and for these reasons, to crave the protection of the holy father. The pope, overjoyed at an embassy, which seemed to give him the disposal of the universe, and which treated with him as the king of kings, and sovereign of all mankind, not only granted at the first demand, every thing the ambition of the Portugueze prince could desire, but also gave to the crown of Portugal the sovereignty and dominion over all lands, which then were, or should afterwards be discovered, in that hemisphere, the Indies included: threatening with the apostolical thunder whosoever should dare to dispute or molest their possession. This famous bull, the cause of vast contests in succeeding times, was given in the year fourteen hundred and forty-four. Thus Henry established his rights by an authority which none dared to challenge. Under his auspices was discovered the continent of Africa from Cape-Non to Cape-Sierra Leona, eight degrees on this side the equatorial circle. He omitted nothing which could render his labours lasting and beneficial to his country. He sent out colonies, planted the sugar cane, and the vine, so that Africa was now inhabited

inhabited by a people whose language she did not understand, and saw her bosom covered with harvests unknown to her before. In this manner did this great prince, by a zeal which can never sufficiently be commended, and by an immoveable perseverance in this noble project, till the last moment of his life, pave the way to the discovery of the Indies, and become the author and founder of the glory and prosperity of his country.

Succeeding princes encouraged the discoveries begun by Henry. The year fourteen hundred and seventy-one added three new discovered islands to the Portuguese empire. And thus, creeping along the African shores, by little and little, with wary and fearful steps, they approached the important discovery, which gave to the crown of Portugal the empire of the East. In fourteen hundred and eighty-four, Diego Cam, a native of the same country, sailed into the African ocean, and added to the discoveries of his adventurous predecessors that of the kingdom of Congo.

C H A P. III.

AMONGST other strange accounts which he brought home with him, and told among his countrymen, who flocked to listen to one who had been so great a traveller, he said, he had been informed of a certain monarch, called among these natives, priest or presbyter John, who reigned in Ethiopia, was a christian, and whose

whose power Cam exalted to the skies. This news was greedily received by John, who had succeeded his father Alphonso in the throne of Portugal. He was persuaded nothing could so much advance the designs he had formed, of profiting of the apostolical donation, by discovering his unknown estates in Africa and the Indies. In this view, he sent out persons on every side to make discoveries, to get intelligence of this prince, and to conclude an alliance, from which he promised himself great advantages in the execution of his projects. But the principal object of his enquiries, was to discover, whether it were possible to find out a new and easier way into the Indies, thro' the ocean.

Alphonso de Pajva, and Pedro de Covillan, were the chiefs in this undertaking. They set out from the kingdom of Portugal for Egypt, landed at Alexandria, proceeded to Cairo, and from thence to the port of Aden, famous for its universal commerce. Here they had an opportunity of learning from a vast crowd of traders, who flocked thither from all parts, many things of great consequence to the undertaking they were upon. That nothing might escape them, they formed the design of investigating things to their source, and the more to satisfy a king greedy of such relations, to make their eyes witnesses to the truth of what had been told them. This was, that, while Covillan went to visit the court of the Ethiop prince, de Pajva should make the circuit of the Indies. They set out. Pedro successfully performed his expedition. He embarked

embarked on board a trading ship in the Arabian gulph. He viewed, with great exactness, the coasts of India. The prodigious quantities of rich stuffs, pearls, and other precious merchandize, filled him with astonishment. He thence crossed the Arabian seas, landed in Africa, visited her principal ports, and came to Sofala, full of joy at what he had seen, but more so from what he had heard by the unanimous voice of all seafaring men he had conversed with, and from his own conjectures, that an easier and shorter passage to the Indies might be found, by sailing round the vast continent of Africa. He made haste to Cairo. Here his joy was interrupted by the fate of Alphonso, who had been murdered in his way to the seat of the emperor of Ethiopia.

King John had been extremely happy in the choice of the men he had sent out on these discoveries, especially in Covillan, who was eager to satisfy the curiosity of the king, and to establish his own reputation, by putting the last hand to what he had gone out upon. Instead of returning, which was natural to a man so long absent from his native land, he contented himself with writing to the king, what a world of riches he had seen in the havens of the East: and set out for that journey which had been the province of of De Pajva. His usual good fortune attended him in the beginning of this expedition. Alexander, who then held the scepter of Abyssinia, was overjoyed at the offers of Covillan, to give him the friendship and aid of a great prince.

He overwhelmed Pedro with careffes. But the sudden death of the king changed the fortune of the Portugueze orator.

His fucceffor Nahu treated Covillan with great barbarity; and not only rejected his request to be permitted to return to his native country, but detained him prifoner in his court, fo long, that in Portugal they concluded that both their envoys had fuffered one common fate.

At laft Covillan appeared. His ftory filled all that heard his adventures with vaft hopes. The king at once refolved to attempt the new road to the Indies thro' the immense tract of the ocean. He offered great rewards to feamen, mathematicians, aftronomers, and to all who fhould in any way facilitate the new projected route to the Indies. The invention, or at leaft the perfection of fuch mathematical inftruments, as pilots and navigators ufe at fea, was owing to the emulation which thefe recompences bred amongft
1486 artifts. Bartholomew Diaz, a courtier of confummate prudence, and whofe courage was not to be fhaken by the appearance of dangers, and who to thofe great qualities had joined a profound knowledge in the art of navigation, was pitched upon, to direct the discoveries along the fouthern coaft of Africa. The fuccefs of this expedition did not leffen his reputation. He continued his voyage as far as a certain high promontory, which, from the inceffant ftorms that vex the neighbouring feas, feemed to be the country of the tempefts. He therefore gave it the name of the Stormy-Cape. But the king, who imagined

gined he beheld from the summits of this promontory, the eastern seas opened, and the vast riches that filled the Asian ports; and who already perceived the consequences of this discovery, changed the terrifying name which Diaz had given to this head-land, into the more auspicious title of **THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, EL CABO DEL BUENO ESPERANZA.** Diaz continued his voyage beyond this promontory. This navigation employed the space of sixteen months seventeen days. Full of these vast hopes, and just in the moment when he was upon the point of reaping the fruits of his labours, John died. The great disposer of all things did not think fit to permit him to finish an undertaking he had so nobly begun, and from which he had promised himself immortal honour.

C H A P. IV.

THIS glory was reserved for the young Emanuel. Altho' the penetrating spirit of that prince could not suffer him to doubt of the success of the project of his predecessor, which he had warmly espoused, yet the expence attending it, and the uncertain event of all human enterprises, determined him not to undertake any thing before he had first consulted the opinion of his council. The Portuguese statesmen were divided in their sentiments. Those who favoured the discoveries, urged, the vast wealth and power arising from the com-

merce of the Indies, which had enriched and aggrandized all those nations who had ever possessed it ; the easiness of an acquisition, which providence had thrown in their way, and which was in some sort already in their possession ; that nothing remained, but securely to lay hold of what had been gotten with infinite hazard and expence ; the dishonour of leaving to other nations those riches they had so dearly purchased, and which they only had any manner of right to ; the glory of their country, of itself neither extensive nor powerful, which this trade would render as independent and flourishing as her neighbouring states ; the danger of abandoning to the Spaniards, the natural enemies of their nation, a trade which would enable them to bring about whatever their unbounded ambition might suggest ; finally, they conjured him to tread in the footsteps of his forefathers, and to seize the glory of accomplishing what they had begun with so much reputation.

On the other side it was pleaded, that expeditions in which so much time was consumed, and which were also so full of uncertainty, were far from being the most necessary undertakings to a kingdom so thin of inhabitants, whose vast plains lay waste for want of husbandmen, whilst the people depended upon strangers for their daily bread ; that it was absurd in this situation of things to squander the lives of the people in conquests, whose only advantage had been the purchase of a few elephants teeth, strange birds, and other womanish curiosities ; and certain slaves, as savage

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as the wild beasts inhabiting the same forests : that all they had been amused with for above a century past, had proved nothing at last but deceitful expectations, and golden dreams, which, by the infinite expence attending them, exposed a nation, worn and exhausted like theirs by the calamities of war, to manifest perils ; and whose interests in time might come to be sacrificed to those of their foreign acquisitions, supposing it probable they should ever be so fortunate as to make any.

The king believed he could not with honour relinquish an enterprize recommended to him by that great prince, to whom he owed his diadem, with his latest breath. This persuasion, and the fortune of the Spaniards, who had pushed their discoveries with infinite success, finally determined him to attempt this important work ; notwithstanding that the condition of his kingdom did not permit him to begin it in a manner worthy the fame and reputation of so great a prince. He gave orders to equip a squadron of four ships, whereof three were of some force, the other a store-ship. This small flota, manned with a hundred and fifty seamen, was commanded by Vasquez de Gama, a man of high pedigree, and whose exalted virtue rendered him worthy to be at the head of such an expedition.

On the ninth day of July, 1497, Vasquez embarked aboard the Admiral, a ship of one hundred and twenty tons burthen. After a long course in which he suffered greatly from the perils of the seas, from diseases which preyed upon his soldiers,

from the treachery of those barbarous nations he was obliged to visit in his passage, and who out of hatred to christianity had conspired their destruction, over all which his invincible constancy triumphed; and after a navigation which lasted eleven months did this chief cast anchor in the road of Calicut on the coast of India properly so called 1498.

That part of Asia which has most relation to the commerce carried on from Europe to the East, runs along the sea-shore, and contains the following divisions. The first, situated the most westerly of all, commences at the mouth of the Red-sea, in twelve degrees and forty minutes north latitude, and reaches to the gulph of Persia. From the mouth of the Red-sea to the city Aden is a space of forty-four leagues; thence to Cape Phartac, in fourteen degrees thirty minutes, are one hundred leagues, containing these towns, Abiam, Ax, Canacan, Brun, Argil, Zehel the metropolis, Kerit, Cayem, and Phartac. From hence to Curia-muria are seventy leagues; in which are, Dhofar, a city famous for its frankincense, and twenty leagues beyond it the city Norbate. From Curia-muria to Cape Ras-Algat in twenty-two degrees thirty minutes north latitude, lies a coast quite barren and desart, one hundred and twenty leagues in length. At this Cape begins the kingdom of Ormuz, whence to cape Musaldan are ninety leagues, with these cities, Calayat, Curiat, Mascate, Zoar, Calata, Orfacam, Doba, and Lima, eight leagues from Mombasam, the Cape Assaborum of Ptolemy, situated

situated in twenty-six degrees of northern latitude. This tract is known to Europeans by the name of Arabia Felix, because the most fruitful and best inhabited of all the Arabia's: its name in the language of the country is Yemen or Ayyaman.

The second division, called Chirman, stretches from Cape Jafkes to the mouth of the Indus. This waste is divided into two kingdoms, Macran and Madel, with the following towns; Guadel, Calara, Tibique, Calamate, Goadel and Diul. This tract is barren, and great part of it uninhabited.

The third division contains one hundred and fifty leagues of extent, as follows; thirty-eight from Diul to Cape Jaquete or Jigat; and from thence to Diu in the kingdom of Guzarate, fifty more, with these places, Colinna, Mangalor, Chervan, Patan and Covinar; from Diu to Cambaya, fifty leagues, and in this space these towns, Madrafavat, Mocha, Talita, Goda and Gundia. Between Cambaya and Jaquete is included a part of the kingdom of Guzarate, with the mountain country of the Resboto's.

The fourth division of the Asian coast contains two hundred and ninety leagues. This is by far the richest part of all India; and the most resorted to on account of traffic. Two rivers which run from East to West divide this region into three parts. The first separates the kingdom of Decan from that of Guzarate, which lies north of it; the other parting Decan from the kingdom of Canara, its southern frontier. There are

besides, other rivers, all of which have their springs in the mountain Gate : the chief of these is called Ganga, or Guenga, which pours its waters into the ocean near the mouth of the Ganges, between the cities Angali and Pisolta, in about twenty-two degrees of latitude. The river Bate springs from the same mountain, and loses itself in the sea near Bombaim or Bombay, separating the kingdoms of Guzarate and Decan. From the city Camabya to the mouth of this river, are seventy leagues ; and from Chaoul south of it to the river Alliga, the southern boundary of Decan, are seventy-five leagues, with the towns, Bandor, Daboul, Debetele, Sintapori, Coropatan, Banda, Chapora, and Goa, an archiepiscopal see, and the metropolis of the Portugueze in India.

The third portion or district of this division begins where the kingdom of Canara joins that of Decan, and ends at Cape Comorin, containing one hundred and forty leagues of coast. From this river to mount Delli is about forty-six leagues. The towns in this space are, Onor, Baticale, Barcalor, Baranor, and others of the province of Canara belonging to the king of Bisnagar. Below this to Cape Comorin, are ninety-three leagues. This tract is called Malabar, and comprehends three kingdoms which own no superior. That of Cananor occupies twenty leagues of the coast, in which are the cities Cota, Coulam, Nilichilam, Cananor the metropolis in the latitude of twelve degrees, Tremopatam, Cheba, Maim, and Purrepatam. Here begins the kingdom of Calicut, which runs twenty-seven leagues along the coast, and

and has the towns following, Calicut the metropolis, in somewhat more than eleven degrees north latitude; Caulate, Chale, Parangale, and Tanor the head of a kingdom, subject to the zamorin or emperor of Calicut, and Chatua the last boundary of this empire. Next to this lies the little kingdom of Cranganor, which borders on that of Cochin; then that of Coulan, and lastly, Travancor subject to Narsinga. Near to Travancor is the famous Cape Comorin, the most southern point of land of this province of Indostan, or India within the Ganges. It lies in seven degrees and a half north of the equinoctial, where ends the coast of Malabar, and the fourth of the nine portions into which the maritime Asia is divided.

From Cape Comorin on the western side to Cape Cincapûra eastward, the southernmost land of the peninsula of Malacca, vulgarly held the same with the Aurea Chersonesus of ancient geographers, is a space of four hundred leagues. Within this interval lies the great bay of Bengal, by some called the Sinus Gangeticus, because the river Ganges after watering the country of Bengal, falls into this gulph, in about the latitude of twenty-three degrees. This river is admired for the quantity of water it rolls along, and is esteemed holy by the neighbouring people; who are carried when at the point of death, to die with their feet in its water, out of a belief that this ceremony conduces to their happiness in a future state. This persuasion brings the king a considerable revenue; for none are permitted to wash in it without

out paying for that privilege. This river has many outlets, but two are remarkable above others; these are Satigan westward, and Chatigan towards the East, there being an interval of almost one hundred leagues between these two channels: this part terminates the fifth of the nine divisions, which may be subdivided into the three following portions; the first formed by the kingdom of Bijnagar, contains two hundred leagues, including these towns, Tarancurii, Manapar, Vaipar, Trechendur, Caligrande, Characale, Tutuconin, Benbar, Calicare, Beadala, Manancort and Canameira, which last gives name to a cape near it stretching out in ten degrees of north latitude; then follows Negapatam, Hahor, Trimirapatan, Tragambar, Trimenava, Colororam, Puducheira, Calapate, Connumeira, Sadrapatan and Meliapor, now called St. Thomas. From hence to Palicata are nine leagues; then you find these places, Chiricole, Aremogan, Caloturo, Caleciro, Pentipolii, where the kingdom of Bijnagar ends, and where that of Orixia begins, which forms the second part of this division, containing about one hundred and twenty leagues to Cape Palmeiras, with the following towns or cities, Penacote, Calingan, Viripatan, Bimilepatan, Narsingapatan, Puacatan, Carigare, and others. At this last begins the third part, which is the kingdom of Bengala, extending above one hundred leagues. The sixth of the nine divisions begins at the eastern mouth of the Ganges, or Chatigan, and ends at Cape Cinapura, in a little more than one degree of north latitude. This coast contains about three hundred

dred and eighty leagues. To Cape Negraes, in the latitude of sixteen degrees south are one hundred leagues with these towns, Sore, Sata-tolu, Arracam the metropolis of the kingdom so called, and Dunadiva situated upon the point thence to Tavay in the latitude of thirteen, are sixteen leagues. This is the extent of the kingdom of Pegu. From Tavay to Cincapûra are two hundred and twenty leagues; the chief towns on this coast are Martaban, Cugor, Tanacorin, Lungor, Pedam, Queda, Solongor, and Malacca, the head city of the kingdom. At Cincapûra begins the seventh division, ending at the great river of Siam, which falls into the sea in the latitude of fourteen degrees, and flows out of the lake Chiamman, by the natives called Menam, that is, source of waters: upon this coast are the towns Pam, Ponciam, Calantaon, Patañe, Ligor, Cuii, Perperii, and Bamplacot, seated at the opening of the river.

The eighth division contains the following kingdoms; that of Cambodia, thro' which runs the Mecon, a river whose springs arise in China; that of Champa, or Triompa, whence comes the true and genuine aloës. On this borders the kingdom of Cochin-China; next to that, the empire of China, comprehending fifteen provinces or governments, each of them equal in riches, power, and extent, to great kingdoms; those on the sea are, Quangtung, Tokien, Chekiang, where ends the eighth division of the sea coast of the eastern world.

The ninth begins with the province of Nankin, and continues thro' those of Cantung and Pecheli, running on to the farthest discovered land of the coast of Tartary.

The principal islands washed by the Asiatic seas, are the Maldives, Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Banda, Timori, Celebes, the Moluccos, Mindane, Luconia and Japan.

All that tract which stretches from the river Cincatora, opposite to the island Angediva, towards the west, is subject to the Moors or Mahometans, and from thence eastward, to pagan or gentile nations, excepting however the kingdom of Malacca, part of Sumatra, and some parts of Java and the Malacca islands, which are held by the Moors. In that region which is governed by these latter, are the following sovereign princes. The kings of Adest, Xael, and Phartac, who possess many ports of vast trade, and whose subjects the Arabs are both courageous and warlike. Next to these is the kingdom of Ormuz, greater than the other three put together; then you find the prince of Cambodia, in grandeur and military power not inferior to Xerxes, Darius, or Porus. From Chaoul to Cincatory, the country belonged to Nizamalucco and Hidalean, two powerful princes, equal to great kings, who maintained great armies, composed of sundry warlike nations well armed. The Moors of Sumatra, Malacca, and the Moluccos, were well disciplined, and much better provided with artillery than the Portuguese who invaded their countries. The
heathen

heathen or gentile princes, are the kings of Bifnagar, Orixa, Bengala, Pegu, Siam, and China, all of them, but chiefly the last, so prodigiously powerful as almost exceeds belief. Siam extends above five hundred leagues, and has seven kingdoms belonging to it, which are Cambadia, Como, Lanahaam, Cheneray, Cheneram, Chiamay, Camburii, and Chaipumo. The king has thirty thousand elephants, whereof he carries out three thousand armed to war; and Udia the metropolis of his empire is said to be capable to send into the field fifty thousand fighting men. The emperor of China alone, in innumerable multitudes of people, and vast extent of territory, is believed not only to exceed any of the Asiatic princes, but even all the potentates and states of Europe put together. China is a tract above seven hundred leagues in length, has all sorts of metals in vast abundance, surpasses Europe in the quantity and value of its manufactures, some of which seem to exceed the powers of human wit; and the silks, provisions, and pleasures with which it abounds, are past all computation.

About six hundred years before the arrival of the Portugueze in India, reigned in Malabar, a king so powerful, that their common æra begun from his reign, as it did afterwards from the arrival of the Portugueze. He was persuaded by the Moors who traded in his ports, to turn mahometan, and gave them leave to build the city of Calicut. Being grown old, he divided his kingdoms amongst his kindred: to the chief of his relations, he gave the kingdom of Coulan, where

where he seated the principal see of the religion of the Bramins, giving the prince the title of Cobritim, a title equivalent to that of high priest. He gave his nephew the city of Calicut, with all the temporal or civil dominion, calling him Zamorin, the same in signification as king or emperor. This last dignity still continues in the same place; the other has been translated to Cochin. Having disposed of his dominions, he set out for Mecca, where he resolved to end his days, but was drowned by the way.

Calicut is a plain level country, well watered, fruitful in pepper and ginger, its neighbours supplying it with the other spiceries. The people much addicted to superstition. Children are not permitted to follow any profession but that of their fathers, nor to intermarry with those of any other art or trade.

The nayres or nobles think themselves polluted by the touch of the commonalty, and in that case purify themselves by washing, like the Jews after touching a dead corpse. The women of this nobles are common to all of that order, but especially to the Bramins. For this reason no person knows his father, and none are under any obligation to maintain their offspring. They begin to handle their weapons at the age of seven years, and are most dextrous and expert at this exercise. They practise all the manners of divination in use among the ancients.

Vasquez first of all applied himself to learn the genius and manners of the people, the nature of the soil, the produce of the country, the nature
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of its government, and the character of those who ruled. He found the Moors, the ancient enemies of his nation and religion, in absolute possession of the trade. It was necessary above all things to gain the good-will of this nation. He had the address to remove this almost insurmountable difficulty, gaining over, in spite of his hereditary hatred of the Portugueze nation, the agent of the morisco merchants, who was at the same time a sort of minister to the sovereign of the country. The Moor told him that Calicut, the city he now beheld, was the capital of a great empire, whose sovereigns bore the title of Zamorin or emperor; that his estates which were mostly maritime extended over all the coast of Malabar. Moreover, he offered his service to Gama in promoting his interest with the emperor, to whom he had constant access. He performed his promise; he hastened to the court, where he magnified the Portugueze nation beyond all bounds. He told the emperor, that a certain warlike, powerful, and wealthy nation had come from the ends of the earth to seek his friendship, and to desire leave to trade with his people. The Zamorin, moved with so pompous an account, admitted Gama to an audience without delay, in which he appeared in all the pomp and splendor usual with the monarchs of the East; and wherein the Portugueze orator was received with all the respect due to the ambassador of so renowned a people. But the friendship of these merchants, so little consistent with their interests, was of no long duration. For as
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soon as they were sensible of the consequences of the settlement of the Portugueze to their traffic, they repented of what they had done: and finding that they had outwitted themselves, they began to represent the Portugueze as a most ambitious, deceitful, and cruel people, who meant nothing less than to dethrone the emperor, and to enslave his country; these discourses kindled the jealousy of the Zamorin. He therefore made haste to prevent the designs of the Portugueze by their utter destruction.

Vasquez saw in his behaviour the revenge he meant to conceal, and retired to his ships. From hence he sent letters to the Zamorin: he complained of the injustice of suspicions which treated him as the basest of traitors, demonstrated his own innocence, and reproached him with the violation of his faith, and of the laws of hospitality to the subjects of a nation, whose honourable intentions deserved very different usage. He accused the mahommedans of being the authors of these injuries, and gave the prince to understand, that the friendship of the monarch, whose ambassador he had affronted, was of more value to him than that of all the mahometan princes in the universe put together. The Zamorin began to see matters with other eyes. In his answer, which was humble and submissive, he cast the blame of all upon his ministers, and the mohammedans, by whom he said he had been deceived, promising to make strict search into the affair, and to punish the guilty with the utmost rigour. To these apologies he added letters

ters for king Emanuel, full of respect, and with repeated assurances that from henceforwards the Portugueze nation should meet with the kindest reception, with entire freedom to trade, so long as they did not offer to disturb the tranquillity of the state, nor molest those of the religion of Mohammed, whom for reasons of state, he said, he could not break with. With this excuse Gama made haste to return into his own country, and in the month of September 1499 arrived in the port of Lisbon, having spent in this important discovery two years and two months, in which thro' sickness and fatigues, he had lost an hundred of his men, and amongst those his own brother. Emanuel received him with the highest marks of honour and esteem, sent out the principal nobility of his kingdom to meet him, and to welcome him to a country, which his labours and virtue had so much adorned. He heaped rewards and honours upon him; bestowed with his own hands rich presents on the officers and private men, praising all who had been in the expedition as persons who had deserved well of the public. Finally, he gave solemn and public thanks to almighty God and to Gama, for these happy successes, so far transcending his expectations.

C H A P. V.

Voyage of Cabrale, being the second of the Portuguese nation into the East, also that of John de Nueva.

WHEREFORE a second expedition was resolved. This was unanimously approved of, the prosperous event of the last persuading those who could be overcome by no other reasons. No expence was thought too large for the new expedition, and none promoted it with more eagerness than they who had been the greatest opposers of the former.

A fleet consisting of thirteen sail, whereof some were ships of great burthen, was equiped, and manned in a manner fit to support the credit of the Portuguese nation, and the advantageous idea which Gama had given of their power and riches. All men's expectations had been raised by the glory of those achievements, and the hopes of the profit that was to ensue from them. It was first consulted in what manner to prosecute what had been begun; and it was resolved, that according to the dispositions they had found in the people of the East, there was more hopes from an armed force than from other measures. For this reason this armament was prepared. Rich presents were added, for the emperor, a custom of old standing amongst the princes of the East, the omission of which had occasioned a great part of the difficulties which Gama had experienced

experienced in the former expedition. Priests were also sent to convert the natives; but lest the christian austerity should prove too weak against the dissoluteness of the institutions of Mahomet, a force of fifteen hundred veterans were embarked to support the cause of trade and of christianity. The substance of their instructions was, to begin by preaching, the authority and sanctity of religion, and the softer methods of persuasion; if these failed, to proceed to the decision of the sword.

On the eighth of March 1500, the king with his own hands delivered to the admiral Pedro Alvarez de Cabrale the flag of the Holy Cross, while the shore was covered with people who thronged to see that fleet sail which was to conquer the East.

At first they sailed with a favourable gale; but some time after, the roughness of the weather drove them upon a coast situated in ten degrees beyond the line, where they saw a tawny people with lank hair and flat faces, who went naked, and were armed with bows and arrows. They fled from the Portugueze, till halting upon an eminence, they were spoke to in several languages, and also by signs; but in vain. The fleet passed on, and on Easter eve anchored in a port, which they called Seguro from the shelter it afforded them. The people at this place being affable, the Europeans landed, and erecting an altar under a tree, mass was celebrated, and a sermon preached, at which the heathens were present with wonderful attention. The admiral

sent a ship to advertise the king of this discovery, and setting up the sign of the cross on a great tree, called the country Sancta Cruz, or the Land of the Holy Cross. He also left there two Portuguese who had been banished their country for crimes, to make enquiry into the language and manners of the people, and to learn the produce of the country. This is that wide region of the new world since called Brazil, from the abundance of the wood of that name which it produces. Not long after was seen a comet or blazing star, whose flaming train seemed to kindle all the heavens, and terrified all who saw it. It vanished in eight days. This was the forerunner of that dreadful storm which arose on the twenty-third at night, from the north-east quarter, mingled with rain. Such was its violence that they expected every moment to be swallowed up by the waves; the day was so overspread with thick darkness, that they could not discern one another, and so great was the roaring of the winds and billows, that a man's voice could not be heard. The furious winds swelling the waves as high as mountains; one moment they seemed to be tossed above the clouds, the next, plunged to the bottom of the deep; in the day the water seemed black as pitch, and at night appeared like flames of fire. In this miserable condition they continued twenty days, in which perished four ships with all their men, and amongst these the famous Bartholomew Diaz, the first who passed the Cape of Good-Hope. On the sixteenth of July, they arrived on the coast of Zofala,

Zofala, with six shattered ships in great distress. Thence they proceeded to Mozambique, where the admiral refreshed his weary mariners; from thence to Quiloa, from that to Melinda, from which last a favourable wind attended them to the islands of Angediva. Here he careened his ships, and set out for Calicut, which they discovered the seventeenth of September. The natives, seized with admiration and gladness, at the sight of the European fleet, ran in crowds to the shore. The principal nobility came out to welcome the Portuguese admiral. First of all the manner was settled in which the king and admiral should meet, and this was done with great circumspection. Cabrale demanded that six hostages might be sent on board for his own and his people's safety, and those of the family or tribe of the Bramins, which was granted at last. The embassy was delivered with great state; its purport was to conclude a peace, and to settle a trade to those parts. After much delay, proceeding from the jealousy of the king, and the artifices of the Moors, a peace was concluded, the hostages delivered, liberty to trade granted, and a house given for the convenience of traffic. Correa the first factor took possession of it with sixty men, chosen for their strength and boldness.

After all, they could not procure goods sufficient for a loading. Complaints were made to the king, but no redress. What occasioned this was the enmity between two Moorish governors, one intendant of the sea, the other of the land affairs. This last was offended that the Portuguese factor had

made greater application to the other than to himself, and contrived to be revenged in the following manner. He was informed that there had sailed from Cochin, a city about thirty leagues distant, a very great ship of Ceylon, bound for Cambaya with elephants, which must pass in view of the Portugueze fleet. He told the factor, that the owners had refused one of those animals to the desire of the king; that by taking that ship the admiral would oblige the king, forward their own business, and possess himself of a great quantity of spices which the merchants of Mecca had on board her. His design was, that the Portugueze should suffer in the attempt, that ship being of great force; and to this purpose he gave notice of it to the owners, that they might be the better provided; or in case that should misgive, he hoped the Portugueze would thereby disoblige the merchants of Cochin. The admiral fell into the snare. He dispatched the ship *St. Peter*, commanded by Peter de Ataida, after the ship of Cochin, who gave her chace. She made no account of the Portugueze vessel, till the cannon taking some effect, and the balls reaching her, she bore down upon the Portugueze pouring in volleys of shot; she then made off, but was pursued, and taken in the bay of Cananor. There were seven elephants aboard, whereof one was killed by a cannon ball. This contrivance produced this advantage; to discover the author, to terrify the king of Calicut, seeing such a vessel taken by one not above the sixth part of her bulk, and to gain his friendship: for
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the admiral discovering the fraud, restored the ship to the owners, making satisfaction for the damage they had sustained. Here it was that Duarte Pacheco gave the first marks of that heroic valour, which afterwards made him renowned thro' all the world.

This affair turned to their advantage, but not that which followed; for after waiting three months, only two ships were loaded, and that at a high charge. The Portugueze factor suspecting that the Moors loaded by night, and so hindered the others, complained to the king, who ordered him to make prize of the boats employed in that clandestine traffic. After search made nothing was found, this being only a contrivance of the Moors to incense the common people against the Portugueze. And indeed so it fell out. Immediately a multitude of Indians run to arms, assault the Portugueze house, burst open the gates, pillage, burn, and massacre all that come in their way; of sixty-six Portugueze who were in it, fifty were butchered, the rest escaping to the ships boats, sent ashore to receive them. The admiral sufficiently revenged the loss of his countrymen; he discharged his artillery on fifteen large Moorish ships which lay in the harbour, most of which were destroyed in the flames, or perished in the waves, together with the greatest part of their crews; the few who were saved from that destruction were made slaves. Then turning his cannon upon the city, he battered it with two days incessant fire, above six hundred inhabitants were buried in its ruins.

A cannon ball killed one of the emperor's favourite lords so near him, that he was covered with blood. This accident terrified him to such a degree, that he fled out of the city in the utmost precipitancy and confusion.

He then sailed for Cochin, a city thirty leagues south of Calicut, and the metropolis of a kingdom the most fertile in spices of all the countries of Indostan. Trimumpara, who now reigned here was at war with the Zamorin, which latter had gained the hatred of all the neighbouring princes. Those of Cochin and Cananor in particular were desirous of an opportunity to break with him; for which cause they strove to draw the Portugueze fleets to their ports. The king of Coulan was also solicitous to be admitted into their friendship. Wherefore the admiral was well received at Cochin, where he had liberty to trade for what quantity of spices he pleased. His cargo being completed, he proceeded to Cananor, both to oblige the king to whom he had promised a visit, and also to shew that he was not afraid of the threats of the Zamorin. The king received him with open arms, provided him with what merchandize he yet wanted, and having concluded an alliance with the admiral, he sent on board an ambassador, who was to accompany those of Cochin and Coulan into Portugal. The fleet laden with immense riches set sail for Europe, having on board the ambassadors of three Indian potentates.

These proceedings were not hid from the Zamorin,

morin. He resolved to use all his efforts to destroy the effects of this formidable alliance, which threatened him with new enemies from the other hemisphere. He sent out a powerful fleet to destroy the Portugueze: but the superior skill of the Europeans baffled his designs. The Portugueze out-sailing the Indian navy, arrived safe in the Tagus in July 1501.

Before this fleet returned, there sailed from Lisbon four ships with four hundred men on board, commanded by John de Nueva, a man well skilled in maritime affairs. After several discoveries they arrived at Cananor. The king, desirous to detain the Portugueze fleet in his harbours, told the admiral that the Zamorin was coming against him with forty great ships. This intelligence had a contrary effect to that which the king expected from it. For de Nueva, lest it should be believed that he staid at Cananor out of fear, set sail for Cochin, leaving some persons behind to prepare the merchandize against his return. In the road of Calicut they came up with the fleet of the Zamorin. The engagement began at day-break. It proved both bloody and obstinate, the event continuing doubtful the whole day. At last the approach of the night brought victory to the Portugueze. Fortune went over to that side on which were superior skill and superior valour. The fleet of the barbarians gave way, having had ten great ships buried in the waves, besides barks and other small vessels whose construction is peculiar to those countries; and
more

more than four hundred men killed in this action.

The measures which had been pursued, and the hostile condition of the eastern countries, made it necessary to send a force into the Indies, sufficient to strike terror into their enemies, to protect their allies, and to preserve their conquests. Besides it seemed evident, that to attempt the empire of the East, there was occasion for a force proportionable to that undertaking; that otherwise it were more adviseable to abandon it altogether. Some were of this last opinion, but the glory of so great an achievement prevailed; and though many lives and much treasure had been lost in it, notwithstanding, the riches of those who had returned, were a consideration which outweighed the hazards of the attempt. Moreover the king was inspired with the hopes of enriching and aggrandizing his kingdom, and of adding to the glory of his reign, the praise of having been the second planter of christianity in the East. The riches of this new traffic supplied the means. Lisbon was become in some part the capital of all the trading nations in Europe. Strangers flocked hither from all quarters, and the stocks of the merchants of other nations were sent into Portugal, to be employed in a trade so lucrative and so universal. Thus Emanuel became the master of the wealth of Europe and the Indies. And nothing was now difficult to a prince whose exchequer was filled with so vast a treasure.

C H A P. VI.

De Gama sails into the Indies a second time.

Wherefore in order to support the high reputation he had acquired amongst so many powerful and distant nations, he determined to send out a great power. In the month of March three squadrons put to sea; the first, which consisted of ten ships, was commanded by Vasquez de Gama, now on his second voyage to the Indies; the second of five ships, under Vincent Sodrez, whose orders were to scour the coasts of Cochinchina and Cananor, and to ruin the trade of Mecca by guarding the mouth of the Red-sea; the third under the flag of Stephen de Gama: the whole amounting to twenty ships, all under the orders of Vasquez de Gama.

Quiloa felt the first effects of his resentment for their ill usage to his countrymen. The place was cannonaded, and the king made tributary to Portugal. Sailing thence he ordered his fleet to spread, that so no ship might pass unseen. Several captures were made, but those of Calicut were more severely treated than all others. Amongst these latter, a ship belonging to the sultan of Cairo laden with immense riches fell into his hands. As she expected no enemy, she struck without resistance. Boats were sent out to seize this vessel, in which were two hundred and sixty Moors, besides above fifty women and children. Their orders were to take out their goods, and to set fire to the ship with all her people aboard her. The Moors perceiv-
ing

ing their intention, laid hold of such weapons as fortune threw in their way, beat off the Portugueze boats, a ship coming up to their assistance was almost taken, but being relieved by another, and the admiral coming up, the enemy were boarded, and burnt with all on board, excepting twenty infants only who were afterwards baptized. Thus perished that gallant company, whose bravery merited a better fate.

The admiral then proceeded to Cananor, where after dismissing his ambassadors, he had an interview with the king, in which the former alliance was renewed, and persons appointed to settle affairs relating to commerce. He then sent to the king of Calicut, to let him know that the fate of the Moors was no more than an earnest of the vengeance he meant to take of his capital, on account of the Portugueze killed by his people. Thus saying, he advanced to perform his promise.

On his way there met him a boat, in which were four of the nobles of Calicut, whom the Zamorin had sent with offers extorted thro' fear of the approaching danger. Vasquez, dissatisfied with their proposals, still proceeded. The king was now under a necessity of preparing for his defence; but in vain. The terror of the artillery threw all into confusion: thirty Moors were hanged at the yard arms and thrown into the sea, after having their hands and feet cut off, in order that their mangled corpes being cast ashore by the tide, the Indians might read in them what they had to expect from such enemies. Then setting fire to a ship he had taken, he set sail, leaving the
the

the Zamorin and city in terror and consternation.

Mean time the Zamorin, a crafty and enraged enemy, left nothing undone to destroy the Portugueze, whose cruelty made them still more detested, and who besides fomented the rebellion of his vassals. He employed force and fraud to compass his ends. He sent privately to Trimumpara with unbounded offers, if he would betray the Portugueze commander into his hands. The faith of the barbarous prince prevailed over those temptations. He made answer, that the Portugueze nation had ever used him with fidelity and honour, and that he would perish rather than abandon them. The Zamorin irritated with this bold answer, and despairing to overcome the virtue of Trimumpara, redoubled his efforts, resolving to attempt by open force that which he could not accomplish by stratagem. He assembled a fleet of nine and twenty ships of force, determining to attack Vasquez on his return to Europe, when his fleet being heavy loaded and unmanageable should be unable to resist.

In order to favour this design the following stratagem was put in practice, with a view probably to render the admiral secure of going home unmolested.

Whilst the ships were loading at Cochin, a Bramin of superior rank offered himself to Vasquez, together with his son and his nephew, signifying a desire of coming to Portugal in order to be instructed in the christian religion: at the same time he proposed expedients for bringing about a reconciliation with the king of Calicut.

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As he consented that his son and nephew should remain as hostages for his good faith, he easily found credit. In this belief the admiral sailed for Calicut in a great ship, accompanied with no more than one caravel, because he expected to meet Sodrez who was gone to set on shore the ambassadors. Sodrez had been attacked by the Moors, and had set out for Cananor. The Bramin was sent ashore, and pretending to carry messages backwards and forwards, gave time for fitting out an hundred great boats called paraos, which suddenly surrounding the admiral, attempted to board him, and to set fire to his ship with compositions of combustible matter. The flames already began to catch, when cutting his cable, he disentangled himself from the fire-ship, and stood out to sea. The enemy still pursued him in their boats, and he had ran great hazard of falling into their hands, had not Sodrez, informed of the danger of the admiral by the caravel which he had dispatched the moment he missed his vice-admiral, come up in the moment of danger. And now they charge the enemy with so much fury, that they are forced to fly with vast loss. The hostages were hanged at the yard arms, and then sent ashore in a boat, with a letter for the Zamorin, offering him that present in return for his treachery. After this victory and deliverance, he set sail for Cananor with ten ships. Near Paderane he was met by twenty-nine ships belonging to the Zamorin: this fleet well manned and expedite, and elated with the hopes of conquest, came down at once upon him. But the experience of Vasquez was not to be defeated

feated by any power in those parts. In order to increase their security and confidence of victory, he ordered his fleet not to engage for some time, but to suffer the enemy to come close up to them without opposition. And now, when they were come as near as he intended, he gave the signal to engage, when immediately his great artillery pouring their shot into two of the largest of the enemy, did such execution, that the soldiers aboard them, struck with terror at the havock, leaped into the sea, esteeming any sort of death less terrible than that they fled from. Three hundred men were killed in this rencounter. The other ships, beholding the terrible fate of their companions, fled, spreading all the sail the masts could carry to bear them out of the reach of their enemies. This victory was crowned with immense riches found in the two captive ships, which last being burnt, the admiral set sail for Europe:

Sodrez was left to protect the factories, and the allies of Portugal. The admiral continuing his voyage, arrived at Lisbon with nine ships heavy with riches. He was received with universal joy, amidst the acclamations of multitudes of people who ran to behold the entry of Vasquez, in which the tribute of the king of Quiloa was carried in silver basons before him.

The Zamorin fearing to lose the trade of Arabia and Egypt, the only traffic that now remained to his estates, and envying the power of the king of Cochin, supported by his enemies, resolved to avenge his losses on this latter. Wherefore he
made

made huge preparations for war; and assembled an army of fifty thousand men to invade Cochin. The people of Cochin fearing so great a power, were for giving up the Portugueze to the Zamorin, who wished for nothing more. But Trimumpara behaving with his wonted firmness, refused to yield to their clamour; and resolving, notwithstanding the pusillanimity of his subjects, to hazard all, rather than violate his own faith and the laws of hospitality, went out with a small force to meet the enemy. At the first charge he was forsaken by some of his nobles; however, with the assistance of the Portugueze, he continued valiantly to maintain a pass, till both his nephews being killed, whereof one was his general, he was forced to fly for safety to the island Vaipi, opposite to the city of Cochin, whither he had first sent the Portugueze. This island had been of old consecrated to the most awful and tremendous mysteries of the Indian worship, and had ever been deemed an inviolable azylum by all the princes of the East. It was moreover a place of extraordinary strength; nature and art seemed to conspire to render it impregnable. It was besides provided with every thing necessary in a long siege, and was defended by a garrison both numerous and resolute.

The Zamorin, whose power nothing could withstand, advanced against Viapan or Vaipi, for it is written both ways. Cochin was taken, burnt, and plundered. He then attacked this island whither Trimumpara had retired. He often gave the assault, and was as often repulsed with great slaughter,

slaughter, the governor still preserving his faith to his master amidst his misfortunes, and the king still refusing to deliver up the Portuguese.

Things were in this posture, when Sodrez the Portuguese admiral arrived with the squadron under his command. The king, overjoyed at the approach of relief, sent to desire he would land part of his men to assist in this dangerous extremity. Sodrez wanted not courage, but his insatiable avarice sullied all his military reputation. Taken up with the thoughts of enriching himself by the plunder of the Moorish vessels, he made answer that his instructions limited his command to the seas, and that he was not at liberty to land so much as one man; that the orders of his government were not to be dispensed with. So saying he left the coast, and set sail for the Red-sea in quest of booty. This proceeding amazed the king, and enraged the subjects of Portugal, who were less concerned for their own safety, than for the honour of their country. For no arguments were capable to move this officer, enslaved by the most contemptible of human passions. His fate was equal to his merits. His ship was lost; and all aboard her, amongst those his own brother.

Altho' the severity of the weather had obliged the Zamorin to break up from before Viapan, he had notwithstanding taken all the precautions necessary for the security of Cochin, by erecting fortresses in the principal places. He had also thrown a strong garrison into the capital, at which last place he had erected a citadel; resolving to return to the siege as soon as the weather would permit.

*Expedition of Alphonso and Francis Albuquerque.
Acts of Pacheco.*

WHilst the people of Cochin were besieged in this island, there sailed from Portugal nine ships under three distinct commanders. These were Alphonso de Albuquerque, Francisco de Albuquerque, and Antonio de Saldanna. This last was to cruise upon the Moors in the mouth of the Red-sea, and the others to return with the trade to Europe. Francisco de Albuquerque arrived before the others, having been joined by the squadron of Sodrez, which he found in distress on the coast of India. Coming before the island, he saluted the king, to whom he sent presents, on the part of Emanuel, part whereof consisted in ten thousand ducats in money. While he advanced to the shore, the king ran to embrace him, himself and his people weeping tears of joy. The admiral on his part said all he could to comfort the prince, promising every thing he could expect from allies of whom he had so well deserved. He told him at the same time, what farther force there was upon the seas for his assistance.

He lost no time, but fell upon those who held the island of Cochin for the Zamorin, and killing vast numbers, he expelled the rest. The prince of Repelin's lands were wasted with fire and sword. The Zamorin's garrisons were every where driven out, his fortresses razed even with the ground, and the king of Cochin brought back with triumph to his capital.

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The admiral took this opportunity to ask leave to erect a fortress in Cochin. The king, whether out of gratitude to a people to whom he owed his deliverance and his diadem, or that he was not in a condition to refuse it, granted him liberty to erect a strong hold wherever he saw fit; forming by this condescension the fetters which were to deprive him and his people of their liberty.

Albuquerque knowing that a council of this nature might soon be repented of, lost no time to execute an affair of such moment: He made choice of an eminence which commanded at once the port and the city, drew the plan of the citadel, making all possible dispatch to compleat this strength, with such materials as he could procure, the country affording neither stones nor mortar. The work was already well advanced, when Alphonso de Albuquerque arrived. This general was ambitious of signalizing himself by some notable exploit under his own direction; wherefore assaulting a city of the country, a multitude of warlike Indians falling forth, brought him into great danger. At the same instant they were attacked by above thirty of the Zamorin's ships: but his brother Francisco coming to his relief, the enemy were routed with great slaughter. Seven hundred were killed in the island Calabam, whither they thought to secure themselves. Duarte Pacheco destroyed another town, in which most of the inhabitants were cut to pieces. Whilst the victorious Portugueze sailed away, spent as they were with fatigue, they were attacked by another fleet of Calicut, consisting

of fifty sail; this affair likewise turned out in favour of the former. A factory was now settled at Coulan, the kingdom of a rich and powerful prince, whose capital lay at twenty-four leagues distance south from Cochin. The queen, who was guardian of the king her son then in his non-age, soliciting the friendship and protection of the Portugueze, was received into favour, on condition of freedom to traffic in the estates of this prince.

The Portugueze arms were now carried into the opposite coast of Africa. The king of Zanguebar was obliged to acknowledge the king of Portugal for his sovereign; as was the city of Brava, a kind of commonwealth, which was compelled to pay an annual tribute. The king of Melinda, oppressed by the sovereign of Mombaza, fled for sanctuary and relief to the new lords of the East. Their friendship cost him infinitely dear; for by this means he lost at once, his quality, his estates, and his independence. His rival shared the same fate.

The great successes and the growing power of the Portugueze terrified the Zamorin, so that changing his thirst of vengeance into the lowest submissions, he sued for peace. The conquerors granted it, imposing what terms they themselves thought proper. Part of those conditions had been put in execution, when the Zamorin, probably affected with the ignominy of yielding to a foreign power, or instigated by the Moors, or moved by both those considerations, put a stop to the rest. He again prosecuted the war; resolving

resolving to extirpate those strangers, whose power was become so terrible, and to punish Trimumpara, whose simplicity, he said, had enslaved to them the Indian states. Wherefore he prepared with incredible diligence and secrecy to fall upon the Portugueze fleet on their return home. But all his care to conceal his designs was ineffectual. Trimumpara, watchful for his own and his people's safety, penetrating his intentions, applied himself to Alphonso, beseeching him not to leave his friends and allies without some force to protect them from the power of the Zamorin. The admiral moved by the justness of his request, consented that Duarte Pacheco with his own ships, and two caravels with one hundred and fifty men, should remain in those parts. These matters thus settled, Alphonso and Francisco returned towards Europe. The former after a prosperous voyage, arrived safe, but Francisco with the ships under his command were never more heard of.

Scarce had the Portugueze fleet quitted the shores of India, and were got out of sight of land, when the Zamorin purposing to invade Cochin with all his power, called together the kings and lords of Malabar. There resorted to him those of Tanor, Besspûr or Nisapûr, Cotugan and Chorin, with ten princes of equal power, besides lords of inferior force. Fifty thousand men were assembled as well for land as sea service. For this latter, there were four thousand men in two hundred and eighty vessels of several sorts, and

three hundred and eighty cannon to batter the new fort. The remainder of this vast army, was to attack the ford of the river thro' which lay the passage to the island in which Cochin is seated. These were commanded by Naubeadering, nephew and heir to the emperor, Elancol lord of Repelim.

The king of Cochin, seeing himself deserted by his subjects, shewed some marks of fear: but Duarte Pacheco encouraged him, at the same time putting himself into a posture of defence. The king of Cochin taking heart by his example, disposed every thing to the best advantage, was present every where, leaving nothing to fortune which prudence could foresee, and thus placing his trust and confidence in the divine providence, he waited the event.

The disposition made by Pacheco was as follows: In the ships were put twenty-five men; in the fort, thirty-nine; in the caravel twenty-six; twenty-three were put aboard a boat; and in another was Pacheco himself with twenty-two. Besides these who were Portugueze, three hundred Malabars waited his orders, while the king with his own troops defended the city.

Three bloody and fierce encounters happened in disputing the pass. In the first the Zamorin lost twenty paraos sunk by the cannon, one hundred and eighty persons of note, and above a thousand private men. In the second attack, nineteen paraos, three hundred and sixty men. In the third, six hundred and twenty-two paraos, besides sixty which fled, and fifteen thousand

men

men killed, amongst whom was the Zamorin himself. Pacheco pursued them, laid waste their country with fire and sword, and burnt four of their cities down to the ground.

The king of Calicut (successor of him who had been killed) returns to attempt another ford. At that time three hundred Moors deserted Pacheco, besides he was in want of powder, nor did the king of Cochin relieve him, the messenger of Pacheco having treacherously forebore delivering his message. But Pacheco overcoming all difficulties, killed above six hundred of the enemy, obliging them to take shelter in a grove of palm trees, where nine men were killed by a cannon ball so near the king that he was sprinkled with their blood. Not long after he lost six thousand more by the plague.

Notwithstanding the king of Calicut made vast preparations, fatiguing Pacheco in the mean time with divers stratagems and treacheries. The making of a powder was projected to blind the enemy, and so facilitate their overthrow: besides they had got a new invention of floating castles to destroy their ships; and the Moors of Cochin were clandestinely bribed to poison the water of the island. The project of the powder was the subject of Pacheco's laughter, but he was at great pains to secure the wells and springs. And now the castles began to appear. These were eight in number, fifteen feet high, each raised upon two boats, and carrying multitudes of men. Pacheco had one hundred and sixty men divided between four different parts; the ford, the fort,

the caravels, and the ship; and herein consisted the chief strength of the kingdom of Cochin: for of thirty thousand men which composed the king's army at first, there remained no more than eight thousand, many of the principal men having deserted. The king of Cochin had brought eighty thousand into the field, whereof he had lost twenty thousand. Whilst the towers of the enemy were preparing, Pacheco was attacked by a number of paraos. No sooner had he repulsed those, than six bold nayres undertook to kill him, and in order thereto came over as deserters. But being informed of their design, he caused them to be seized, and thus escaped this danger. The Zamorin now gave out that the Portugueze at Cochin were all killed in the late rencounters, with this intent, that those of that nation who resided at Cananor and Coulam might be destroyed. This stratagem had very near taken its intended effect, and they run great hazard, many being wounded, and some of them killed. The king of Cochin though he saw the great danger that threatened him, was resolved to endure the utmost miseries rather than abandon the Portugueze, but feared so small a number must at last be overpowered by the multitude of the enemy; the danger of those brave men grieved him more than his own. He therefore most earnestly entreated Pacheco to quit that enterprize, and to reserve himself and his men for some opportunity wherein he might do his prince greater service. Pacheco bid the king take courage, and not dishearten his subjects by any
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signs of fear; but to exhort them to stand firm, and that thereby they should overcome all difficulties. And fearing lest any of the Portuguese, thro' his example, might falter in the resolution of conquering or dying, he went aboard the ships, where he made them a most eloquent and resolute speech, which gave new vigour to all of them; but much more his speedy orders, and the courageous activity shewn at that very time; for scarce was the speech ended, when the enemy appeared. Their design was to burn the Portuguese ships, and for that end those floating castles were drove towards them, all their front blazing with fire. But Pacheco perceiving their intent, made use of long beams, one end whereof being fastened to the ships, and the other projecting, hindered the approach of those burning castles. The enemy drew near with two hundred and ninety vessels, well provided in men and artillery, with eight castles; one carrying forty men; two, thirty-five men each; and every one of the other five, thirty men; before all came the fire-works. The shore was covered with thirty thousand men, with excellent artillery; at the head of them, the lord of Repelim with a vast number of pioneers. The fight began, the odds being almost three hundred vessels, to three. At first, the artillery had little effect, but continuing to play, tore in pieces those towers, the smoak whereof being somewhat allayed, the sea appeared covered with broken boats, arms, dead bodies, and others struggling with death; the fight was renewed with great loss to the enemy, and

and not one Portugueze killed. The next day the king of Calicut returned and was beaten off with great damage, having lost eighteen thousand men in the space of five months that this expedition lasted. Therefore by the advice of his Bramins he desired peace of the king of Cochin, which was granted; which done, he retired to do penance. Soon after Pacheco quelled the Moors at Coulam who obstructed the Portugueze factors in their traffic, and by hindering any others from entering the harbour, they bought the merchandize at their own price. He then returned to Cochin, having by the terror of his name only struck a general panic over all that coast. The more effectually to check the enemy, and to hinder their descent, he fortified the harbour of Cochin, and after having preserved the ally of Portugal, and restored him to his ancient grandeur and independence, he prepared to return into Europe.

C H A P. VIII.

Emanuel sends Lope Soarez with a great power into the East.

KING Emanuel seeing the necessity of appearing with a greater power in the Indies, sent out Lope Soarez with a fleet of thirteen ships, the largest hitherto built in Portugal, and on board of them twelve hundred men. He met two Portugueze commanders refitting in the Angedive islands, in order to cruise against the Moors. With these he appeared before Calicut; and because they did not deliver all the prisoners taken

taken in the late war, he battered the city two whole days, killing three hundred of the inhabitants, and then sailed for Cochin, at the same time that Pacheco was upon his return from Coulam.

The king informed Soarez of the damage done him by the inhabitants of Cranganor, a city at four leagues distance, which the king of Calicut had fortified. The Portugueze with great secrecy provided ships, sailed up the river, where, after a sharp engagement, five ships, with eighty paraos well manned, were burnt by two Portugueze ships which led the van. He then sailed on to attack the city. Showers of arrows poured by multitudes of Moors and Indians who covered all the shore, opposed the Portugueze. But their musquetry made way thro' all, and having reached the town, it was burnt down to the ground. The prince of Calicut who was to have guarded it fled.

Soarez was under sail in his return to Europe, when he was met by twenty paraos, who freely bestowed their shot, and drew him into a bay, wherein were seventeen great ships well provided with cannon, and defended by four thousand men. All those ships with their lading, which was exceeding rich, were burnt, seven hundred Turks drowned, besides those who perished by fire and sword. Soarez arrived at Lisbon on the twenty-second of July, with thirteen victorious ships, heavy laden with riches, whereof three were of the fleet of the foregoing year. The king seated Duarte Pacheco by his side, under a canopy, and went in that manner along with him to church, to do honour
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to his great valour: some authors say that he soon after imprisoned him, and suffered him to die in great misery: tho' others contradict this particular, asserting, that the king, not content with bestowing upon him the government of Africa, thought he could never enough recompense him; and that, to the end that the memory of his virtue should never perish, he employed the most eloquent prelate in his dominions to write the history of Pacheco's war, which he sent to all the princes of Europe, glorying that it gave him a higher satisfaction to have such a man in his kingdom, than to be lord of the Indies. If the former be true, it affords a terrible example of the uncertainty of royal favours, and the little regard that is had to true merit.

Before these discoveries, spices were brought to Europe with vast trouble, and at an immense charge. The clove of Molucco, the nutmeg and mace of Banda, the sandal of Tinor, the camphire of Borneo, the gold and silver of Luconia, with all the other riches, spices, gums, perfumes, and curiosities of China, Java, Siam, and other eastern kingdoms, were carried to the market of the city of Malacca, seated in the country by some thought to be the Golden Chersonesus of the ancients, whence the inhabitants of all the western regions, as far as the Red-sea, brought those commodities in barter for goods of the produce of their respective countries. For no money was used in this traffic, silver and gold being less esteemed in that place, than by those who traded thither. It was this trade which enriched the
cities

cities of Calicut, Cambaya, Ormus, and Aden, adding to what they brought from Malacca, the rubies of Pegu, the stuffs of Bengala, the pearls of Calicare, the diamonds of Narfinga, the cinnamon and richer rubies of Ceylon, the pepper, ginger, and other spices of the coast of Malabar, and such other places as nature had enriched with these latter commodities. From Ormus they were brought to Europe, thro' the Persian gulph, by way of Bacora at the mouth of the Euphrates, and thence distributed by caravans through Armenia, Trebizond, Tartary, Aleppo and Damascus. The Venetians, Genoese, and Catalonians, loaded them at the port of Barut on the Mediterranean, in order to distribute them over all the North. Such as were carried thro' the Red-sea, were landed at Toro or Suez, towns at the bottom of that gulph, and thence conveyed by caravans to Grand Cairo, and there embarked on the Nile for Alexandria, from whence they were shipped off for the North and West.

The vast wealth and power which these successes brought to Portugal, did not satisfy Emanuel. His views growing with his opportunities, he meditated nothing less than to secure this opulence to his people, exclusive of all others; and this was by driving their competitors the Moors out of those parts; a design worthy of its author, and only reprehensible in this, that it seemed to surpass the powers of his small domain. The king believed that, as there were three principal ports or marts from which that nation traded to the remotest parts of the Indies,
and

and all of them at great distance from one another, it might be practicable by their being thus divided to oppress them, either one after another, or all at once. These ports were Aden in Arabia, Ormuz, situated in an island of the same name on the coast of Persia, and Malacca, seated on the straits of Sincapour. With this design he made great preparations, ordering a fleet to be equipped, greater and better manned than any he had sent out heretofore.

C H A P. IX.

Expedition of Francis Almeida.

WHilst Emanuel was employed in these preparations, a new scene of affairs arose in the East. Many princes suffered by the new established trade of the Portugueze. The Bramins employed in the court of the Zamorin, observing their discontents, took occasion to hint to the emperor, that the christians and mahometans were mortal and irreconcilable enemies, divided still more by interest than by religion, and that, by blowing the fire of dissention between them, and supporting the weaker, he might easily render himself superior to both, thus weakened by mutual hostilities. To this purpose, the Zamorin, the shame of his own losses, and the harshness of the Portugueze yoke, equally acting upon him, dispatched an embassy to the sultan of Egypt, complaining of the tyranny of that nation, and asking his assistance against a people, whose pride and avarice and cruelty were equally destructive to both their estates. The sultan think-
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ing to intimidate Emanuel, sent word to the Pope that if these hostilities were continued in the East, he would send an army to destroy the holy places in Jerusalem. These threats had no other effect upon the king than to hasten the dispatch of a strong squadron into the Indies. Sixteen ships of force, with fifteen hundred foot, composed this armament. Besides these were sent six caravels, a sort of galleon or vessel without decks. The commander was Francisco de Almeida, who was to take upon him the government of India, with the title of viceroy, and who had given great proofs of his prudence and courage in the wars of Ferdinand king of Castile. This naval army left the shores of Portugal on the twenty-fifth of March one thousand five hundred and five, and Almeida, after a prosperous course, arrived at Quiboa, with part of his fleet, the rest being separated by stresses of weather. Abraham the tyrant of the country refused to pay the tribute he had covenanted for. Almeida attacked, defeated, and expelled him, seated Mahomet Ancorim in his throne, and erected a fortress in order to secure the obedience of his wavering subjects. He then visited Mombaza, seated also on the coast of Africa. The situation of this place, which was built in an island, and was defended by two citadels on which were planted some pieces of cannon, made him refuse to admit the viceroy into his port. He therefore forced the entrance, and battering his castles to pieces, he stormed the city, and made slaves of most part of the inhabitants. He likewise built
a fort

a fort at this place, after which he set sail for the Angedive islands, where he erected another strength. Here he received the compliments of the king; and the Moors of Chinkatora, alarmed at the presence of a general whose actions had gained him so much reputation, sent him rich presents. The fort being finished he proceeded to Onor. The inhabitants, after securing their wives, children, and most valuable effects in a neighbouring mountain, changed their behaviour, appeared in a body with a design to support the insolence they had been guilty of. The admiral attacked them by sea and land, and marching thro' showers of arrows burnt the city with all the ships in the port. Timoia the governor of the city, a man of great prudence, and of a most graceful presence, persuaded the governor to desist from the total destruction of the place. The king became the tributary vassal of Portugal. Hence he departed for Cananor, where he had the king's permission to build a fort, in which he left a strong garrison, and so set out for Cochin. Affairs here were in a very fluctuating condition. Trimumpara, broken and worn out with old age, had resigned the crown to the younger of his sister's sons, rejecting the elder because he had abandoned him in the last invasion of the Zamorin. These proceedings excited very great troubles. The viceroy arriving put an end to all disputes, establishing Noubeador on the throne of his uncle. The king of Cochin from this day forwards acknowledged himself the vassal of the king of Portugal. The governor
made

made him rich presents, telling him at the same time, that he had orders from the king, now their common sovereign, to build a citadel in Cochín still stronger than the former.

King Emanuel in order to secure the trade of the gold of Zofala, caused forts to be built at Quiloa, at Mozambik, and a factory at Melinda. Afterwards Don Francisco sent out Pedro de Annaya to build a fort at Zofala. The king of this place believing that the unhealthfulness of the country would oblige the Portugueze to abandon it, granted him permission to erect a fortress whereby that trade was secured contrary to the king's intentions. As this country constitutes part of the Portugueze conquests, and is included in the charter of the East-India company, the description of it extracted from an author of reputation is here subjoined. The kingdom of Zofala is a large tract of land, seven hundred and fifty leagues in circumference, subject to the Monomopata, that is to say, emperor of that part of southern Afric which goes under this name, and is also known by that of Ethiopia Inferior; it is watered by two famous rivers, Rio del Esperitu Santo, and Cuama, the latter navigable two hundred and fifty leagues from the ocean. These and many other rivers which fall into them are reputed to have golden sands. This land for the most part is pleasant, healthful and fertile, enjoying a temperate air. Some part of it feeds vast flocks of sheep, the skins whereof serve to defend the natives from the cold winds which blow

from the South. The country along the banks of the Cuama is mountainous, covered with woods, and watered with many rivers which render it delightful and populous. This is the common residence of the Monomopata. Here are great numbers of elephants, which produce ivory in vast quantities, and likewise mines of gold. These are called the mines of Manaca, which lies fifty leagues distant, both neglected at that time by their possessors.

Here are buildings of a wonderful structure, with inscriptions of dark and unknown characters. The natives know nothing of their foundation. They worship one sole God under the name of Moziono. Idols are not known here. Witchcraft, theft and adultery, are crimes punished with exemplary severity. They are permitted to have as many wives as they can maintain; the king has above a thousand to himself, but the first commands the others, and her children inherit. They perform their funerals with abundance of superstition; their cloathing is cotton, that of the better sort is mixed with threads of gold. The houses are of wood. The king's retinue is rather ceremonious than great, his guard consists of two hundred dogs, and he is always followed by a troop of five hundred jesters or buffoons. He is sovereign over many princes, whose heirs he constantly keeps about him to prevent them from rebelling, to which they are very prone. There are no law-suits known amongst them. Their soldiers are all infantry, their arms arrows, darts

darts or javelins, daggers and small sharp hatchets. The women in this country are so much respected, that if the son of the king happens to meet one of them, he not only gives her the way but stops till she has passed. The Moors of Magadoxa were the first who possessed these mines of Zofala; after these they fell into the hands of those of Quiloa, whose kings were possessed of them till Yzuf one of their governors usurped the sovereignty with the title of king, and was the same who now permitted them to build this fort, which tho' of wood, was notwithstanding abundantly strong.

In the mean time the Zamorin of Calicut urged on the sultan of Cairo, hoping with his assistance to drive the Portugueze out of the Indian seas. The privacy of this negociation could not conceal it from the king of Cochin. He sent notice of it to the viceroy, who sent his son with a fleet to prevent or crush that design. In the way he engaged and almost destroyed a great fleet of the enemy, and relieved the fort of Angediva, which was beset by sixty sail of the Moors and gentiles. The Moors now perceiving that their trade could no longer be carried on in the manner they were wont, because of the superior force of the Portugueze, in order to shun those enemies, bethought themselves of a new route to Sumatra and Malacca, whither they resorted on account of the spiceries they purchased at those places, by keeping out to sea, and steering thro' the channels which separate the Mal-

dive islands. The viceroy sent his son with nine ships to infect that navigation. In this expedition, carried on thorough unknown seas, was discovered the island of Ceylon, the famous Taprobana of the ancients. They cast anchor in the port of Gale, where they found a multitude of Moors busied in loading cinnamon, and taking in elephants for Cambaya. These dreading his resentment, presented Don Lorenzo with four hundred bahars of cinnamon in the name of the king. After planting a cross with an inscription to perpetuate the memory of his discovery and arrival, he set sail for Cochin, destroying by the way the town of Biramjam, which he burnt down to the ground, putting every soul within it to the sword in revenge for the Portugueze killed at Coulan, to which kingdom this town belonged. The next care of the governor was to relieve the forts of Zofala and Quiloa, where most of the garrisons were dead, and those that remained alive incapable of duty. Notwithstanding the fortress of Quiloa was afterwards razed by the same hands that built it, after having cost many lives, and all this the effect of the ill usage of the Portugueze towards the natives, proceeding from their insufferable pride, and from their avarice, which knew no bounds.

C H A P. X.

Tristan de Cunna, *and* Alphonso de Albuquerque, *afterwards surnamed the Great, set sail for the Indies.*

EMANUEL had already resolved to send Tristan de Cunna and Alphonso de Albuquerque into the East, the first to conduct the trading fleet, and the latter to cruize on the coast of Arabia, when James Fernandez Piteyra, the discoverer of the island Socotora in the mouth of the Red-sea, arrived. The king being informed that the inhabitants of this island, who were christians, were oppressed by the Moors, ordered the two commanders to direct their course thither, and to endeavour to possess themselves of the fort, to the intent that the Portugueze fleets might afterwards winter there, and thus the navigation of that gulph might be secured. A wooden fort ready to set up was carried along with them, in case that which was there already should be found to be unserviceable. These two admirals set sail from Lisbon on the sixteenth of March, with thirteen ships, and aboard of these thirteen hundred fighting men. In this voyage the island Madagascar was discovered. Being arrived at Melinda, the king obliged him to invade Oja, a city which together with the king of Mombasa made war upon him. This country was possessed by the Arabs, where buildings of ancient and surprising structure are to be seen. Each city, and almost every village has a king or xequé of its own, the principal

cipal of which are, those of Quiloa, Zanzibar, and Mombasa; but the prince of Melinda pretends to be the most ancient, deducing his pedigree from those of Quitau, a city eighteen leagues distant, which amidst its ruins shews the footsteps of its ancient grandeur, having been superior to all its neighbours, which are Luziva, Parimunda, Lamou, Jaca, Oja, and others. The country is watered by the river Gulimanja. Tristan de Cunna with six ships appeared before the city Oja, situated seventeen leagues from Melinda, on an open shore, secured by a wall which hides it from the Cafres towards the land. The reque being informed that de Cunna had important affairs to communicate with him, made answer, that a subject of the sultan of Cairo, the head caliph of the house of Mahomet, as he was, could not treat with his open enemies. Tristan distrustful delays, as soon as the day began to dawn, dividing his men into two bodies aboard the boats, proceeded towards the shore, where the Moors, assisted by the sea, stood in arms ready to oppose their landing. They were put to flight at the first onset, and obliged to take shelter under their walls; but not believing themselves safe there, as fast as they entered at one gate they fled out at the other. The king was pursued and killed amidst a multitude of his people in a wood of palm trees, whither he had fled. I cannot forbear giving the reader the pleasure of the following act of generosity, the more wonderful on account of the persons it proceeded from, however foreign from the subject I have undertaken to treat of; that is, to the establishment of the trade to the Indies.

George

George Sylveyra attacked a Moor of a grave and manly appearance, while he conducted a young woman of exquisite beauty thro' a path which led across a wood; the Moor stop'd to fight the Portugueze, bidding the woman seize that time to make her escape. The maid pierced with the thoughts of leaving for ever the man she loved, refused to fly, and obstinate in spite of all his intreaties or endeavours, persisted to follow him, saying, that to die, or be taken with him, she was very willing, but that while she lived she would never escape alone. The Portugueze, struck with amazement to behold these lovers striving who should give the greatest proofs of love and tenderness, let them both go away, adding as he returned, these words, Heaven forbid, that my sword should cut the bonds of so much love, and so unfeigned a passion. The town was taken, plundered and burnt with such precipitation, that several of the conquerors perished in the flames. Lamo, a city fifteen leagues distant, taught by so terrible an example, submitted to the Portugueze. The cheque, which made it more acceptable, came in person to make this submission, offering a yearly tribute of six hundred meticales of gold; the tribute of the first year was paid down in hand. The fleet proceeded to Brava, a populous city, which had been conquered before, but had now risen in rebellion, vainly confiding in an army of six thousand men, which it exposed on the shore. But Cunna and Albuquerque landing next day in two bodies, in spite of showers of arrows, darts and stones, scaled

the walls, and routed the Moors, washing the streets with their blood, and killing a prodigious number. Those of the Portugueze who were killed, perished more thro' covetousness than by the sword; for overloading a boat with the spoil, they went to the bottom along with it. And here the avarice of the Portugueze sullied the glory of their arms, and prompted them to acts of barbarity shocking to human nature. They cut off the hands and ears of women, to save time in taking off their bracelets and ear-rings in another manner.

The city burned and plundered, they set sail, past Cape Guardâfu, and stood for Zocotora. Zocotora is an island twenty leagues in length, nine in breadth, lying almost east and west, in the latitude of twelve degrees and forty minutes. This is the largest island near the mouth of the Red-sea, but has no ports fit for any great number of ships to winter in. Athwart the middle of it runs a ridge of hills which pierce into the clouds, yet this amazing height does not preserve them from the sand of the shore, which the north winds drive as high as their very summits. It is therefore entirely barren of trees and plants, excepting some small vallies which lie under shelter from those winds. The Arabian continent lies at fifty leagues distance from it, as does Cape Guardâfu at thirty. The ports most frequented by the Portugueze are Zoco, inhabited by the Moors, Calancea to the westward, and Beni to the east. The natives are an uncivilized race. Those vallies that are sheltered from the sand produce apples and palm trees, and the most excellent

cellent aloes : the best of which is known by the name of Socotrine. Their common food is maiz, or Indian wheat, tamarinds, and milk. The inhabitants are all Jacobite christians like the Ethiopians. The men are handsome, and the women like the Amazons, go to the wars, and for the sake of propagation make use of such strangers as arrive there. Their cloathing is cloth and skins; their habitation caves, and their weapons, stones and slings. They were at this time subject to the Arabian king of Caxem. Cunna found here a fort of indifferent strength, tolerably well manned and provided. The answer of the xequé to his message, provoked him so, that he resolved, notwithstanding the danger of the attempt, to assault the place. Alphonso de Noronhã, ambitious of the approbation of the king, who had appointed him to command that fort if taken, advanced with a few but resolute men. The xequé received him with no great number, but with much gallantry, maintaining his ground, and with loud menaces threatening destruction to Cunna, who thro' a mingled shower of stones and bullets, approached the fort, and was briskly repulsed by the xequé, when Don Alphonso struck him down to the ground with his lance. The engagement was obstinate, the Moors endeavouring to carry off their king, and the Portugueze to hinder it, till he with eight of his people were killed. And now they fly to the castle, which the enemy scaled the same instant; those who entered opening the gates to the rest. A bloody fight began in disputing the possession of the inward fort, the Moors fighting to the last man,

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so that of eighty, there was but one left alive, besides a blind man found in the bottom of a well, who being asked how he came there, made answer, that the blind saw but one thing, the way to liberty, and which even the blind covet to possess. This plain and honest answer procured him his liberty. The Portugueze lost six men. The natives who had kept out of the way, came with their wives and children to thank the Portugueze commander for delivering them from the insupportable yoke of those infidels, and what was highly pleasing to them, they were received under the protection of the Portugueze monarch. The mosque was changed into a church, and many of the people were baptized. Cunna gave the command of the fort to Alphonso de Noronha, whose valour had deserved that distinction. One hundred men were appointed him for a garrison. Thus after wintering in those ports he set sail for India, while Albuquerque bent his course for the Arabian coast.

While these things happened at Zocotora, the king of Calicut relying on the promises of soothsayers and wizards, was arming afresh against the Portugueze. Those false prophets finding the arrival of de Cunna was protracted, assured him of success in that lucky opportunity, because of a great change of affairs which was to follow a certain earthquake, and an eclipse of the sun, the last so remarkable, that the stars appeared for a considerable time. These were interpreted as omens of the destruction of the Portugueze. Notwithstanding Don Francisco the viceroy sent a squadron of ten ships under his son Don Lorenzo,

renzo, to protect the trade of the coast of Malabar. This power which was unexpected surprized the king.

Gonzalo Vaz, who had remained at Cananor to take in water, as he followed the fleet, happening to meet a ship of Cananor which carried a Portugueze pass, sunk it together with all the Moors in it, and those, to the end that they might never after be seen, he sewed up in a sail. He was broke for this detestable action, a punishment too small to expiate so great cruelty, and the violation of the public faith. It was enormities like these which produced the calamities which afterwards beset the Portugueze in the East.

Don Lorenzo after making prize of seven ships, most of the men on board of which were destroyed while they endeavoured by swimming to gain the shore, having leaped into the sea thro' terror of the Portugueze, set sail for Dabul, where anchoring in the mouth of the river, he discovered the fleet of Calicut, the occasion of his voyage. Don Lorenzo was eager to engage, notwithstanding the narrowness of the place, but the opposition of the council obliged him to desist. Sailing on four leagues farther, part of his fleet pursuing a sail which cast anchor over against a town amidst a great many other vessels; he detached a galley after them, which began to clear the shore of the Moors who flocked down to it in great multitudes. The noise of the cannon reaching the ears of Don Lorenzo, he made haste to join them. At his coming up they had
already

already gained the vessels in the harbour, and set fire to a house on the shore full of rich merchandize. All the ships in the harbour were burnt, only two, which were of Ormuz, were carried away laden with riches. Thus returning to Cochinchina with victory and spoil, he expected to be joyfully welcomed by his father. The father on the contrary had resolved to punish him with the utmost severity for not fighting the fleet of Calicut, and was only prevented from it, because it appeared that the young commander had been, contrary to his own opinion, overswayed by the votes of all the captains. The viceroy immediately broke every one of them, and sent them into Portugal. This severity afflicted his son extremely, and was the cause of his losing his life with equal rashness and valour, while he endeavoured to restore himself to his father's esteem.

The king of Cananor was prompted by the king of Calicut to break with the Portuguese; he had already desired this rupture, which he grounded upon this bottom, that the body of the nephew of Mamale, a rich merchant of Malabar, was found upon the shore, and had been one of those who had been inhumanly sewed up in the sail, and so thrown into the sea. This action was not yet known in Cananor, and the blame was laid upon de Brito, whose pass that ship carried. This person who was captain of the fort, discovered their design, and finding himself weak, sent notice of his condition to the viceroy. He immediately left the church, for it was here
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that the message had been delivered him, and set about the relief of Brito. The command was given to Don Lorenzo who had orders as soon as he came to Canañor to obey Lorenzo de Brito the governor of the place. Brito insisted that the other, as son of the viceroy, and so famous an officer, should take upon himself the command. Thus these two excellent men generously disputed which should obey the other, an uncommon example of moderation; and Lorenzo seeing the other resolved to persist in that piece of complaisance, left the place, and returned alone to Cochin. The besieged fortified and entrenched themselves; the same was done by the besiegers, who were twenty thousand strong. Abundance of blood was spilt in disputing a well, the water of which the Portuguese found ways to make themselves masters of by mining. After this loss the Moors retired to a wood of palm trees, in order to prepare engines for battering the fort. The governor prepared to receive them, and partly with his cannon, partly by the sword, he succeeded so well, that the ditch which they intended to have filled with faggots was heaped with dead corpses. They then retired to the woods, whither Guadalajara a Spaniard sallying out upon them in a cold rainy night, pressed them with such vigour, that the enemy were confounded with the surprize, and knew not where to save themselves. Three hundred were killed in this action. The garrison was now reduced to great extremities, thro' sickness and famine, occasioned by their magazine
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of provisions taking fire. All manner of vermin was eaten ; and the sea after a storm having left abundance of shell-fish on the shore, was what alone saved them from utter destruction. Meantime powerful succours were sent by the Zamorin to the prince of Cananor, who with above fifty thousand men gave the last assault by sea and land at the same time. They were received with great vigour, and repulsed with infinite loss, tho' not one of the Portugueze were killed in this action. Tristan de Cunna now arrived ; and the king of Cananor, terrified with his coming and the defence made by Brito, sued for peace, which was concluded with great honour to the Portugueze valour.

The next attempt of the viceroy was against Panane, a place belonging to the Zamorin. He landed his men in boats, and passing thro' showers of bullets shot by the Moors who defended the town with great resolution, entered it by storm. All the inhabitants were put to the sword, the city abandoned to plunder, and afterwards burnt ; all the ships in the docks and in the harbour were set on fire, the spoil which was immense perishing also in the flames. This done, they returned to Cananor.

Albuquerque now meditated the reducing of Ormuz, wherefore he put to sea with seven ships, aboard of which were four hundred and sixty fighting men. On his way thither he visited Calayate, where he concluded a peace with the governor. Curiate, a town situated ten leagues farther, was stormed, plundered and burnt.

Eight

Eight leagues beyond that, stood Mascate, a populous place and stronger than the former, which after a gallant resistance, shared the same fate with the preceding. Soar yielded without opposition, agreeing to pay Emanuel the same tribute he had formerly paid the king of Ormuz. Orfacam was deserted, and while the place was abandoned to plunder, he prepared to enter the harbour of Ormuz, the reduction of which place was the end of this expedition.

Ormuz stands in a small island, called Gerum, in the entry of the Persian gulph, three leagues in circumference, and barren of every thing excepting only salt and sulphur. The buildings of this city are magnificent; it is the great emporium of all goods brought thither from the East, West, and North; on which account, tho' it produces nothing itself, it notwithstanding abounds in all things, being supplied from the province of Mogastham, and the islands Quixome, Lareque, and others. About the year twelve hundred and seventy-three, Malec Caez, then king, possessed all the country from the island Gerum, as far as Babarem, his dominions bordering upon those of the king of Gondunxa, whose estates lay in the province of Mogastham. This king obtained of Malec the island of Gerum as a place of no importance. After he had fortified himself in it, he drove his benefactor out of all his country; and translating the city of Ormuz, the ancient capital, to this island, grew so formidable, as to awaken the jealousy of the king of Persia who prepared to invade him. He prevented this evil,
by

by imposing on himself, a yearly tribute. Thus this usurper laid the foundations of the city and kingdom of Ormuz, afterwards possessed by his descendants and others, whose claim was for the most part grounded upon violent possession. When the Portugueze admiral arrived, Ceyfadim a youth of twelve years of age then reigned, but was himself governed by his slave, a man of great craft and courage. This minister, whose name was Coyé Atar, having heard of the designs of Albuquerque, made preparations for withstanding him, detaining all the ships in the harbour, and hiring troops in all the neighbouring provinces; so that when Albuquerque came before it, there were in the place thirty thousand fighting men, as well Portugueze as Arabians and others; among them four thousand Persian archers, famed for their dexterity in the use of that weapon; and four hundred vessels in the harbour, sixty whereof were of considerable bulk, with two thousand five hundred men.

Albuquerque entered the port, with that resolution and magnanimity which was natural to him, and came to an anchor between five of their greatest ships. No message coming from the king, he sent aboard the largest of the ships which seemed to ride admiral, the captain whereof immediately came to wait on him. He told this officer that his orders were to take the king of Ormuz into his protection, and to grant him leave to trade in those seas, provided he consented to the payment of a moderate tribute: if he refused, his orders were to make war upon him.

him. The Moor delivered the message to the king and his minister, and a person was sent to beg his excuse for not being sooner waited of, the governor promising to attend him next day in order to treat of the subject of his commission. Frequent messages were sent, in order to gain time to fortify the place, and to receive the supplies they expected. Albuquerque, who saw their designs, told the messenger, that he should not return excepting with the acceptance of his terms, or the declaration of war. The answer he brought was, that their city had always been accustomed to receive tribute, not to pay it; at the same time the noise of warlike instruments, and the shouts that were heard from the walls in the night, shewed that they prepared to engage. The sun rising discovered the shore, the walls and the ships covered with men in arms, whilst the windows and the tops of the houses were filled with people of all ages, and of every sex and condition, who sat as spectators of what should ensue. Albuquerque having first held a council, and after giving the necessary orders, began to play his cannon with great fury, and was answered in the same manner by the enemy. When these last, taking advantage of the smoke which now involved every thing in darkness, attempted to board the Portugueze, but after doing some small damage with the showers of arrows they discharged, they were forced to retire by the shot of the artillery, which sunk many of their boats. In a second onset, the cannon did such prodigious execution, that the seas were dyed with

human blood. And now Albuquerque had sunk two of the great ships, and taken a third after a gallant defence, forcing the Moors to leap into the sea. The other captains had overcome the rest of the enemy, and finding that victory now declared in their favour, they ran along the shore, setting fire to above thirty vessels, which after cutting their cables, were drove blazing upon the coast of Persia, where they kindled and so destroyed the ships that lay aground. The terror of this action struck so great dismay into the multitude, that they fled to take shelter in the city, when the governor sent to offer all that the Portuguese general had demanded. Most of the enemy's vessels, with immense riches, were either sunk, burnt, or beat to pieces, seventeen hundred men were killed, the Portuguese fishing for the dead bodies which floated upon the water, on account of the rich ornaments they wore, many of which were of beaten gold. Coje Atar, the governor, in order to prevent further loss, seemed to consent to articles, to which he also swore; these were, that the king of Ormuz submitted to become the vassal of Emanuel, agreeing to pay a tribute of fifteen hundred xeraphins yearly (a xeraphin is worth about half a crown of our money) and promising to assign a place on which the Portuguese should have liberty to build a fort. This fortress was immediately begun, and in a few days considerably advanced, when Atar in order to stop the works, pretended that ambassadors were come from Persia to receive the tribute usually paid to that monarch, and desiring

Albuquerque

Albuquerque to give them an answer, since the king of Ormuz who was now the vassal of Emanuel, was not at liberty to treat with them; Albuquerque guessing the truth of the matter, sent back his messengers with a quantity of spears and bullets, telling him that this was the coin in which his master should pay the tribute of Persia. Atar had now recourse to other stratagems, corrupting several of the Portuguese seamen who went over to him, by whose assistance several pieces of cannon were cast, and some of his own captains opposing Albuquerque's measures, all his attempts to seize this city at this time failed; so that after doing all the damage in his power, and after rivers of blood spilt on the side of the enemy, he sailed away for Zocotora.

Whilst this happened at Ormuz, Francisco de Almeida commanded on the coast of Malabar. He sent his son Lorenzo to guard those of Cananor and Cochin, while he himself ran as far as Chaul, with eight sail. Chaul is seated on the bank of a river, two leagues from the sea, and is one of the most noted cities on that coast, both for the number of its inhabitants, and for its vast traffic. It is subject to the Nizamaluco, who received Lorenzo with great civility. Here they had information that the sultan of Cairo had sent out a fleet to oppose the Portuguese in the Indies: that by the way they had attacked Imbo, and killed the Xequer king; that they had done the same at Ioda, where they got vast booty; and had thence proceeded to Diu, where they

had orders to join Melique Az, who commanded in that place for the king of Cambaya, and both were then to fall upon the Portugueze. Whilst they doubted of the truth of this information, the fleet itself appeared. The admiral was then diverting himself ashore with his officers, and seeing a squadron of large ships coming down upon them, they made haste on board, giving such orders as were consistent with so great a surprize. They were scarce got to their ships when the enemy entered the harbour, testifying by the greatest marks of joy, the certainty of the victory. They advanced to board the Portugueze, Mir-Hozem the admiral bearing down upon Lorenzo, and pouring in bullets, arrows, granados, and other inflammable matter. The Portugueze bravely defending himself, made him give over his first design, as did all the others, and the night approaching, the two fleets separated, in order to prepare for the work of the following day.

At day-break the Portugueze admiral gave the signal of battle, endeavouring in his turn to board Mir-Hozem. His example was followed by all the other ships, two of which only succeeded: all the men found in the captures were put to the sword. The cannon still played furiously on both sides, and Lorenzo seemed to have the advantage, when Melique Az, lord of Diu, came to the assistance of Mir-Hozem with a great fleet of small vessels. Two gallies and three caravels were sent out to prevent their approach. These so effectually performed their orders,

orders, that Melique Az was obliged to fly. The fight continued till night parted them, after which a council was held, in which most of the Portuguese captains were of opinion, either to abandon that enterprize, or at least to sail out into the open sea, in order to secure their retreat, or to fight with greater advantage. But Lorenzo calling to mind the resentment of his father the viceroy on a like occasion, and fearing his retreat might rather be ascribed to fear than to prudence, resolutely waited the morning, only making the dispositions necessary to preserve the ships of Cochinchin, which were in great danger. Melique imagining that this motion was in order to fly, broke from his retreat, charging the Portuguese with great fury, and undaunted at the loss of his vessels which were torn to pieces by the enemy's artillery: unhappily, Lorenzo's ship running foul of some stakes, drove into the bed of the river, was in great danger of sinking. Lorenzo was labouring to save his ship, when a cannon ball broke his thigh: more concerned for the victory than his own life, he ordered the ship's company to set him up against the mast, where he stood encouraging his men, when a second ball broke his back. The body was thrown under deck, and the Moors entering after a vigorous resistance, found his servant expiring close by the body of his master, amidst a number of the enemy whom he had killed in defending it. The ship sunk immediately after. Of more than one hundred which were along with Lorenzo, only

nineteen escaped, the total loss of the Portuguese amounting to one hundred and forty, and that of the enemy to six hundred. The remains of the fleet made sail for Cochin, where they brought the viceroy the news of his son's death. He is said to have heard the account with wonderful resolution, and to have uttered these words; My son could not have ended his days with greater glory, than to fall fighting for the honour and prosperity of his country.

Whilst the viceroy was using all his endeavours to learn the particulars of this action, a letter was brought him from Melique Az, with the information he wanted. This man, who was born a slave, tho' of christian origin, rose by degrees to that high rank in which he then stood. The occasion of his rise was this. A kite flying over the king of Cambaya, let fall his ordure upon the king's head, whereat the prince in a passion said, I would give a great deal to have that bird killed. Melique, who was a most excellent bow-man, no sooner heard this expression of the king than he let fly an arrow, which brought the offender to the ground. The bounty of the king for this action, brought Melique Az to be lord of Diu, a most famous city, the situation of which, on a triangular peninsula, which is joined to the continent by a very narrow isthmus, is the cause why it is commonly reputed an island. Melique strove to secure himself at once with the king of Cambaya his benefactor, and also with the Portuguese, whose power he feared, and whom he hated on account of the hurt they had done the trade

trade of Diu. This craft was the reason of his various conduct, in assisting Mir-Hozem, and delivering the nineteen Portugueze prisoners to the king of Cambaya, at the same time that he writ to the viceroy, pretending to condole the death of his son, extolling his courage, and offering to ransom the prisoners.

This year, 1508, sixteen ships, after joining those of the foregoing year, arrived in India, and gave fresh courage to the Portugueze. These brought an order from Emanuel for Almeida to resign the government to Alphonso de Albuquerque. The former, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Alphonso, suspended the execution of this order, alledging that he was already engaged in taking revenge of Mir-Hozem for the death of his son, and that he had never yet resigned the sword to another to revenge his wrongs. After much altercation, in which these two illustrious men betrayed a great deal of human frailty, Albuquerque left the viceroy, and proceeded to Cochin.

Before this, happened the actions at Ormuz, and at Zocotora, at which last he wintered, having first by the captures he made, relieved the Portugueze who were distressed by famine. He then set out, tho' with a small power, to attempt Ormuz. By the way he resolved to chastise Calayate for the injuries they had done the Portugueze. This city is seated beyond Cape Siagro, called also Cape Rosalgat, at the mouth of the Persian gulph. Behind it stands a mountain, cross which there are very few passes, which open a communication

munication with the neighbouring country. One of these passes lies directly opposite to the town, and thro' this most of the trade of the province of Yemen, or as the Arabs term it, Ayaman, is carried on. This province is so called, as some say, because it was inhabited by Namê one of the sons of Lot; or, according to others, from the plenty and abundance of this country, which is full of populous cities, the soil fruitful, and possesses a prodigious traffic. Albuquerque entered the place with great slaughter of the inhabitants, and after considerable loss, from a surprize of a thousand Moors, he set fire to the place, the chief booty found in it being provisions. From hence he sailed to Ormuz, where he arrived the thirteenth of September. The admiral first sent notice to the king and his minister of his arrival; the answer was, that they were ready to pay the tribute they had stipulated, but that they never would consent to the rearing of a fortress, which was to deprive them of their liberty. Wherefore the admiral resolved to besiege the island a second time, ordering Martin Coello with his ship, to guard the point Tombaca, whereon were the springs which supplied it with water. James de Melo was posted opposite to the island Queixome, whilst the admiral with Francisco de Tavora lay before the city. From hence he could view the growth of the fort which Atar the king's favourite was erecting upon the foundation which he himself had laid, employing the artifices of the Portugueze against themselves. The success of this attempt was as bad as that of the former;

former; so that the admiral narrowly escaping being killed, returned for India, having taken by the way two ships, one of which carried a great quantity of pearl.

The viceroy having sent Albuquerque to Cochin, and dispatched the trading vessels homewards, set sail from Cananor on the twelfth day of December towards Diu, in pursuit of Mir-Hozem. His navy consisted of nineteen ships of several sorts, and carried sixteen hundred men as well soldiers as mariners, and of these four hundred were natives of Malabar. This motion of the viceroy gave the alarm to all the powers of India, but especially to the Zamorin, and to Melique Az prince of Diu, who had left nothing undone to secure himself against this danger. The viceroy landed his men in the delightful island of Angediva, set forth in a grave and persuasive speech the great actions they had already performed, as also to excite their revenge, what losses they had sustained by the Turks; he shewed them, that their duty to God, the cause of christianity, the obligations they lay under to their king, and to their country, called upon them to revenge their losses, as well as that of their general, whose son, a youth of so great hopes, had fallen by their hands. So saying, he gave orders to make ready to fall upon Dabul, a resolution unanimously approved of by all present.

Dabul is one of the most noted cities of all that coast, on account of its situation, its greatness, and its trade; it stood on a navigable river two leagues

leagues from the sea, the buildings were magnificent, and the inhabitants pagans or Moors; it lies on the borders of the kingdom of Decan, subject to Sabayo the king, for whom the governor with a strong garrison then held it. Upon the approach of the Portugueze, it was reinforced with six thousand men, new works were raised, on which was planted a numerous artillery. On the 30th of December the Portugueze fleet entered the harbour: having gained the shore, they attacked the city at three different gates, while the Moors, encouraged by the example of their governor, made so brave a resistance, that the dead bodies proved a greater bulwark against their enemies, than the living defendants, or works of the place. At last, the Moors gave way, notwithstanding all their governor could do to hinder their flight. In this action, which lasted about five hours, fifteen hundred of the enemy were killed, all of them hand to hand, the cannon being played on neither side. The Portugueze lost sixteen only. On the morning the viceroy gave his soldiers leave to plunder, which was stopt by the sudden firing of the town, which in a few hours was only a heap of ashes. The viceroy was the cause of this conflagration, lest the soldiers being taken up with their riches should retard his other design. The ships in the harbour had the same fate.

The viceroy now set sail for Diu, where after several adventures he arrived on the second day of February. Diu appears high at sea, begirt with
walls

walls and towers, being a strong, beautiful, well-governed city, its appearance renewing in the Portugueze the memory of those of their own country. Meliquez lord of this place was making war against the Rebuti, about twenty leagues off; having constant information of the motion of the Portugueze fleet, they had scarce come to an anchor, when with wonderful celerity he flew to its defence. The viceroy after considering the strong situation of the place, which was also much improved by art, the courage and conduct of Meliquez, supported by Mir-Hozem with above two hundred vessels well manned, and furnished with all sorts of necessaries, called a council, in which it was resolved, that Nunno Vas Pereira should lead with his ship, aboard of which were one hundred and twenty fighting men, most of them gentlemen of known valour. George de Melo was to second him with the like number, who was to be followed by Peter Barreto de Magallanes, and he by Francis de Tavora, then Garcia de Sousa, and so the other ships carrying from twenty-five to eighty men each. The night was spent in preparing for the dangers of the ensuing day.

As soon as there was flood enough for the ships to swim, the admiral gave the signal for entering the port. On a sudden the whole fleet began to move with loud shouts, and sound of warlike instruments on both sides. The ships of Meliquez advanced to hinder the entrance of the Portugueze, showering bullets and arrows which did
some

some execution. Notwithstanding, the Portuguese pressing forward, poured their shot among the ships of the enemy; some were sunk, others taken, the rest at last betook themselves to flight. Above fifteen hundred of the enemy were killed, the Portuguese loss amounting to near forty men. Of all the ships, which were full of immense riches, only four, and two galleys, were preserved, the rest were plundered and burnt. The glory of this victory is said to have been sullied by the cruelties of the Portuguese. The city was in great consternation, lest the conquerors should assault it, but the weakness of the Portuguese, and their regard for the king of Cambaya, saved it from destruction. The viceroy after having settled an advantageous peace, set sail for Chaoul, the king whereof terrified with the late victory became the tributary of Portugal.

At this time happened great divisions between the viceroy and Alphonso de Albuquerque about the government of India, the consequence of which was, that Albuquerque was sent prisoner to Cananor. *

King Emanuel, informed of the preparations made by the sultan of Cairo at Suez, resolved to send a powerful fleet to the Indies. This consisted of fifteen sail with three thousand men on board, commanded by Ferdinando Coutinno, who was invested with extraordinary powers, as if he had foreseen the differences between the viceroy and the governor who was appointed to succeed him. Nothing remarkable happened
him

him till he arrived at Cananor, where he set Alphonso de Albuquerque at liberty, treating him as governor of India. From hence they set sail together for Cochin. After this Almeida set out for Portugal. His return was not answerable to so fortunate a command. For landing in the bay of Saldagna near the Cape of Good Hope, and running to the assistance of his people who had quarrelled with the natives, he was suddenly attacked by the blacks with sharp stakes hardened in the fire, so furiously, that in a little time fifty gentlemen were killed, amongst those the viceroy, who expired kneeling on the sand, his eyes lifted up to heaven, and his throat struck thorough with one of those stakes. Some authors relate the misfortunes of Almeida, as the just punishment of some cruelties he had committed. Thus died the first viceroy and governor of India, without enjoying those honours which his conduct and virtue had so justly merited; and what his companions thought the most piteous circumstance of all, abandoned without the rites of a decent funeral.

C H A P XI.

Albuquerque enters upon the government of India.

ALphonso de Albuquerque was now governor of all the Indies, his great abilities, and the merits of his former services, rendering him the most worthy of all others of such a command. His first project after his advancement, was the destruction of Calicut the metropolis of the Zamorin, the ancient and inveterate enemy of the Portugueze, a city which had been the cause of infinite losses to that nation, who could not with reason hope for quiet whilst it stood. This design, which he was to execute in conjunction with Fernando Coutinno, was kept very private; notwithstanding, the Zamorin provided for his security, as did all the princes of that coast, whenever the Portugueze were in motion. The two chiefs set out for Cochin with thirty ships and eighteen hundred men, besides some Malabars who followed the fleet in hopes of plunder. They arrived at Calicut on the second of January, where after weighing the difficulties of landing, it was resolved, that the squadron of Albuquerque should be committed to the care of Antonio de Noronha his nephew; that of Coutinno to Roderigo Rabelo: whilst the two leaders made the descent, Coutinno with eight hundred men and some field pieces, and the governor with the same number, and besides them six hundred natives of Malabar. Things being thus concerted, the assault

fault is given: the enemy after a vigorous resistance are forced to yield. The Portugueze colours are set up, whilst Albuquerque enters the city with fire and sword. Coutinno the other leader, rashly advanced towards the palace of the Zamorin, which stood above five leagues from the shore; and suffering his men to disperse in quest of plunder, the enemy now reinforced fell upon them whilst they were all in disorder, and loaden with booty, doing prodigious execution. Alphonso did every thing in his power to rescue them, and was himself very near being destroyed in the attempt. Coutinno was already killed with many more in the palace, and several on the high way whether oppressed by the multitude, spent with toil and heat, or stifled with the dust. And now all had perished, if James Mendez Vafconcellos and Simon de Andrade, who had been left by the governor in the city with a body of two thousand men, had not stopt the fury of the enemy, and obliged them to retire. At last the Portugueze set sail, having lost eighty men, amongst whom were many of note, and whereof Coutinno was one. Albuquerque being recovered of his wounds, and after dispatching the trading ships homeward bound, sailed for Cochin, where he made preparations for a third attempt on the island of Ormuz. Amidst these proceedings James Lopez de Sequeira was sent upon the discovery of the islands of Madagascar and Malacca. In this island, which is also called St. Laurence, he arrived in the port of St. Sebastian. Whilst he coasted along the shore, by the help of a Portugueze

tugueze interpreter, who had been left in that island, and so obliged to learn the language against his will, he found out a certain king called Diaman, who treated him with civility; but not being able to communicate any intelligence with respect to silver or spices, the great end of his voyage, he sailed for India, after a great deal of trouble attended with no advantage.

Almeida, who was then viceroy, gave him a good reception, sending another ship to assist him in the discovery of Malacca. At Pedir the king sent him presents, with offers highly advantageous; the same happened at Pacem; in both those places he erected crosses. At last he anchored in the port of Malacca, terrifying the coast with the discharge of his artillery, to that degree that the people ran to the ships in the harbour for safety. The king having learned that an ambassador was arrived from the king of Portugal with proposals highly advantageous to his city, sent back a message concealed in doubtful expressions, as is commonly the case with those who harbour pernicious designs. The king, persuaded by certain foreign merchants who were apprehensive of the settlement of the Portuguese to their traffic, had formed a design to destroy Lopez. Wherefore, in order to ensnare him, he received his ambassador with extraordinary courtesy, and promised to do the chief himself the honour to dine with him in public. He was accordingly invited, which invitation he accepted, when a Persian woman, sent by one of his people to inform him that the king intended
to

to assassinate him, endeavouring to come aboard of his ship in the night ; but not being admitted by the admiral, who imagined this a pretence in order to conceal some love adventure, she sent notice by another, who came in time to save Lopez and his squadron. He therefore excused himself from waiting of the king, pretending to be indisposed. Another method was now devised, to put their treachery in execution. They pretended to make the Portugueze an offer of a cargo of spices, at the same time they informed them, that there was not a quantity sufficient for this purpose at any one place, hoping by this contrivance, to be able to oppress the Portugueze fleet whilst they should be thus divided, in order to take in their loading. The stratagem succeeded so far, that thirty men being sent to receive the merchandize, a fleet of several vessels stood concealed behind a point of land, in order to fall upon the Portugueze ships, whilst the inhabitants cut to pieces such of the Europeans as were ashore. Mean while, the son of Utimuti Raja came under pretence of visiting Lopez, but really with a design to murder him, waiting only a signal from the town to plunge his dagger into his breast, when a seaman, who stood centinel on one of the tops, called down to the admiral ; treachery ! the villains assassinate our companions ! The rage of Lopez at this sudden news so terrified the assassin, who had come to murder him, that he and all who were with him leaped into their boats, and made off in the greatest consternation. Lopez did every thing in human power on so

sudden an emergency, and having sunk many of the enemy's vessels, and compelled the rest to retire, he set sail, sixty of his men being made prisoners, and eight killed. He was afraid to see Albuquerque, so that without stopping, he proceeded alone for Europe.

C H A P. XII.

Conquest of Goa.

ALbuquerque had now taken all his measures for the reducing of Ormuz, for which place he set out from Cochin about the end of January, with seventeen hundred men, aboard of twenty-one ships of different sizes. Coming before Onor, he stop'd for Timoia, a powerful man in those parts, who supported his rank by piracy, and was desirous of the friendship of the Portugueze. He came without delay, bringing great abundance of provisions. As this person was well versed in the affairs of Asia, Albuquerque communicated his design to him. Timoia dissuaded him from this design, representing, that an attempt upon Goa was much more adviseable, a place, which besides that it was altogether unprovided, was also of infinite greater consequence. The new design was universally approved of; and Timoia, the better to deceive Goa, gave out, that the twelve ships he had equipped were to accompany the Portugueze to Ormuz. The desire of revenging the injuries of his relations and neighbours, who had not only
treated

treated him ill, but had also dispossessed him of his fortune, was the cause of his attachment to the Portugueze. They came to an anchor in the port of Goa, on the twenty-fifth day of February. Ticuari is an island on the coast of Canara, formed by two mouths of the river Gacim. Its length from east to west, three leagues; the breadth, one. The face of the country is diversified with hills and plains, abounding in springs of excellent water, fertile, delightful and healthy. On the northern part of it stands the city of Goa, formerly seated on the south. The city at this time in being, was built by Melique Hozem a Moor, about forty years before the arrival of the Portugueze. The æra of the foundation of the old is unknown. Some remains of christianity seem to countenance the common opinion of St. Thomas the apostle's preaching in those parts.

The first descents of the Moors upon India, were about the year thirteen hundred, when Sha Nofar Adin first attempted it, coming from the North with a great power, and subduing all the gentile nations, as far as the kingdom of Canara. Thence he returned to Delhi, leaving Habel Shâ to prosecute his conquests, whose valour and conduct raised him to such a height of power as to rival his master; and Madura his nephew, prosecuting those beginnings, made himself master of the kingdom of Canara, and casting off his allegiance to the king, he called his new dominion Decan, a name derived from the various nations which composed the army wherewith he

had conquered it. Mamûd Shâ left nothing undone to preserve entire this vast empire; but notwithstanding all his attention, the governors entrusted with the care of the provinces, found means to withdraw them from his obedience, and to erect them into so many sovereignties. The greatest of these was that of Goa, when the Portugueze first appeared in the East. Sabayo the reigning prince, dying about the time of this expedition of Albuquerque, Cuso Hidalcan, or Kûpho Adel Khan, had now made himself master of Goa, and put it into the hands of his son Ismael. The other princes were, Nisa Maluco, who possessed Visapour, Mudra Maluco, Melic Verido, Coja Mozadan, Abexeipaido, and Cota Maluco. Of these princes, who, excepting Nisa Maluco, were all foreigners, three far exceeded the others in power and extent of dominion; that is to say, Nisa Maluco, otherwise called Nisam Al Mulk, and sometimes Nizam Shâ, who, as is said above, was king of Visapour: Cota Maluco, who was monarch of Golconda; and Adel Shâ the prince of Bisnagar. Sabayo was a native of Saba a city of Persia, from whence he had his name. Altho' but of mean extraction, yet so great were his military virtues, that his master the king of Decan gave him the city of Kilberga. Thence he extended his conquests over the idolaters of Bisnagar, and afterwards over the island of Goa, lately possessed by the Moors of Onor, Melique Hozem then lord of it being killed in its defence. The conquest of this island with its dependencies, rendered

dered the new conqueror of it the most powerful of all those princes; against whom he maintained himself while he lived: but the death of this prince produced great alterations.

Albuquerque sent his nephew Antonio de Noronha, to sound the river on whose bank Goa is seated, and together with him Timoia, whose fleet and army, as we have already narrated, assisted Albuquerque on this occasion. As they advanced they found themselves stopped by a fort well furnished with cannon, and defended by a garrison of four hundred men, commanded by Yazu Gorji, a Turk of distinguished abilities and valour. They stormed it, took, entered it; the governor flying to the city. Timoia took another bulwark with thirty men. Next day Albuquerque entered the river to assault the town. He was met on his way by Mîr Ali and other principal persons of the place, who offered to surrender it on condition that their lives, liberties and estates were preserved to them. This unexpected success was the effect of the reports which Yazu the governor of the outworks had made of the Portuguese valour, and to the religious belief of a certain prophecy uttered some time before by one of the Joghi's or religious of that country. This visionary had declared; that not long after the city of Goa should become subject to strangers. Albuquerque was received at his landing with supreme honours, he was mounted on a horse of surprising beauty, and superbly caparisoned. At the gate he was presented with the keys of that metropolis, and preceded in this triumph to the seat of the kings,

from hence dispatching embassies to sovereign princes all around. The towns depending upon Goa immediately made their submission to the conqueror.

The Moors could not think of parting so easily with such a city as Goa, and repentance overtook them soon after. They revolted. Ismael Hidalcan, or Adel Khân, these last words signifying the king of justice, a common title of those princes, returned at the same time with a great power. Camalcam, or Kamel Khân, his general, was sent before with fifteen hundred horse and eight thousand foot. Albuquerque after putting to death the authors of the revolt, prepared for his defence. Kamel Khân entered the island, tho' with loss, and encamped about the city whither all the Portugueze had retired. The place is cannonaded with good effect. Albuquerque on the other hand, is every where, oversees, provides, encourages the men, never rests, omits nothing, and is in every thing a great commander. Now Adel Khân arrives with a power of sixty thousand soldiers, whereof five thousand were horse. The Portugueze, who saw nothing but danger on all sides, without any hope of success, resolved to yield to the times and to abandon the city in the night, which was executed with infinite hazard, Adel Khân having begun to cut off their retreat to their ships. Albuquerque had his horse killed under him, having made good his retreat without loss, after a siege which had lasted twenty days.

Albuquerque had quitted Goa with regret.
The

The very same year strengthened by succours from Europe, he left Cananor with twenty-three ships and fifteen hundred fighting men. On the twenty-second of November he anchored a second time before that city, and at day-break assaulted it with great slaughter, the Portugueze entering with the flying enemy. Numbers are cut to pieces in the streets. The fight is renewed with fury at the palace. The Moors make a stand; the fortune of the fight changing to the side of the Moors, the Portugueze are in their turn in great danger, when Albuquerque, whose presence threw the enemy into confusion, restores success to the Europeans. The Moors turn their backs and fly; terror and confusion pursue them to the river, where hurrying from the swords of their enemies, they perish miserably in the river. Of nine thousand who defended the place, six thousand were drowned or cut to pieces; and of the Portugueze were killed no more than fifty. The booty of horses, artillery, provisions, and ships, was inestimable. No Moor was left alive on the island: but the native gentiles were restored to their farms, and the government of this people given to Timóia, who came not till after the city was taken. After this prosperous success, ambassadors were sent by the princes of Malabar to congratulate Albuquerque, who after laying the foundations of a fort, called from the king Emanuel, coined silver and copper money; and thus raising the credit of his nation, and spreading their glory over all the East, he established Goa, the retreat and bul-

wark of the Portugueze in India. After leaving a garrison in the city, consisting of fourteen hundred Portugueze, and five thousand gentiles for the defence of the country, under the command of the nephew of the king of Onor, he departed for Cochin; where under pretence of going against the city of Aden in Arabia, he prepared for the conquest of Malacca.

C H A P. XIII.

The Conquest of Malacca.

THE conquest of Goa, however important, did not satisfy the ambition of this commander, always desirous to extend his own reputation by adding to the dominions of his sovereign. The situation and trade of Malacca rendered it the next worthy object of his attention. This city is situated on a promontory, commonly known by the name of Aurea Chersonesus, or the Golden peninsula, near the middle of that strith or channel which divides the island of Sumatra from the continent of India beyond the Ganges. It stands somewhat more than two degrees to the northern side of the equinoctial circle, stretching along the shore something in the manner of Lisbon. It forms a pleasing prospect from the sea. A river divides it into two parts, which communicate one with another by a bridge laid over it. The buildings were of wood, except the royal palace and the mosque or temple

temple of the Mohammedans, which were of stone. It was anciently well fortified with works. The port was constantly thronged with ships from the neighbouring countries, of which it was the mart and staple. Its first founders were the Selates, a people who lived for the most part by fishing. These joined themselves to the Malays, who before inhabited the mountains. They were conducted by one Parisamora, to whom they had voluntarily submitted. This man had occupied no inconsiderable rank in the island of Java; but being drove out by a tyrant who had usurped his lordship, he fled to Singapura, and was hospitably entertained by the king. Rebelling against his host, he was again expelled by the king of Siam, and so forced to wander about Malacca, justly punished for his ingratitude. Having increased the new colony, he gave it the name of his own fortune; for Malacca, in the Malayan language, signifies a banished man. The first king of Malacca, was Xaque Darxa, or as we spell it Shaque Darshâh, according to many authors Raal Sabu, son of Parisamora, subject however to that king of Siam from whom his successors revolted. The country of Malacca is subject to inundations, is covered with thick impenetrable woods, and is infested with hurtful and dangerous creatures, chiefly tygers, for fear of which the inhabitants often pass their nights on the tops of the highest trees, because on the lower ones they had not been safe from the reach of those voracious animals. The men are bold, the women lascivious. This being the centre of the
commerce

commerce of the East and West, renders it both rich and populous.

Mohammed reigned in Malacca when the Portuguese admiral arrived. He had been attacked by the army of the king of Siam, most whereof had perished in the attempt, some by sundry accidents, and some by the treachery of Mohammed, to Diego Lopez de Sequeira. Mohammed stung with his own conscience, which reproached him with the baseness he had been guilty of, and out of dread of Albuquerque and his Europeans, sought the assistance of the king of Pahan. This prince, moved with a danger which threatened all those monarchs equally, joined Mohammed with a great power. The united army consisted of thirty thousand men, and, if we can believe authors, eight thousand pieces of cannon. Albuquerque left Cochin for Malacca, with nineteen strong ships and fourteen hundred fighting men, whereof eight hundred were natives of Portugal, the rest Malabars. Before Ceylon he took five ships belonging to the Moors. As soon as he came upon the coast of Sumatra, he was visited by some Moors sent by the kings of Padir and Pazem. One thing remarkable in this expedition was this: Nehoada Beghea, a man who had been a principal author in the perfidy at Malacca, was taken on their passage, and tho' pierced with several mortal wounds, what was wonderful to see, not one drop of blood issued from his body, till a bracelet which he wore about his arm being taken off, the blood all of a sudden streamed plentifully from his wounds. The Indians who
knew

knew the cause of this astonishment, told the Portugueze, that the ornament that had caused this surprizing accident was made of the bone of an animal which breeds in the island of Java. This was esteemed a precious booty, and was presented to the admiral as to the most worthy. The day after they overtook a ship in which were three hundred Moors; and such was their intrepidity and gallantry, that in vain did the Portugueze attempt to take her, till Albuquerque himself engaged her, and after a long resistance in which he had not been free from danger, obliged her to surrender.

On the first day of July, Albuquerque cast anchor in the port of Malacca, the thunder of his cannon, and the sound of warlike instruments, terrifying the shore, which was crowded with multitudes of people of all ages and sexes. Next day came forth a Moor of a majestic appearance, to tell the chief on the part of the king, that, if he came for merchandize, he had only to lay his commands upon him, that what he wanted waited for him. Albuquerque received their messenger with his usual pomp, and with distinguished courtesy. He bid him, from him, tell his king, that the merchandize he sought for, was the liberty of those christians whom Sequeira had left behind him; this done, he would let the king know his further requests. This demand made with so much authority, terrified the infidels. The general opinion was, that the danger of such enemies was to be removed at any expence, to render up the christians,

stians, and a present of money added to win their favour. This was prevented by Aladin, or Aladdin, and the king of Pahan, the king's brother-in-law. Albuquerque dissatisfied at this delay, began to set fire to the city, when the king to appease his anger restored the captives, and sent to desire a peace upon certain conditions. The answer was, that peace was granted him, provided the general of the Europeans was suffered to build a fort where he judged proper; that the king should defray the expence of his expedition against him, as also that of Sequira; that his answer must be immediate, peace or war; that if he thought the terms hard, he should reflect on his own baseness and perfidy which were the cause of them, and of all the evils that had happened.

The king wished to put an end to the miseries of war, but was opposed by his own son, and by his brother-in-law. Wherefore Albuquerque resolved to proceed to hostilities. Accordingly he landed his men, and the war began with prodigious fury on both sides. The fiercest encounter was about the bridge, which the Europeans struggled hard to gain, the prince and king of Pahan defending it with inflexible resolution. To augment the terror of the day, king Mohammed himself came up, mounted on an elephant of a terrifying bulk, with two others carrying castles, whence flew showers of darts, arrows, and other missive weapons poisoned in the gore of venomous animals. All this however did not daunt the courage of the Europeans. At last those vast
animals

animals stung with the shot of the christians, turned their backs and fled, trampling and crushing to pieces their own people, and thus the bridge was abandoned to the conquerors, who made way for the rest of their men to join them. Albuquerque immediately seized the fort, and fortified himself in it: but night coming on, he retired to the ships in order to repair the bodies of his soldiers who were faint thro' heat and want of food, ten of whom expired of the wounds they had received by poisoned arrows. The enemy's loss was not acknowledged. The king of Pahañ, the kindler of this flame, went away on pretence of bringing a recruit, but never more returned. Mean time Mohammed redoubles his assiduity, undermines the streets, and by a stratagem unknown in our hemisphere, covers the ways with poisoned thorns, thus providing with incredible industry to secure the passage of the bridge: which Albuquerque perceiving, sent Antonio de Abreu with a vessel strongly manned to gain this important post. Antonio passed amidst showers of bullets, and that he might not be said to abandon it, would not suffer himself to be brought off tho' desperately wounded. Preparations of wildfire and other inflammable matter were sent down the river to burn his vessel. This was prevented by the general, who made himself master of the bridge, entering the city thro' a mingled storm of bullets, arrows, darts, and other mortal missives. He then advanced to the mosque, which he also gained, carefully avoiding the mines with which the broad street was quite hollowed

hollowed below: and thus at last with vast slaughter of the enemy, he got possession of the city with no more than a handful of soldiers. Every thing was abandoned to the sword and to pillage; the Moors were all cut in pieces and exterminated. Three thousand pieces of great cannon were found out of eight thousand which were in the place; the rest were carried to Bintang, where Mohammed and prince Aladdin had fortified themselves: hither Albuquerque pursued them, put the prince to flight, and took seven elephants, whose trappings were immensely rich. Mohammed escaped to the woods, wandering from place to place, with his son, whom he continually reproached with having caused all his miseries by his obstinacy. They afterwards fell at variance and separated. Albuquerque lost no time, built a fort, peopled the city with strangers whom he invited thither, mostly Malayans, rears a church for divine worship, coins money of different species, some whereof he threw among the people in order to render his government the more agreeable to the new inhabitants; thus by his prudence and winning behaviour confirming this new but important conquest. Albuquerque had out of political views entrusted the government of the Moors in the city to Utimuti Raja: but detecting him in a conspiracy with the enemies of the Portugueze, he had him apprehended with his son and son-in-law, and they were executed on the same scaffold they had built for the murder of Sequeira. This was the first act of this sort done
by

by the Portugueze in the Indies. Two other princes likewise attempted to seize the city of Malacca ; but with like bad success. The king of Siam overjoyed to see his quarrel so well revenged, sent to testify his satisfaction. The governor sent also ambassadors in his turn to Siam and to Pegu, with some persons to discover the islands of Molucca and Banda. Then leaving a garrison in the fort, and a squadron to guard the seas, he returned towards Cochin. His passage was remarkable for a prodigious storm, in which a great part of his fleet with all his riches perished, he himself narrowly escaping. Whilst Albuquerque had been employed in this expedition, Goa was besieged by an army of the followers of Adel Khân, to the number of twenty thousand, who had been encouraged by some natives within the place ; but the viceroy arriving at the same time, the siege was raised. The king of Calicut sued for peace, and gave liberty to build a fort. The fame of these conquests spread all over the eastern world. Ambassadors were sent from many princes of the country, and amongst others an ambassador from Prester John, desiring to be sent into the kingdom of Portugal.

C H A P. XIV.

Other expeditions of the great Albuquerque. He subdues Ormuz. His death and character.

THE next attempt was against Aden. In the beginning of the year one thousand five hundred and thirteen, Albuquerque set out for the conquest of this city, with twenty ships, aboard of which were seventeen hundred Portuguese, and besides, eight hundred Indians of the countries of Canarin and Malabar.

Aden stands on the coast of Arabia, surnamed the Happy, near the place where the Red-sea is joined to the ocean. Over it appears the mountain Arziza, all a barren rock, divided into many cliffs. The prospect from the sea is very beautiful, and it has the look of a place of great strength. It is rich, and famous for the resort of many nations. Water is very scarce, for which they depend on the heavens, which do not supply them above once in three years. Hence it is void of all trees, plants, or orchards, the delight and ornament of other towns.

They attempted to scale the walls; but after four days trial, with great disappointments, and some loss, they were obliged to abandon their enterprise, after taking a bulwark which guarded the port with thirty-nine pieces of great cannon, and burning the ships which had first been plundered.

From hence they sailed for the Red-sea, which heretofore had never felt the weight of a Portuguese

gueze vessel. Four ships were taken at the island Camaran, where the stormy season overtaking them they were obliged to winter. They departed in July, and appeared before Aden a second time, which being strengthened with new works, they abandoned that design, and sailed for Diu, where they had liberty to build a fort.

Malacca was in great danger of being reduced by Pati Quiter, but after all his endeavours, he was obliged to escape to Java his native country. From this island, Pati Unuz, lord of the city of Japara, and afterwards king of Sunda, invaded Malacca with a great fleet and a powerful army. His navy consisted of sixteen ships, some whereof were equal in size to galleons, the land force amounting to twelve thousand fighting men. He had been seven years preparing for this descent, keeping a constant and secret correspondence with the Javanese in that city. Fernando Perez made head against him with seventeen ships, three hundred and fifty Portuguese, and some Indians. Two bloody encounters ensued, in the last of which Unuz was put to flight, saving himself in his largest ship with an infinite treasure. The Javans henceforth were for ever banished the place. Soon after Mahommed the late king attempted to reduce his ancient government; but when he was on the point of succeeding, his good fortune abandoned him, and he failed of his aim.

Albuquerque now revolved the conquest of Ormuz. He set out with a fleet of twenty-seven

fail, wherein were fifteen hundred Portuguese soldiers, and six hundred Indians of Malabar and Canarin. As soon as he cast anchor, he was visited by persons from the king, who brought him presents. Albuquerque demanded to be put in possession of the fort he had begun to build there, and required that the instrument by which the king Sayf-Addin had convey'd the sovereignty of that country, should be transmitted him by the hands of some of the chiefs of the country. He soon obtained what thro' weakness they dared not refuse. All his demands were granted, the governor Reis Nûr-Addin with his nephew ratifying the whole in person. They returned enriched with the presents they had received from the general, besides a collar of massy gold which was for the king. Albuquerque hastened the building the fort, and while the work was carrying on, that he might leave the natives no power of disturbing his government, he fell upon the following stratagem: He pretended that a great fleet was coming against him from Egypt, and desired them to lend him the cannon of the place for their common defence. They endeavoured by all sorts of persuasions to prevent the last blow to their liberties, but in vain. Albuquerque would not be refused. The artillery was delivered, and thus Ormuz was entirely subdued to the power of the Portuguese. While Albuquerque was busied in confirming his new conquests, ambassadors arrived from Persia, whither the fame of his victories had reached. He was glad of an alliance which might strengthen the
christians,

christians, by occupying the Mahommedans in the Indies. He therefore received them with open arms, made them rich presents, and to put them into a condition to withstand the Turks, whose artillery was dreadful to them, he added a number of brass cannon and other engines of war for the monarch, with men skilled in the management of them. Thus by these and other such prudent measures, this great man extended and established the power of the Portugueze nation in the East. Don Alphonso returned into India, where he died on the 16th of December one thousand five hundred and fifteen, after having lived sixty-three years. Some historians write, that the news of a successor being sent into the Indies hastened his fate. His fame still flourishes in the East, where he is known by the name of Albuquerque Malandy, from Melinda a city of Africa, which had the honour to give him birth; but amongst the Portugueze and other European nations, he is stiled the great Albuquerque. Thus died the greatest statesman, the most consummate general, and the best citizen of all the Portugueze commanders that ever sailed the Eastern ocean: and thus was established the glory and power of that nation in the Indies, which was first set in motion by the fiery impetuosity of Pacheco; was then formed and extended by the courage and steadiness of Almeida and his brave son; and lastly, by the prodigious abilities of the great Albuquerque, was brought to that state of glory and stability, that it filled all the East with terror and astonish-

ment. A lasting and bright example set by the monarch, grandees, and people of Portugal, to all the nations of Europe addicted to commerce and maritime affairs, and especially to that of Great Britain, whose glory at sea eclipses that of all the nations that now, or perhaps ever did exist! After adding Ormuz, Goa, and Malacca to the dominions of Portugal, this great general, whose exploits I have related as fully as the nature of my design would permit, had formed the plan of two projects, which must have still added to his fame; the first was, to ruin the trade of the Turks in the Indies, and the commerce of Alexandria, by turning the course of the Nile from Egypt into the Red-sea. The second was by a descent on Arabia, from the island of Ormuz, to plunder the tomb and destroy the relicks of Mohammed, and so to hinder that concourse of those nations who are addicted to that superstition, which brought an infinite trade in Indian commodities into this kingdom.

C H A P. XV.

Lope Soarez de Albergaria governor of the Indies.

ALBUQUERQUE left the Portugueze power in Asia at its height, which from henceforward declined daily, they being afterwards employed rather in defending than enlarging

larging their conquests. Hitherto the governors and officers had been led by principles of honour and love for the prosperity of their country, but afterwards, men being advanced to the chief command more out of an idle and pernicious respect to their birth, than to real and solid merit, instead of leaders, they became merchants, sacrificing all their concern for the public to the mean search after riches, in order to support the false pageantry of their rank and families at home.

The new chief Lope Soarez de Albergaria found every thing at his accession to the government in the most admirable order. The Indian nations were in a state of profound tranquillity, and the army in a condition to execute the highest designs. The fleet he brought along with him consisted of thirteen ships, with fifteen hundred chosen Portugueze aboard; many of them gentlemen by birth, and most of them such by their actions. His first expedition was against the Egyptian fleet in the Red-sea. He set out with twenty-seven ships of all dimensions; and an army consisting of twelve hundred Europeans, and sixteen hundred Malabars. Arriving at Aden in Arabia, he was offered the keys of the city, but he neglected to take possession of it, putting it off till he should return from the pursuit of the Egyptians, who had been driven by tempestuous weather as high as Jodda or Jidda, a city of some strength on the coast of Arabia the Happy.

The event of this expedition was, that the Portugueze, after suffering equally by famine

and their enemies, abandoned their design; and appearing before Zeila, a city seated on the mouth of the Red-sea, on the African shore, which was not provided for such a visit, the place was carried without opposition, and burnt down to the ground. This was then the chief mart in those parts. From hence the fleet bent its course for Aden. The governor repenting of his former easiness and condescension, eluded the promise he had made to deliver the place to the Portuguese general, by feigned delays. Soarez finding the walls rebuilt, and the city in a condition of defence, retired. He next steered for Bar-bora, intending to destroy this city as he had before done Zeila: but a storm which overtook him scattered his fleet, and drowned eight hundred of his men. He therefore deferred his attempt till the year following, when the place was without opposition taken, pillaged, and burnt to ashes.

The Turks had now conquered Egypt, and made themselves masters of the Red-sea, so that henceforth the coasts of Egypt and Arabia were secured by new strong holds.

The disorder which reigned at Goa brought on a siege, which had but a small continuance; and the imprudent government of George de Brito, who commanded at Malacca, occasioned the like disaster in that place. His tyranny drove the inhabitants to despair, and they abandoned the city: at the same time the late king came with a considerable force to recover his ancient scepter; and there had been an end of the Portuguese power, had
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not Alexis de Menezes come to its relief, with three hundred Portuguese. His arrival frustrated the projects of the king, and secured Malacca to the Portuguese. It was peopled anew with Siamese, sent thither at the request of Menezes, by the king of their country. Lope Soarez now prepared to sail for Ceylon.

This island, which the ancient inhabitants term Il'anare, and the Arabians and Persians, Serandib, or Selandiu, that is to say, the island of Selan, is situated over against that promontory which forms the southern point of the hither peninsula of India, commonly known by the name of Cape Comorin, to which it is said by ancient tradition to have been joined of old, and from which it is divided by a channel sixteen leagues over. This island contains nine kingdoms; Colombo, situated to the west; Gale, which lies in the southern parts; and between these are found Iaula, Tanavaka, Candé, Batecalon, Vilafem, Triquinamalé, and Japhanapatam. The prince of Colombo had formerly sought the friendship of the Portuguese, with whom he had settled a trade, and provided them with cinnamon, ever since the time of Albuquerque. Soarez intended to compel the king to pay tribute, and to grant liberty to build a fort, pursuant to the orders of king Emanuel. He weighed anchor (1517) with a fleet of seventeen ships of all dimensions, aboard of which were seven hundred soldiers, all Europeans. The king was assisted by the Moors. An engagement ensued, the islanders and Moors are

put to flight, and the king consents to become the subject of Portugal. The conditions were, that he should pay yearly to that crown, twelve hundred quintals of cinnamon, twelve rings of rubies and sapphires, and six elephants, commodities in which Ceylon remarkably abounds. The king of Pam, a country in the neighbourhood of Malacca, followed the example of him of Colombo, and voluntarily yielded himself a tributary to the Portugueze monarch, in token whereof he consented to pay him yearly a cup of gold. John de Silveira about this time settled a factory in the Maldivé islands.

Duarte Coello, another of the chiefs of Europe, concluded a peace with the king of Siam, next to those of China and Bisnagar, the greatest prince in all the Indies. Fernan Perez de Andrada, after many difficulties which lay in the way of that undertaking, arrived at Quanton or Canton in China; he established a trade to that coast, and returned to Malacca, loaden with riches. He sailed from this city in company with Edward de Menezes for the port of Cochin. The king of Bin-tang, tho' he had just before concluded a treaty of peace, waited the absence of the Portugueze chiefs, in order to fall upon the city unprovided. The garrison consisted of no more than two hundred European soldiers. In this condition the king of Bin-tang came against it, with a land army of fifteen hundred men, a great number of elephants, and a navy of sixty ships. After a siege of twenty days continuance,
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in which he had sustained considerable loss, he withdrew his forces, intending to intercept the provisions of the garrison, and force it thro' famine to surrender. But seeing Garcia de Sa strengthen the place with an addition of sixty men, he abandoned the attempt.

The following year arrived Antonio Correa from Martaban, where he had concluded a treaty with the king of Pegu, which was solemnly ratified in the presence of the priests of both nations. The conditions were drawn up in the golden mine, a custom always observed by those nations. After these were read over, the gentile priest began to look upon a book; and taking up some paper of a yellow tinct, a colour sacred to divine rites, he threw it into the flames, together with aromatic flames of a grateful scent, on which certain mystic characters were inscribed. Then taking the king's minister by the hands, held them over the ashes, at the same time repeating some words which were deemed to render the oath sacred and inviolable. The metropolis of this kingdom is Bagou, or Pegu, as we commonly but corruptly call it. On the west of it is the bay of Bengala; on the east, the kingdom of Siam; on the south, that of Malacca; and on the north, that of Arracam. The length and breadth are in many places nearly the same, that is to say, almost a hundred leagues every way, without including its conquests. The country is level, well watered, and fertile, as well in grain as in cattle. Its numerous temples are crowded

crowded with multitudes of idolatrous divinities, worshiped with vast variety of ceremonies by the superstitious inhabitants. Sodomy is a vice to which this nation is universally addicted.

C H A P. XVI.

Government and actions of James Lopez de Sequeira.

DI E G O, or James Lopez de Sequeira, succeeded Soarez in the government of India. He set sail from Goa for the Red-sea, with a fleet of twenty-four sail, aboard of which were eighteen hundred Portugueze, and almost an equal number of Malabars and Canarans. This expedition was intended against the island of Maçua, the inhabitants whereof fled at his approach. They took sanctuary at Arquico, a city of Abyssinia or Abassia, the empire of Presbyter John, whose ambassador Sequeira then had on board. This gave occasion to the confirmation of the treaty between the two monarchs. For the governor of the place, under whose protection the inhabitants of Maçua had put themselves, sent a messenger to James Lopez. He told him that the professors of the same faith, for that people were also christians, ought rather to add vigor to the christian religion in the East by a firm peace between them, instead of persecuting each other with injuries like enemies; that a prophecy which had foretold the arrival of foreign christians to settle a correspondence

dence with them, persuaded him that the Portuguese whose colours he then saw displayed, were the very nation who were to fulfil it. The governor returning a favourable answer, stood in to the shore, when some of the christian inhabitants coming on board, found the ambassador of their prince, who was about to land in his way to his master. They embraced him with great respect and joy, and he no less rejoiced to be restored to his native country after an absence of ten years continuance.

The kingdom now discovered by the Portuguese, is most commonly known by the improper appellation of the kingdom or empire of Prester John: the true name of it being the kingdom of Abassia, or the empire of the higher Ethiopia. It derived this name from a great prince, called Jovarus, corruptly Prester John, descended from the christians of Tartary, and who was distinguished by the cross which he carried in his hand, as well as by the title of defender of the faith. His dominions lie between the rivers Nile, Astabora, and Astapus. On the eastern side they run for the space of one hundred and twenty leagues along the shore of the Red-sea, this being the shortest boundary of this empire, its circumference containing six hundred and seventy leagues in all. The western parts touch the country of those negroes who possess those immensely rich mines of gold, for which they pay tribute to the Portuguese. A line drawn from the city Suanquem to the island Meroe or Noba,

Noba, divides it from the Moors towards the north. Its southern frontier borders on the kingdom of Adea, from whose mountains falls the river Obi, which loses itself in the sea near the town of Quilmance in the kingdom of Melinda.

The kings of Abassia, fond like all others of an high descent, deduce their origin from Solomon, and that queen of Saba, who went so far to have offspring by a king famed over all the East for the extraordinary talents of his mind. They boast of queen Candace, as she who first planted christianity amongst them. The titles of this prince favour of this august pedigree: David, beloved of God, pillar of the faith, of kin to the stock of Juda, grandson of David, son of Solomon, son of the pillar of Sion, son of the progeny of Jacob, son of the hand of Mary, &c. emperor of the great and high Ethiopia, &c. The people are very religious, the country having many churches, and a number of religious persons. Here are no considerable towns, no knowledge of arts, nor any skill in mechanics, their diet and clothing suitable to the manners of a people so little cultivated. The prince lives for the most part in the fields in a populous city of tents, which does not long remain in the same place. This is the account the Portuguese discoverers gave of this country, to which the author of these sheets will not now make any addition.

No sooner was the news of the arrival of the Abyssinian ambassador known at court, than the
governor

governor of that province came to meet him. He appeared on the shore with a retinue consisting of two hundred horse and a thousand foot. The differences arising from the point of honour and precedence between him and the Portuguese commander being adjusted, they met upon the water's edge; and after being seated on two chairs on the sand, which at that time burnt with the heat of the sun, the ambassador was restored to his country, and with him went another person, vested by Emanuel with the same character for the emperor of Abyssinia. A treaty was next set in agitation, by which the Portuguese were to be permitted to build a fortress against the Moors on the island Camaran, or that of Maçua, which being sworn to on both sides, and mutual presents made, they parted. A great cross was erected in the port to perpetuate the memory of this transaction. After burning the city of Dalaca, the admiral stood over for the coast of Arabia. At Calayate he found George de Albuquerque, who waited his coming, and who had lately arrived from Europe, from whence Emanuel had sent him with a squadron under his command, which had been dispersed by bad weather.

Whilst the Portuguese governor was busied in the Red-sea, Chrisnarao king of Bisnagar invaded Hidalcan, with a power which covered the plains and the mountains, and drank up rivers. This army consisted of thirty-five thousand horse, seven hundred and thirty-three thousand

sand foot, five hundred and eighty-six elephants loaded with castles, in each of which were four men; and that this vast army should not disperse or suffer from the want of water, twelve thousand water carriers were employed to supply all parts. The baggage was numberless, amongst which, and what was not perhaps the least cumbrous part of it, were twenty thousand common women. He led all this power to reduce Rachol, a city belonging of right to his ancestors, who had left it ever in charge to their successors, to recover this place at any hazard or expence.

Rachol was by its situation almost impregnable, seated on a high mountain, encompassed with several walls, guarded by broad and deep ditches, strong towers, stored with artillery, and all other instruments of defence; its garrison consisting of four hundred horse, eight thousand foot, twenty elephants, besides provision and warlike stores sufficient for the longest siege. Chrisnarao invested the place on all sides, and in the course of three months that he lay before it, gave in vain repeated assaults, when Hidalcan came to its relief with eighteen thousand horse, one hundred and twenty thousand foot, an hundred and fifty elephants, and a prodigious number of great ordnance. Several encounters ensued. At last the two armies engage, fortune at first inclining to Hidalcan, but Chrisnarao who had received great loss, recovering his disadvantage, attacked his enemy with such fury, that not one escaped the sword or slavery, excepting such as the pity of
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the victors agreed to spare. The booty was prodigious. Chrisnarao, fierce with his victory, returned to the siege, when Christopher de Figueiredo with twenty Portugueze, coming to the king, asked leave to view the place, which was granted. After considering it some time, he marched on with this little army to give the assault, and being seconded by Chrisnarao, the place was carried at the second effort. Hidalcan was compelled to acknowledge the conqueror as supreme lord of Canara.

Ruy de Melo, who then commanded at Goa, taking advantage of the broils of the princes of the country, possessed himself of the neighbouring part of the continent.

Emanuel, in order to establish his power for ever in the Indies, had given orders to the governor to build forts in Malucco, Sumatra, Maldivia, Chaul, and Diu. Lopez resolved to begin with this last. To this effect he made an agreement with Malek Az, who eluded his promise with affected delays. Sequeira perceiving his intentions, set sail for Cochin with design to make preparations to return, to gain by force what the artifice of the Moor withheld from him. After dispatching the trading ships for Europe, he bent all his thoughts towards Diu. Wherefore he assembled the greatest fleet that had ever appeared on those seas belonging to the Portugueze nation. It consisted of forty-eight vessels of all dimensions and qualities, with three thousand Portugueze, and eight hundred Malabars

Malabars and Canarans. Melique Az immediately conjecturing the end of this great armament, repaired to the king of Cambaya, in order to persuade him against giving his leave to the Portugueze to build a fort in his island. But notwithstanding he had fortified Diu in a wonderful manner, the Portugueze governor, determined by the advice of his council, desisted from his enterprize, and thus was this great power most lamentably disappointed.

George de Albuquerque was ordered to set out for Sumatra. This island lying north-west and south-east, is in length two hundred and twenty leagues, its greatest breadth being no more than seventy. The equinoctial cuts it into two equal parts. It is divided from Malacca by a narrow channel, and by a strith still narrower, its most southern point is parted from Java, an island above one hundred leagues in length, and but twelve only in breadth. To the east lies Borneo, also cut by the equinoctial, and that in such manner as that two thirds of it lie on the north side of the line. Sumatra is a plain level country on the coasts, the inland parts mountainous, watered by great rivers, and covered with vast hideous forests, so wrapt in fogs, that all the extraordinary power of the sun in those burning climates is not able to pierce them. For this reason it is very unhealthy, yet frequented for its riches, and-above all, for its plenty of gold. Besides a fountain of oil, and a flaming mountain like that of *Ætna* or *Vesuvius*, which may be considered

as extraordinary rarities: it produces white sandal, benjamin, camphire, pepper, ginger, cinnamon, abundance of silk, fish in great quantities, and cattle of various kinds. The natives are idolaters. The Moors, who since the year fourteen hundred have possessed themselves of it as lords and masters, came in at first as simple merchants. Some of the inland inhabitants are said to feed on human flesh. The Moors possess the coasts. Several languages prevail here, chiefly that of Malacca. Their weapons, like those of the Javanesse their progenitors, were at first poisoned arrows, but they have since learnt the use of European arms. There are nine distinct kingdoms in this island, whereof that of Pedir was anciently the most powerful, but since that, the prince of Pacem has got the ascendant. The kings are chosen by the people, and the same authority resumes the supreme power as soon as the person intrusted with it is known to make an ill use of it, in which case the guilty prince is punished with death. The Portugueze at this time protected one of those princes thus expelled, and resolved to have him restored by persuasion or force.

George Albuquerque arriving at this island, and being assisted by the king of Ara a neighbouring prince, proposed to the usurper to quit his unjust possession to the lawful prince, who had submitted to the Portugueze. Genial, for so the usurper was called, offered to make the same submission, provided he was permitted to enjoy

what he then possessed. This offer was not accepted; the castle of Genial was attacked and stormed; after a most resolute defence, in which the usurper was killed, the exiled prince was restored to his ancient dignity with great pomp; he submitted to pay the tribute of Portugal; and a fort was afterwards erected as in the other settlements of that nation.

The following was one of those disasters which the avarice of the Portugueze brought upon them. John de Borba, one of that nation, had been shipwrecked; and having been tost for nine days on the waves, with nine of his companions, he was cast upon the shore of Achem, where he was received and relieved by the humanity of the king. Soon after, George de Brito arriving with a Portugueze squadron, Borba comes to him, persuading him to plunder the tombs of the kings, in which he said vast store of gold was deposited. Brito consented, and to give a colour of justice to the robbery, pretended that the king had seized the goods of some Portugueze. He accordingly lands with two hundred men, and seizes a fort which lay in his way. Some of the besieged sallying out upon the enemy, and others succeeding to relieve or rescue them, they were so well received, that the affair became general, and Brito was forced to come to the assistance of his men, when appears the king at the head of a thousand men, and with them six elephants. Brito with most of his men fell in this encounter, amongst whom were fifty persons

sons of note. The few who remained fled to the ships.

Antonio de Brito, the brother of him lately killed, set sail for the Molucco islands, situated under the equinoctial, about three hundred leagues eastward from Malacca. These are inclosed within a multitude of other islands. Five are distinguished above the others: these are Ternate, Tidore, Mousel, Maquien, and Bachan; the largest not exceeding six leagues in circumference. All of them here named produce cloves, but nothing fit for human sustenance. Batochina, on the contrary, yields provisions in abundance, but no cloves. Some are remarkable for burning mountains, as Ternate. The principal nourishment of the inhabitants is a sort of meal made of the bark of trees resembling the palm, from which, as well as some others, they receive bread, wine, and vinegar. They are no great lovers of flesh, tho' their islands afford plenty of it; and they more willingly feed upon fish, of which there is an incredible abundance. The people are warlike, averse to strangers, swift of foot, and excellent swimmers. It is not known whence they derive their origin, or from what parts these islands were peopled.

The Portugueze were jealous of a branch of trade which supplied all Europe, Asia, and a great part of Afric with those rich spiceries. Wherefore they were desirous not only to exclude the Moors, but also the Venetians, from trading in those commodities. At this time the Spaniards

began likewise to give them umbrage, by a clandestine trade carried on by way of America. For these causes Brito was sent hither, and in particular to Ternate, in order to build a fort, which Boylese, the king thereof, had of a long time earnestly desired. This had been before attempted to no effect. In the government of Albuquerque, Antonio de Abreu had arrived at Banda, the chief of five islands so called, which in beauty resembles a terrestrial paradise; its greatest ornament being the plant which produces the clove, a fruit so much coveted in the West and North. Hence Abreu returned to Malacca; Serram, a captain who had accompanied him, being driven by a storm on Ternate, where he staid waiting the decision of a dispute between the kings of Tidore and Bachan, who contended which should have the honour of having the fort of the Portugueze built in his own island. When Brito arrived at Ternate, he found king Boylese dead, and the Spaniards entertained with open arms by the prince of Tidore. This prince thought himself happy in being able to rival the king of Ternate, who had been distinguished beyond himself by the choice of the Portugueze. Those Spaniards arrived in one of the ships which set out with the famous Magellan, the discoverer of the passage into the Pacific ocean thro the straits distinguished by his name. The prince of Ternate was then a minor under the government of the queen his mother, who had received Brito with great civility. The favour of this woman gained him a visit
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from the prince of Tidore, who offered to deliver up the Spaniards, in hopes that Brito would in return for this condescension, agree to build the fort in his island. However, Ternate was found more convenient, and the prince who had so much coveted a Portugueze garrison was disappointed.

Lopez in another expedition added to the dominions of the Portugueze in the East. What occasioned it was this. The king of Ormuz, being backward in payment of the tribute he had stipulated, alledged for his excuse, that the king of Lafia refused to pay what he owed for the islands of Baharem and Catifa. His attempts to reduce him had no effect. Wherefore he applied to the governor, to this purpose, who consented to assist him against his enemy. The king of Ormuz fitted out two hundred vessels, with three thousand Arabs and Persians. The Portugueze power consisted of seven ships, and four hundred men, under Anthony Correa. Mocrim stood ready to receive them with three hundred Arabian horse, four hundred Persian archers, twenty Turkish musqueteers, besides natives, and upwards of eleven thousand men armed with various weapons. He had moreover cast up strong entrenchments and other works, and the walls were mounted with a numerous ordnance, all under the care of tried commanders.

The Persian gulph lies between Arabia and Persia, from which last, as from the noblest, it takes its name. This famous tract begins at Cape

Jasque or Carpela, in twenty-six degrees of northern latitude, and ends at the mouth of the Euphrates; the coast is diversified with frequent cities, rivers, woods, forests, and islands. The prospect of the opposite coast is not so delightful, there being but four towns in all that tract which lies between Cape Mozandan or Affaborum, and the frontiers of Persia. In this space is a fishery for pearls. Over against Baharem, lies Catifa, an island thirty leagues in compass, and seven over, being one hundred and ten leagues distant from Ormuz. Its chief produce is tamarinds, tho' it yields all other fruits known in Europe. The capital bears the same name, there being three hundred villages in the island. The inhabitants are Moors and Arabs, the air unhealthy. The pearl found here, tho' in small quantities, is more valued than that of Ceylon, or Hainan in China. Opposite to the island, on the continent, stands the city Lasah, whereof Mocrim, who made these preparations for the defence of Baharem, was king.

The troops of Ormuz under their own leader, were left as a reserve, whilst the Portuguese, to the number of one hundred and seventy, under Correa, his brother leading the van with fifty men, advanced in the water towards the shore. The trenches are assaulted, the fight grows hot, the king at the head of his men encouraging them; at last, being wounded in the thigh, whereof he afterwards died, his men begin to despair, and after much slaughter, betake themselves

selves to flight, leaving the Portugueze a complete victory. Thus in two hours time, the island was subdued to the Portugueze crown.

Lopez, still anxious to possess himself of Diu, sent thither a squadron to block up that port. Yet the bravery of Melique Az, and the loss of the brave Anthony Correa, who after conquering the king of Lafah, was blown up with his ship by some Moors he had taken prisoners, obliged him to desist from this enterprize. From hence he set out for Chaul, where by leave from Nizamalûco, he erected a fort, which, notwithstanding the efforts of Melique, who was afraid of the consequences of this new settlement to the trade of Diu, was at last finished to their wishes. This was the last enterprize of Diego Lopez de Sequeira in the Indies, whose government now expiring, he set out for Portugal.

C H A P. XVII.

Including the governments of Duarte de Menezes, Vasquez de Gama, and Lope Vaz de Sampayo.

TO him succeeded Duarte de Menezes, in 1522. In the first year of whose government died Emanuel, the greatest prince that ever swayed the Portugueze scepter. The conquest of all the maritime India, both within and without the Ganges, of the coast and islands in the Persian gulph, of the shores and ports of the Red-sea;

those victorious fleets which covered the Ethiopian and Atlantic oceans ; the ruin of the trade of the Venetians, whose grandeur and naval power the commerce of the East had supported for three hundred years before ; the subjection of great part of the coast of Barbary ; and the numerous defeats which he gave to the forces of the emperor of Morocco, are so many monuments which will convey the memory of this illustrious reign to the latest posterity with inextinguishable glory. His son John the third now filled the throne, when Menezes came to take upon him the government of India, bringing with him a squadron of twelve ships. His first undertaking was the relief of Ormuz. The people of that city, in revenge of the avarice and insolence of the Portugueze officers, had recourse to arms. These last, being vested with the trust of collecting the revenues which belonged to the king of Ormuz, abused their power ; and adding lust to covetousness, had violated the daughters and wives of the inhabitants. In revenge of these injuries, they fell upon the Portugueze in the night, at Ormuz, Baharem, Mascate, Curiate, and Soar, all at the same time. An hundred and twenty of that nation perished in this massacre. And now those at Ormuz were reduced to great straits, partly by the indefatigable efforts of the king, and partly by enemies still more terrible, hunger and thirst ; when the king seeing the success not answerable to his application, set fire to his capital, and went over to Queixome, an island
fifteen

fifteen leagues in length, at three leagues distance, close to the Persian shore, and with him all the inhabitants. This beautiful city continued burning for four days, in which time it was reduced to a heap of ashes. Don Luis, the brother of the governor, had been sent to appease these troubles; he burnt and plundered Soar, which he afterwards gave away to a prince who was to hold it of the crown of Portugal. Arriving at Queixome, he concluded a treaty with the young prince, his father having been assassinated by his own favourites, on the conditions of the former, the Portugueze promising not to interfere with the government of the city, to which that prince now agreed to return.

At this time, the territory of Goa, formerly conquered from Hidalcan, in spite of all the valour of the Portugueze, returned gradually to the obedience of its ancient master. The king of Achen, after abundance of bloodshed, and wasting Sumatra with fire and sword, compels the Portugueze to abandon their fort. The Chinese also punish them severely, for the enormities formerly committed by that nation in their country. The like disasters pursued them at Malacca; and the same ill fortune attended them in the Moluccos; all which threatened them with a series of misfortunes, to which their former successes served only to make them the more sensible.

Vasquez de Gama was now on the seas, with a commission to govern in India. An accident
which

which happened on his way, serves to shew the greatness of soul of those who first discovered and retreved this new source of commerce and navigation. In the middle of a profound calm, when not a breath of wind ruffled the ocean, all of a sudden arose such a violent motion in the water, that the ships tossed and heaved in such manner that all on board looked for death every moment. The viceroy, for it seems he bore that quality, knowing the cause of so extraordinary an appearance to be an earthquake, cried out to the ships in company, Courage my friends! these seas tremble for fear of you! the ocean acknowledges the conquerors of the East. It is said, that such as lay sick of fevers were cured by the fright. The fleet arrived at Goa. After visiting the forts, and ordering every thing with his usual conduct and magnanimity, he died, three months after his arrival, full of great designs, which no man was better qualified to put in execution. The fort of Ceylon was abandoned at this time, as being not worth the charge of maintaining it. He named Lope Vaz de Sampayo to succeed him, till such time as Henrique de Menezes should arrive from Goa.

C H A P. XVIII.

Henrique de Menezes succeeds to the government of India.

SAmpayo had been abundantly successful against the enemies of Portugal, whether at land or on the seas, when Henrique came to take upon himself the chief command. The commander of the fort at Calicut was obliged to abandon the post he held. Mean time the new chief entered upon his government with great modesty, without pomp, with great respect to the memory of his predecessor, and declining all proud titles, saying, that good men were more covetous to deserve honour, than to make use of the pageantry which attends it.

Soon after he assembled at Cochin a great power, consisting of an hundred sail, and two thousand fighting men, to invade Panane, a city subject to the Zamorin. This place, which is one of the principal of his dominions, is seated on the banks of a river of the same name, was well fortified, stored with cannon, and the officer who commanded in it, a Portugueze renegado. A numerous fleet drawn up in line of battle in the entry of the river, stood ready to receive them. The fight begins, by sea and land, with vast fury, the Portugueze enter their works, seize their cannon, the enemy flying to the woods. The town and ships in the port were given up to the flames. The slaughter was astonishing.

nishing. The day following, twelve ships were burnt in the haven of Calicut. John de Lima carrying on the same havock in the suburbs of the city.

From hence they set sail to Coulete, a city defended by fortifications as strong as the former, the same number of ships and of ordnance, and a garrison of twenty thousand men. A council of war was held on this occasion; the general opinion was against so dangerous an enterprize, but the advice of the governor prevailed, which was for making the attempt. The plan concerted, the troops disposed, the engagement commences, both sides contending with fury and obstinacy; at last, the vast slaughter made by the Portuguese, obliges the enemy to fly. The booty consisted of three hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, musquets an infinite number, fifty-three ships, most of them laden with the most valuable spiceries. Those which remained being beat to pieces by the fire of the great artillery, were consumed in the flames, as was the conquered city.

And now the king of Calicut laid siege to that fortress, in which John de Lima with three thousand men commanded. A body of twelve thousand foot broke ground in order to form lines of circumvallation, and notwithstanding the bold efforts of de Lima, brought their works to perfection. A train of great ordnance was planted, which threw balls two spans in diameter, while nine thousand of the enemy advance to the assault. The cannon begins to thunder on both sides,

sides, that of the Portugueze, which was more dexterously played, doing prodigious execution; but this was scarce perceived in an army almost without number. The besieged send for succours, part whereof with difficulty forced their way thro' all dangers, and part were obliged to return as they came, the garrison suffering some loss in their turn. The governor resolved however to stand firm to the last.

The garrison defended itself more thro' rage and despair, than by valour or conduct, when two squadrons appeared for their relief. Soon after the governor arrived with twenty sail, and fifteen hundred men. He was followed by Anthony de Miranda, all the sea of Calicut being now covered with ships.

The governor after reinforcing the garrison, began next morning at day-break to land his men, who forced their way thro' crowds of the enemy that covered the shore, with shot, grenades, and all sorts of warlike weapons, the Portugueze captains signalizing themselves on this occasion. The enemy are put to flight with great slaughter. Henrique remained master of the field. Wherefore as the fort was of no importance, after shipping whatever was valuable, and mines being prepared to blow it up, the garrison withdrew to the ships. The Moors finding the place clear of enemies, ran in clusters to pillage, when the powder that instant taking fire, blew up into the air the whole fabrick, with all the multitude within it. This bold stroke was done to preserve the reputation of his countrymen,

countrymen, and not from any intention in the governor to make any new conquest.

Henrique's thoughts turned chiefly upon the conquest of Diu, an acquisition which the Portuguese had long beheld with wishing eyes. Hector de Silveyra, the other part of his instructions not being known, assaulted and took the strong city Dosar on the coast of Arabia, and then entering the Red-sea, he reduced and rendered tributary the islands of Maçua and Dalaca. After this Peter Mascatenhas, George de Albuquerque, and Martin Alphonso de Sousa, signalized themselves in sundry exploits against the enemies of their country, at Malacca, on the ocean, and in the country of the king of Linga.

At the Moluccos, Anthony de Brito desiring that a successor might be sent him, Garcia Henriquez went thither. From Ternate, the two chiefs sent out a small vessel on the discovery of the island of Celebes, famous for the quantity of gold it was said to afford. The discoverer found the island, but was not so happy in the research of the precious metal. Being carried out of his course as he returned, he unexpectedly fell in with a great and beautiful island, whose inhabitants lived in a happy simplicity of manners, and treated them with great affection. The colour of this nation was inclined to white, their persons comely, strong of body, they wore their beards and their hair long, their cloathing coarse, and their food roots and fruits. They knew not the use of iron, or any other metal, only they gave to understand
by

by signs, for their language could not be understood, that the mountain to which they pointed afforded gold. After eight months spent in these discoveries, they left the island of James Lopez de Sequeira, for so the discoverer was called, and returned to Ternate.

Henrique still continued his preparations against Diu, giving out that his design was upon Aden, and acting in all things the part of a wise and prudent captain. He set out with seventeen sail of large ships in order to clear those seas of the pirates, which always abound here. Chale was burnt to the ground in this expedition; but the action which followed against a hundred small vessels laden with spices, and defended by four thousand Moors, was not equally fortunate; the governor being obliged to return, having left forty of his men dead upon the field. This loss was followed by one still greater, which was the death of Henrique de Menezes, one of the best of governors and the best of men.

C H A P. XIX.

Government of Lope Vaz de Sampayo.

L OPE Vaz de Sampayo succeeded to the government of the Indies. He resolved first of all to take or destroy a fleet of the Zamorin's ships, which had taken shelter at Cananor. The charge was given with great courage, the Portugueze on shore entering the enemy's trenches with

with great slaughter, whilst others fired above seventy of their vessels in the harbour. Victory declared in favour of the Europeans: above eighty brass cannon were taken in this action. The town was spared, because it belonged to Narvinga the ally of the conquerors. He then reduced Calayat and Mascate which had revolted, thro' the avarice of the governor who commanded that district.

Malacca was reduced to great distress by the king of Bintan, who took advantage of Pedro Mascarenhas' absence then on his way to Cochin, in order to possess himself of that capital. Mascarenhas resolved to attempt the chief city of the king of Bintan; wherefore after considering the strength and situation of the place, and settling every thing in proper order for that purpose, he set out in the dead of the night, marching his men thro' a thick wood, in order to conceal his approach from the enemy. They reached the place before day-break, and immediately gave the assault, warlike instruments sounding to terrify the enemy, who running to oppose a feigned attack, left Mascarenhas room to enter the place. They continued however to defend themselves with great resolution, till the flight of the king being known, they gave way. The town was plundered, the booty inestimable, amongst which were three hundred pieces of cannon. This action, which was one of the most glorious of all the Portugueze achievements in Asia, settled the quiet of Malacca, and brought immortal honour to Mascarenhas. The island was now restored
to

to its lawful master, from whom the present enemy of the Portugueze had usurped it.

Francis de Sa now prepared for his voyage to Sunda. This island is separated from Java by a very narrow channel. Its produce, gold of a paler colour, besides pepper and provisions in vast abundance. The natives are numerous, and unwarlike, but curious in adorning their arms which they know so little how to use. They are worshippers of idols, and sell their children to supply their wants. The women are beautiful, and what is perhaps singular and peculiar to this island, those of quality are distinguished above the others for their chastity. They have convents for those who choose a life of celibacy. The married women kill themselves at the death of their husbands, a custom introduced to secure the men from any attempts of the women upon their lives, to which it seems they had formerly been much addicted. Notwithstanding that the king had before offered of his own accord to assign the Portugueze a place for building a fort, and to pay a yearly tribute of three hundred and fifty quintals of pepper to purchase the friendship of the king of Portugal and his protection against the Moors, Francis however could bring nothing to bear, and thus returned without doing any thing.

Don Garcia Enriquez falling upon Tidore while the inhabitants were busied in the funeral ceremonies of the dead, entered the capital, seized the cannon, and burnt the place to ashes. His attempt to expel the Spaniards hence, failed.

Soon after was burnt Lobu, a sea port of Sumatra, where Alvara de Brito and seventy men died by the hands of the inhabitants. After which followed the discovery of Borneo.

Charles the fifth had sent a squadron into the Indies by the way of the Straits of Magellan. Arriving at Tidore they were received with great joy and kindness by the natives, who had been long weary of the avarice and harsh government of the Portugueze. They therefore erected works for the defence of the fort, to protect them from the insults of that nation. The Spaniards pretended that the Moluccos were first discovered by Magellan, and that of consequence those islands must belong to them. The Portugueze made answer, that they had been discovered by Antonio de Abreu, ten years before Magellan set out upon his expedition, and that Magellan himself had been a witness to the truth of this discovery, having been along with Abreu before he had as yet deserted the service of his country. The dispute was for some time confined to words, the people of Ternate siding with the Portugueze, and those of Tidore and Gilolo with the Spaniards. At last the latter besieged the Portugueze fortress in Ternate, and every thing depended on the event of war, when Charles, called off from those remote attentions by his affairs in Europe, yielded his pretensions to the Moluccos to the king of Portugal for a sum of money.

George de Menezes discovered the island of Borneo, as he sailed for the Moluccos. The ridiculous

diculous fears of the king was the only remarkable circumstance attending this discovery. The barbarian prince, on beholding the figures worked in a piece of tapestry which Menezes had presented him with, cried out in a panic, Take away those enchanted men, they will kill me in the night. No reasons were able to dispel his fears; and he could not rest, till he had first caused the occasion of his apprehensions to be removed, and together with it, the messengers who brought it. This gives us a very distinct idea of the state of the arts in Borneo. The remaining part of the government of Lope Vaz Sampayo was filled with many considerable actions, in all of which the Portugueze were victorious, dealing ruin and destruction among their enemies, excepting only in the Moluccos where the Spaniards disputed with them the possession of the spice trade. Some cruelties likewise, committed by some of those who commanded under Sampayo, increased the hatred of the Indian islanders against their Portugueze lords, and even their tyranny depopulated some cities, the natives preferring banishment and the loss of their country to the cruel slavery they underwent at home. Notwithstanding those stains upon his government, and the unjust desire of ruling, which was the right of another, Sampayo justly won the character of one of the greatest commanders, and one whose exploits did infinite honour to his native country.

C H A P XX.

Nuno de Cuna *enters upon the Government of the Indies.*

NUNO de Cuna who succeeded Sampayo, after great and successful actions on the coast of Africa, at Ormuz, and other places, as he passed to India, at last arrived at Goa, where he made preparations for the conquest of Diu, so long the object of the attention of the kings of Portugal. This place, of the last importance to the trade of the East, had been, as we have before taken notice, often attempted before, without success. Wherefore the governor assembled a great power of ships; so great was his navy, that the Indian ocean seemed to carry a huge forest on his bosom. This fleet, including store ships and small craft, amounted to above four hundred vessels, many of them ships of force. Three thousand six hundred soldiers composed the land army, and one thousand four hundred sailors worked the ships, all of these Portuguese, besides above two thousand Malabars and Canarans, eight thousand slaves fit for service, and almost five thousand mariners of the Indies. After reducing Gamam a Moorish fortress, he set forward with his army towards the island of Beth, a place so fortified by nature with vast rocks, besides the addition of huge ramparts crowned with innumerable batteries of cannon, and defended by a garrison of Turks, Arabs, and
other

other nations, naturally haters of the Portugueze. When the governor came before it, he was struck with astonishment at its strength of situation. He summoned it, when the Turks instead of surrendering, fell to shaving their heads, a ceremony by which they devote themselves, and which they practise when they resolve to conquer or die. The commander set them a brutal example of resolution by throwing his wife, son, all his family, and valuable effects into a fire he had lighted for that purpose, intending by this to shew his purpose to follow whither every thing dear or valuable had gone before. The rest followed this precedent, and the place wore already the appearance of a city under the most horrid and affecting miseries of war. Nuno began the attack at day-break in six several places, each officer courageously carrying on the part which had been allotted him. The enemy received them with no less intrepidity, the one side contending for life and liberty, the other for glory and empire. The Portugueze suffered greatly in their approach, amongst the dead was Hector de Silveyra, who had on so many occasions signalized himself, and acquired everlasting reputation. The following actions will serve to shew the spirit of those undaunted and invincible combatants. A Portugueze drove his lance through the body of his foe, who regardless of his wound, and unmindful of the weapon which stuck between his sinews, advanced along the spear which the other still wrenched in his body,

and with his scymetar hewed off his limbs, when down dead he fell, both the champions expiring one over the other. Another Turk, stung with the thoughts of abandoning his women to the lusts of his enemies, a passion to which that nation is infinitely sensible, killed two of them, themselves encouraging him to save them from the insults of the conquerors; and as he was upon the point of plunging his dagger into the other two, for they were four in number, a bullet prevented him; the remaining lovers leaped from the rock on which this scene passed into the ocean, their greatest apprehension being to be deprived of that fate which could alone preserve them inviolate. Eighteen hundred of the enemy were slaughtered, and sixty pieces of great artillery formed part of the booty.

After this success de Cuna advanced to Diu, which was struck with an universal panic, at the sight of a fleet which hid the seas from their sight. On the other hand, the Portugueze were filled with apprehensions at the view of a city seated upon rocks which reared their summits into the skies, the ocean washing their feet like a vast ditch, and the entry of the river crossed with massy chains, sustained upon vessels filled with an infinite number of musqueteers and archers, within ten thousand fighting men, and those lofty walls mounted with great artillery without number. The tops of the houses, walls and rocks, were covered with multitudes of persons of both sexes and of all ranks and ages, who rent
the

he air with cries and shouts. The governor, after viewing those formidable appearances, held a council, and gave orders for the assault.

On the sixteenth of February, the signal being given, the artillery began to play upon the town. The thunder and roaring of the cannon, the clouds of smoke, and flame, and dust, which poured from them, and from the ruined bulwarks and houses, which were beat to pieces, froze the spectators with dread, and involved the sea and the land. The Portuguese governor clothed in red, stood in the most conspicuous place, and while he flew to all parts where necessity called him, his quality being known, he became the mark at which all the shot of the enemy was aimed. At last the Portuguese cannon began to burst with continual firing, and some of the men being killed without doing any considerable execution, after consulting the principal leaders, it was resolved to abandon the enterprise. The loss of this place, was universally imputed to the previous attack of Beth. Some time after, the king of Cambaya, whether out of friendship for the Portuguese, or from an apprehension that it was better to grant them what one day or other they were resolved, and would undoubtedly conquer, sent an ambassador to the governor with offers to put the fortress of Diu into his hands. The governor did not hesitate to accept of it, and the command of it was given to Antonio de Silveyra.

Thus the Portuguese nation possessed themselves of the most important posts on the shores

of Afric, Arabia, Persia, India, and China; with all the islands in the vast embraces of the Indian ocean, disposing of kingdoms and scepters at their pleasure, and acting like the lords and masters of the world. Their other atchievements in the East are infinite, and carry me strongly to lay them before the English reader; but the bounds prescribed me by the nature of my undertaking, deny me the satisfaction of continuing a narration in itself so pleasant, and so capable of amusing those who shall have leisure and patience to peruse what I have already committed to writing.

C H A P. XXI.

Detail of the Portugueze Empire in the East-Indies.

THE Portugueze empire in the East, in its flourishing state, that is to say, from the time we have last treated of, for near a century after, extended from the southern extremity of Afric at the Cape of Good Hope, as far as Cape Liampo or Ning Po in China, comprehending a tract of four thousand leagues along the shores of those vast continents, without including the sea coasts of the Red-sea and the Persian gulph which include twelve hundred leagues more, In this space lies half Afric, and all Asia, with innumerable islands adjoining to those two grand divisions of the terraqueous globe. These four thousand

thousand leagues may be divided into seven portions.

The first, lying between the Cape of Good Hope, and the mouth of the Red-sea, contains along the coast many kingdoms of the Cafres, as that vast one of Monomopata, whose prince is lord of all the gold mines in Afric; those of Zofala, Mozambique, Quiloa, Pemba, Melinda, Pate, Brava, Magadoxa, and many other sovereignties. On this coast, the Portuguese were possessed of the forts of Zofala and Mombaça, with the city and fortress of Mozambique.

The second, between the Red-sea and the Persian gulph, contains the coast of Arabia, the most fruitful and populous part of this continent. The Portuguese settlement was the impregnable fortress of Mascate.

The third division, from Bassora on the Persian gulph to the Indus, contains the kingdom of Ormuz, in the island of Gerum, more famous for its trade than extent, those of Guadel and Sinda, part of the kingdoms of Persia and Cambaya. On this coast they held the fortresses of Bandel and that of Diu, which stands at the entrance of the gulph of Cambaya, a place of great importance in the eastern commerce.

The fourth, from the Indus to Cape Comorin, contains India Proper, that is to say, part of the kingdoms of Cambaya, Decan, Canara, and Malabar, this last subject to several princes. The Portuguese forts on this coast were, Damam, Assarim, Danu, St. Gens, Agazaim, Maim, Madora, Trapor, Baçaim with the city Tana, Caranga,

ranga, the city Chaul with the opposite fortress Morro ; Goa the seat of the empire of the Portuguese in the East, begirt with strong walls, and defended by six huge castles which defend the island on which this city is seated. Besides those and other strengths on the island, there were as you go along the coast of Malabar, the forts of Onor, Barcelor, Mangalor, Cananor, Cranganor, and Cochin a bishop's see, Angamale also the seat of a bishop, and the city and fortress of Coulam near Cape Comorin.

The next division, the fifth in number, contains between Cape Comorin and the Ganges, the states of Coromandel and Orixá, where the Portuguese held the forts of Negapatam and Meliapor, with the city of that name, a bishopric now called St. Thomas, and Masulapatam.

The sixth from the Ganges to Cape Cincapura, contains the vast kingdoms of Bengala, Pegu, Tanazatim, with others of less note. Here they had the city of Malacca, the last of their possessions on the eastern continent.

The seventh division between the Capes of Cincapura and Liampo, contains the kingdoms of Pam, Lugor, Siam, Cambadia, Triompa, Cochin China, and the vast extended empire of China. The Portuguese traded all along these coasts, from the city of Macao, the sole settlement they held on all that tract.

In Ceylon they had the city and fortress of Columbo, those of Manar, Gale, and others, and also a fort in the island Timor, beyond Malacca. The number of their fortresses in all this tract

tract amounted to above fifty, with twenty towns and cities, besides a great number of villages depending on the others.

The revenue of the customs of Diu brought to the crown of Portugal upwards of one hundred thousand crowns; that of Goa, one hundred and sixty thousand; that of Malacca, seventy thousand; the tributes paid by several states and princes, brought two hundred thousand; all which, with prizes and other profits uncertain, amounted to more than a million of the same species. It is thought that this revenue should have yielded two millions, were it not for the embezzlements of the governors who were supposed to rob the king of half his right, as may be collected from the following computation of their profits.

The forts of Zofala and Mozambique were worth to their governors, two hundred thousand ducats each; Mombaça, thirty thousand; Mascate, fifty thousand; Bandel, twenty thousand; Diu, sixty thousand; the fort at the mouth of that river, one thousand; the pass of Brancavara, one thousand; Assarim, four thousand; Danu, St. Gens, Agaçaim, Maim, six hundred each; Manora, fifteen hundred; Trapor, four hundred; Baçaim, thirty thousand; Fana, four hundred; two forts upon that river, two thousand; Chaul, eighty thousand; Goa, twenty thousand; the fort of Danguim, three thousand; St. Blas, one thousand; Agacaim, two thousand; Bardes, six thousand; Norea, fifteen hundred; Rachol, six hundred; Onor, twelve thousand; Barcelor, thirty thousand; Mangalor, twelve thousand; Cananor,

Cananor, fifteen thousand; Cranganor, six thousand; Cohim, an hundred thousand; Coulam, twelve thousand; Negapatam, eight thousand; Masulapatam, eight thousand; Meliapor or St. Thomas, twelve thousand; Malacca, fifteen thousand; Columbo, forty thousand; Manar, twenty-four thousand; Gale, sixteen thousand; Solor, sixteen thousand; besides others of less value.

All these together were worth to their governors half a million yearly, the value computed for three years. There were other employments equally lucrative, such as the several voyages. That from Goa to China and Japan, was worth to him who commanded, an hundred thousand crowns; that from Coromandel to Malacca, twenty thousand; that from Goa to Mozambique, twenty-four thousand; that to Ceylon, four thousand. This arose from the freight of goods only, the captain making as much more by way of trade.

The salary of the viceroy was eighteen thousand crowns, besides the disposal of places, which were all sold; but the chief object of their avarice was the profits arising from their private trade; for whereas the king got nothing out of India, some governors or viceroys have cleared, some three, some five, and some eight hundred thousand ducats. All their officers had great salaries, besides their lawful profits, and their more considerable frauds, their avarice knowing no bounds.

The following account of the Portuguese possessions in the East-Indies as they stand at this day, is extracted from an author, to whose labours I have been much obliged in this essay, and for which I shall have occasion to make proper acknowledgments hereafter. The city of Goa is still the capital, the seat of the viceroy, the archbishop, and the inquisition, all of them, says that gentleman, heavy burthens on an establishment so exhausted. In the neighbourhood of it they still preserve the islands of Salfette, Bardes, Angedive, and some others of no further consequence, than that they supply the city of Goa plentifully with provisions.

Diu, a city which formerly belonged to the kingdom of Guzarat, is the strongest place they are possessed of in the East, and is indeed extremely well situated for trade. It has the advantage of a very good port, where the Portuguese fleets were usually laid up, while they possessed the dominion of the eastern seas. Here it was that the Moors and all other traders in the Indies were obliged to take their passports, before they were permitted to sail any further towards the East. At present, there is little of its ancient traffic left, most part having been since translated to Surat, and the small commerce still in the hands of the Portuguese is carried on under the protection of gentile colours, the former believing their effects safer with those infidels, than under the flag of Portugal, formerly so much respected on those seas.

The

The port of Daman on the gulph of Cambaya, is still in a tolerable good condition, tho' nothing in comparison of what it was, the old town being in a manner deserted, and the new not near so populous, as a place of so great extent might be supposed to be. Notwithstanding, there are some manufactures of silk carried on there, particularly silk stuffs, with which they furnish the market of Goa, and thereby enable the merchants settled there to carry on what small commerce they have left.

Chaoul stands behind the mountains on the same coast, and has a very safe and commodious port. These are all the places which the Portuguese possess on the coast of Malabar; in other parts of the Indies they have few factories, and no establishments at all, except in the islands of Timor and Solor, near the Moluccos, which they possess jointly with the Dutch. Once in two or three years they send a ship from Goa to these islands, the chief commodities whereof are, sandal wood, much esteemed in China, very good wax, stones of the island of Solor, a sort of medicine, very little, if at all inferior to the best bezoar.

On the coast of China they have the island and port of Macao, from whence they carry on a considerable trade to that empire, and to the Philippines.

All that remains under the Portuguese dominion, from the Cape of Good Hope in Africa, to the city of Macao in China, is governed by a viceroy,

viceroi, with the title of captain general, who resides at Goa, the Portugueze metropolis in the Indies. There are six, and sometimes eight desembargadores or judges, that attend the government in quality of council or a sovereign court, who administer justice in all causes, civil and criminal, having power over all ministers. Before this court are brought all appeals from other parts of their Indian dominions. The viceroy presides, and is seated under a canopy, as the other judges are upon benches. The council de facada, is like our court of exchequer, where one of those judges sits as president, representing the viceroy, whose deputy he is. Thus the pomp and splendor of their government is still kept up, notwithstanding its extent is considerably lessened, and its power and credit in some sort entirely sunk. Nor has the number of their governments been at all reduced, tho' they are now no way considerable, excepting for the rank they communicate to such as enjoy them, who bear the title of generals. The general of Ormuz, for instance, has four ships under his command; the general of the north governs the small towns on the Malabar coast; the general of Salfette superintends that island, with a territory of about fifteen miles in extent; the general of China is governor of Macao, and the absolute vassal of the Chinese. There is besides a general of the islands of Timor and Solor, who resides in a fortress wretchedly fortified, and whose power is so inconsiderable, that even the Portugueze there
scarce

scarce pay him any manner of obedience. Add to these the general of Goa, whose function is, to take care of the channels between the islands, and to prevent clandestine or contraband trading. But the best of all their governments which belong to the Indies, is that of Mozambique, an island situated near the coast of Africa, in the latitude of fifteen degrees south, within half a league of the continent. They have a strong fort here, which commands the channel by means of seventy pieces of brass cannon, and a strong garrison. The governor has the title of general of the river Senna, where his lieutenant resides, and these employments have been reckoned to be worth to him several hundred thousand crowns yearly. The merchandize brought to Mozambique in the ships of the company, are bought by the royal factory at a set price, and are afterwards sent to Chelimani, the mouth of the river running three hundred miles along the coast, thro' which these goods are conveyed in galliots and small vessels, on account of the flats: from Chelimani they are sent up the river against the stream, in small boats, which are ten days in going up, and five generally in coming down. The blacks or Cafres, resort to this port from kingdoms and provinces three or four months journey off, to buy goods, these they take upon trust to pay in gold, which they perform the following year with the utmost punctuality. This trade yields cent. per cent. so that the Portugueze may be said to have another India in Africa.

Fifteen days journey from hence lies Sofala, where the Portugueze have another establishment, subject to that of Mozambique, and here a prodigious trade is carried on, whereof that nation either are, or might be masters. It consists chiefly in gold, whereof this country produces greater quantities than any other place in the universe, the annual produce of it being computed to amount to forty-six thousand ounces, by the best judges. The Portugueze imports are Spanish and Canary wines in vast quantities, oil, silks, linens, cottons, coral, and other European goods, which are sold to the inhabitants of the little kingdom of Sofala, who carry them thro' all the great empire of Monomotapa, by the Portugueze stiled the golden empire; from the prodigious great quantities of that so much coveted metal they draw from thence. Besides this of gold, there are other valuable commodities which the negroes bring hither to sell, such as ebony, the most excellent in the world, ivory in great quantities, abundance of fine mats, much esteemed in the Indies, and vast numbers of those miserable wretches condemned to slavery by human avarice, so that Goa; and all other Portugueze settlements are furnished from hence.

The Dutch attempted Mozambique in the year sixteen hundred and five, without success; and two years afterwards they attacked it a second time, with no better fortune, except that they took a fleet of Portugueze ships richly laden, which paid the expence of the expedition. This

rich trade has however suffered considerably by the conquest the Arabs made of Mombaça, and other places, which gives them an opportunity of supplying the Africans with European commodities, which they purchase in different parts of the Indies.

With respect to that part of this trade which the Portugueze still retain, the gold obtained thereby is sent to Goa and Diu, where it is coined into small pieces called St. Thomas's, which are not worth half a crown of our money. This coin is also said to be of a baser alloy than any other in the Indies; they are now become scarce, being coined in less quantities every year.

These possessions are said to produce little or nothing to the crown of Portugal, it having been debated more than once in the council of that prince, whether it were not more for the interest of the nation to abandon all their settlements in the Indies; and it has been alledged, that nothing but religious motives were the cause why that counsel was not followed, the priests remonstrating, that by this hasty step, multitudes of souls must be for ever lost to the church. This design will be less apt to surprize us, when we reflect what has been affirmed upon very good authority, that one ship of a moderate burden would serve to carry on all the trade that at present subsists between Goa and Lisbon.

But a late regulation made at Goa, whereby the trade from that capital to Macao on the coast of China, and to Mozambique in Africa, has been
been

been given up to an exclusive company, has, together with the rapine and avarice of the governors, given the last blow to the commerce of the Portugueze in the East. It is notwithstanding past all controversy, that the establishments which that nation still possess in the Indies, give them an opportunity to retrieve in a great measure their decayed power and wealth. The port of Diu is perhaps the most advantageous post for commerce of any in those parts, which with proper application would soon rival Surat, and in all probability recover great part of the Arabian and Persian trade, so long lost to the Portugueze. Besides, they have still several factories on the dominions of the king of Bisnagar, and all along that coast, which would render it very easy to re-establish their commerce in the heart of India, at the same time, that the port of Macao would furnish them with the means of supplying the Chinese market as cheap, if not cheaper than any other European nation whatever, their colony at Mozambique serving the same purposes, as that at the Cape of Good Hope does with respect to the Dutch, or St. Helena to the English. But all these advantages avail nothing to a nation, who not only want all the qualities requisite to make a proper use of them, but on the contrary, are tainted with those vices which must infallibly overturn the best established settlements in the world.



THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
C O M M E R C E
OF THE
E A S T - I N D I E S.
B O O K II.

*History of the establishment of the Dutch
commerce in the East-Indies.*

THE rigour of the Spanish government,
and terrors of the inquisition, occasioned
the revolt of the Seven Provinces, and gave rise
to a commonwealth, which by the suddenness of
its growth, and its prodigious naval power, struck
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the world with astonishment. They had been for some time in possession of the navigation of almost all Europe, and amongst others, they were the carriers of all the rich commodities of the Indies, which they bought of the Portugueze, or carried on their account over all the northern kingdoms. when Philip the second, becoming master of Portugal, interdicted them from this commerce. Liberty, the azylum from the cruelties of the Spaniards which their country afforded, and immunities from heavy imposts upon trade, brought thither a multitude of merchants, filled the country with money, and in the different branches of trade which they carried on, bred up numbers of mariners, whose experience and boldness enabled them to carry into execution almost any sort of naval undertaking, however difficult, with success. These merchants, who lived and subsisted by traffic, bethought themselves how to repair the loss of this branch, and it was this suggested the scheme of carrying on a trade directly to the East-Indies.

The first attempt of this kind was to sail into India by the north-east: but this was not attended with success, any more than those endeavours since used to discover that passage. The merchants who had retired from the Spanish Low-Countries after the taking of Antwerp, understanding best the nature of this commerce, advised the taking into their service those mariners and pilots who had been bred up under Drake, Candish, and other famous English commanders who had signalized themselves by noble and ha-

zardous adventures on the ocean. The informations of those men, who had seen most, if not all the regions of the known world, gave them such an advantageous idea of the immense profits of that commerce as disposed them to undertake it. They succeeded in it in this manner.

A certain Dutchman, whose name was Cornelius Houtman, happening to be in Portugal, was very inquisitive to know what course the Portuguese held in sailing to the Indies, and whatever related to the trade, nature, or history of the country, a sort of discourse very natural to seafaring men. All such enquiries were prohibited to foreigners by the government, and the Portuguese informed the court of the conduct of the Dutchman. Houtman was imprisoned, and sentenced to pay a heavy fine for his release. In these circumstances he addressed himself to the merchants of Amsterdam, promising, if they would pay his ransom, to put them in possession of the secret of the route to the Indies, and whatever related to that rich trade. The merchants relieved Houtman, and he performed what he had undertaken.

Houtman's discoveries being taken into consideration, the project was once more resolved upon, and a company different from the last was erected, under the title of *The company for the trade of remote countries*. The former undertakers had determined on the route of the north-east, on account of the shortness and safety of that passage, and also because it was more healthy, as they thereby evited passing under the equinoctial.

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But the uncertainty of that of the north-east determined the new directors, to send the ¹⁵⁹⁷ four ships intended for this expedition into the Indies, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. In two years these ships returned, tho' not with immense profit, yet with what was sufficient to determine the owners and others to prosecute the design. The new adventurers uniting with the last company, eight ships were sent out for India. Some merchants of Zealand set on foot a design of the same nature. Those of Rotterdam, spurred forward by those examples, formed also a company, and sent their ships to the Indies thro' the straits of Magellan, and across the southern or Pacific ocean. The merchants of Amsterdam fitted out a new fleet for the Indies without waiting the return of those they had already sent thither; and four of these last which had now arrived in Holland, were no sooner unloaded, than they were sent back on the same design.

Another company was formed at Amsterdam, and four of their ships, with as many of those of the old company, sailed together for the East, and all of them returned heavy with riches in two years after they set out. Before their arrival the new company had sent two ships more, with which sailed six belonging to ¹⁶⁰⁰ the old company, all returning with success to their respective ports. Thus you see with what vigour the Dutch carried on their first attempts in the India trade. These successes occasioned more ships to be fitted out from Amsterdam, Zealand, and other places; from the first sailed

thirteen ships, some of which were destined for the Moluccos.

The Spaniards, enraged that a few merchants, rebels to their state, should thus successfully rob them of the most valuable branch of their commerce, fitted out a strong squadron to chastise them. It consisted of thirty ships of war, and meeting the Dutch, set upon them with prodigious fury. The Dutch were not daunted at their inequality in numbers and force; they engaged the Spaniards with so much warmth and courage, that they were glad to let them pass.

Next year three ships richly laden from the Indies, brought advice, that the king of Achen had attempted to seize two of the ships belonging to Holland, that the ships had got off, but that several of the men were made prisoners, and that Cornelius Houtman had been killed in the adventure. The same year, Peter Van Caerden on his way to the Indies, arriving in the port of Achen, ignorant of what had happened, was exposed to the same danger. A franciscan friar, who resided there in quality of a Portugueze envoy, and who had for that end come from the Moluccos, spirited up the king against the Dutch captain and pressed him to seize his ship. The attempt failed, and the king afterwards acknowledged that he had been seduced by the persuasion of the monk. Wherefore the next year's fleet was extremely well received, and the king having procured them a very rich lading, sent ambassadors aboard for Holland. This fleet made prize of a Portugueze carrack. From hence we
may

may date the commencement of hostilities between the Dutch and Portugueze, which last suffered for being then subjected to the crown of Spain: the Dutch for that reason treating them every where as enemies.

The Spaniards finding themselves unequal to their enemies, had recourse to stratagem, branding their rivals, as a nation void of faith and honour, besides their being known pirates; and they caused their emissaries to sound this report in the ears of all the princes in the Indies. In fine, they omitted nothing to effect their ruin.

The States General being informed of these proceedings, in order to convince the eastern nations of the injustice of those calumnies, granted commissions to all ships trading to the East; by which commissions they were empowered not only to act upon the defensive, but also to invade and exercise hostilities upon whosoever should in any way molest, or interrupt their commerce. James Heemskirk, invested with these powers, set sail from Bantam with two ships for Ichor, and falling in with a Portugueze or Spanish carrack, that is, a ship of prodigious burden, as she was returning for Macao on the coast of China, with upwards of seven hundred men aboard, attacked her, and after a weak defence by the Portugueze, obliged them to strike, and ask quarter. This beginning seemed to foretell the decline of the Portugueze power, and shewed the difference between the officers now employed in their service, and those gallant chiefs, whose bravery and glorious actions had purchased to their

their country the empire of the East. The Dutch behaved with a modesty and moderation very different from that pride and insolence, which either their own successes since have occasioned, or which the envy of other European nations has unjustly condemned them for. So great was their humanity to their prisoners, and with so much honour did they behave in every thing that related to them, that the Spanish governors at Malacca, and in the Moluccos, gave them ample testimonials of their kindness and generosity, a character the more undoubted as proceeding from their rivals and enemies. This good conduct contributed in a great measure to the success of their designs, by wiping off the imputation of piracy, and gaining them the character of a humane and generous nation amongst the eastern princes; an advantage by so much the greater, as the Portuguese were already of a long time hated for the weight and severity of their yoke. Besides, this success was of very great importance in another respect: the immense riches of their prize giving them a far different idea of the wealth and consequence of that traffic, in which they had but newly embarked, and encouraging those who had not as yet any share in the new trade, to engage in adventures attended with such evident appearance of advantage.

The States General, at a loss for supplies to carry on the war against Philip the second of Spain, who continued his hostilities against them still more by the vast treasures he constantly drew from his American dominions than by his
own

own proper force, with a view to cut off this source of power from their enemy, resolved to infest the navigation of the Spaniards in the South seas. To which purpose, commissions were given to all such private adventurers as were willing to contribute, or to go upon those expeditions: this nation thus wisely interesting particulars in the defence and prosperity of the public, a conduct which more harassed and damaged the trade and power of Spain, than all the public endeavours of those estates had ever done. Oliver Van Nort, an experienced and able seaman, had been sent out by way of the straits of Magellan, on an enterprize of this sort, and returning by the route of the East-Indies, acquired the glory of being the first Hollander who had ever surrounded the world, besides the reputation he gained against the enemy, and the wealth he brought home to his employers. The success of the Dutch in all manner of naval expeditions, drew to Amsterdam a vast number of rich merchants, the most experienced and famous commanders from all parts of Europe, and had very great consequences with respect to the advancement of their power in the East. Their naval enterprizes were thus attended with a constant sunshine, and the trade of the Indies flourished in a surprising manner, when a piece of ill policy hitherto overlooked, or not much felt, threatened the new commerce with total ruin. Till this time all merchants seemed to have been free to enter into whatever associations, and to form themselves into companies, as they thought proper,

per, or most likely to be conducive to their particular interests. In the mean time, a multitude of companies were formed, which, as they were rivals in interest, were naturally enemies, and no sort of harmony or good understanding subsisted between them. Ships were fitted out by several societies, whose destinations were for the same ports, and their cargoes consisting of assortments, glutted the markets with the same commodities, and discouraged all the adventurers by the loss on the sales, or the stagnation of their capitals. The States General seeing these evils, and taking into their consideration the proper methods to prevent the threatened ruin of this favourite trade, on which they anchored their fondest hopes, and which was the most solid resource of the state, called together at the Hague the directors of all the different companies, and obliged them by the public authority, to join and reunite into one body corporate, all the different associations formed for the carrying on the trade to the East-Indies. This treaty of union was then settled with the consent and approbation of the States General, and a patent granted, the indulgences and privileges whereof were to continue for twenty-one years, confirming what had been done, and giving it the sanction of the public authority.

Things being thus settled, the company advanced by rapid steps; numbers of the richest persons in the state added their stocks to its capital, which now amounted to six millions six hundred thousand florins. They had now reason to entertain the vastest hopes; wherefore a new fleet

fleet consisting of fourteen great ships put to sea in the month of June, sixteen hundred and two, under the command of a chief called Wybrant Van Warwyk. The year after brought them an account, that five of their ships were already upon their way homewards, together with the news of what had passed before at Bantam between the admirals of Spain and Holland. Don Andreas Tertado de Mendoza, the Spanish commander, had formed the design to drive the Dutch out of the Indies; wherefore coming to an engagement with the Dutch admirals, Harmanz and Bower, he was beat by the latter, who pursued their course to the Moluccos, where they arrived at different times. The same yatch brought the news of another engagement which happened at the Moluccos, with different success. James Van Neck, engaging three Portugueze ships, was obliged to sheer off with the loss of several of his men, himself wounded: he also informed them, that James Heemskirk had taken a Portugueze carrack. These proceedings being known, a new fleet was fitted out, consisting of thirteen ships, which set sail the eighteenth of December, under the flag of Stephen Vander Hagen.

These hostilities of the Dutch, and their growing power, strengthened and augmented by the new commerce, provoked the king of Spain. Wherefore, in the year sixteen hundred and five, he issued forth a declaration, by which he threatened the severest punishment to whosoever of the United Provinces should presume on pretence of trade, or any other cause, to enter the dominions
of

of Spain, or sail to the East or West-Indies. This edict had not the intended effect, rather hastening the downfall of the Portugueze power in the East. For the Dutch, instead of being daunted with those threats, took fresh courage, and went on with indefatigable application and vigour, in pursuit of their design. Immediately was fitted out a fleet of eleven great ships, fit equally for the purposes of trade or of war. The commander was Cornelius Matelief. This fleet dispatched, a second of eight ships was with incredible diligence set upon the stocks. This squadron was manned with great numbers of hardy and experienced sailors, and a body of infantry was shipped on board of it, who were engaged, if need were, to remain in garrison in the Indies. Paul Van Caerden commanded this force.

Soon after two ships of the first of the preceding equipments, brought home a rich cargo of cloves and other spices. They brought advice that Vander Hagen was following them with great dispatch. He accordingly arrived in the month of July. This admiral, besides making prize of several Spanish and Portugueze ships, had reduced the fortress of Amboyna under the power of the republic, demolished that at Tidore, and entirely expelled the two nations out of all their possessions and strong holds in the Molucco islands. Hereupon ensued a hot dispute between the republic and the king of England; the former accusing the English of supplying the Spaniards with warlike stores.

In October following, three of the company's ships arrived in Europe with advice, that Wybrant Van Warwyk was upon his way home with a rich cargo, and a Spanish carrack he had taken at Patane. He came to an anchor in the ports of Holland in the spring of the year, sixteen hundred and seven. The winter preceding two ships had been sent into the Indies under the command of John Janfz Moldie, to whom authors ascribe the conquest of the fort at Tidore.

A negotiation was now set on foot in the Netherlands in order to a peace, whether with sincerity or only to gain time. The Spaniards started a warm dispute about the rights and pretensions of both nations, to the trade and navigation in the Indies, and upon this point the principal conferences in this affair turned. The Spaniards were answered by the remonstrances which the company had caused to be drawn up, and transmitted to the States General, and to the mediating powers, in order to determine the republic to a resolution, which was at the same time the interest of the whole body of the state; that was, that no condescensions should be made on that head. In order to convince at once the Spaniards, and all mankind, of their firm resolution of never yielding any of those advantages which their good fortune had given them in the eastern world, a new squadron consisting of thirteen ships was fitted out, under the command of Peter Willamsen Verhoven, who had already given the most signal proofs of his courage and abilities in the engagement

engagement at Gibraltar, where he acted as vice-admiral under the illustrious Heemskirk.

In fine, neither party consenting to recede from a point which both looked upon to be fundamental, it was found impossible to adjust it, and therefore the States of Holland, after fully advising the matter, made offer to the Spaniards of the following proposal: that if the king of Spain refused to consent to their possessing a share in the trade to India, in the treaty of peace, he would agree to let them continue that traffic by a truce for a certain number of years; or else, in case neither of these expedients were agreed to, that all affairs beyond the tropic of Cancer should remain upon the same bottom on which they then stood, and that both, or either party, were at liberty to continue hostilities beyond those boundaries, or to do whatever they should judge for their particular advantage. This last proposition was the most acceptable to the Spanish court, a truce of twelve years duration was agreed to, and it was concluded upon certain conditions, that the Portugueze and Dutch should continue to live in mutual peace, and to traffic wherever they thought proper.

This peace had been in agitation without ever coming to any fixed determination, till the year sixteen hundred and eight. This year admiral Matelief arrived from the Indies, where he had besieged Malacca, but had been obliged to break up from before it, in order to give battle to the Portugueze fleet, which had come to its relief.

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He had notwithstanding concluded an alliance with the king of Johor. The year following, Hudson, a very expert pilot and navigator, was sent out upon an expedition which did not succeed; this was to attempt the north-east or north-west passage to China from Europe. Next summer saw the arrival of four rich ships from India, which brought advice, that tho' Ternate still owned the Spanish dominion, the forces of the republic had however overcome Machian, a prince of the Molucco islands, and that there was reason to hope the expulsion of the Spaniards from the former.

Advice was now dispatched for the Indies, with consent of the king of Spain and the archduke, to acquaint the people of both parties in those remote climes, with the treaty and truce lately concluded and proclaimed at home. Towards the end of the year, Peter Borth conducted a squadron into the eastern seas, when the soldiers and seamen by a new indulgence were permitted to carry their wives and children along with them.

This was the truce by which the new republic of the United Provinces were first owned by the other powers of Europe, for a lawful and independent state. The effects of this negotiation was no less advantageous to them in the East, by laying asleep once more the Spaniards and Portuguese, who had begun to recover their spirits, and to defend themselves with new vigour. Don Juan de Silva commanded for the king of Spain in the Philippines. Such were the courage and

conduct of this chief, that no advantages were to be gained whilst he possessed the government. Receiving intelligence, that a Dutch squadron commanded by an admiral whose name was Wilbert, infested those seas, where they had done considerable damage to the commerce, and were still cruising for the same purpose; he drew together such vessels as were nearest, on which he embarked his own guards, in order to scour the coasts of those enemies. Coming up with the Hollanders, he engaged them with incredible fury, and took three of four ships which formed this fleet, their admiral having his head carried off by a cannon shot in the beginning of the fight, in which one hundred and twenty-five of his men were killed. This action happened on the twenty-fifth of April, sixteen hundred and ten. The Spaniards taking advantage of this success, pursued their blow, reduced the island of Tidore, and appeared before that of Ternate. The inhabitants of Banda, encouraged by these advantages, revolting from the Dutch, surpris'd their general Verhoft, whom they put to the sword with all that were with him.

Van Caerden was at this time in the Indian seas. This admiral believing that his presence only was sufficient to put a stop to those growing evils, embarked himself aboard a small vessel with twenty-five men, and with this force he proceeded for Banda. A Spanish vessel met him on his way: they engage, and the Dutch sloop is taken, the admiral, who was unwilling to pay for his ransom the island of Machian, and thirty thousand

thousand ducats in money besides, the terms the conquerors insisted on, being carried prisoner to the Philippines. The news of those ill successes was what occasioned the Dutch company to send Borth with his squadron into the East.

Amongst other projects for the advancing an establishment which had so universal a passion as gain for its object, they came to a resolution, to try whether they could not obtain some share in the trade to Japan. This undertaking had the success they expected from it, their ambassadors or envoys, Spex and Segerfon, obtaining all the advantages they sought for of the emperor, who admitted them to an audience on the tenth of August, sixteen hundred and eleven. The Spaniards and Portugueze threw all possible obstacles in the way, but to no effect.

Amidst this prosperity a new evil arose at home. This was the practice of stock-jobbing, a mischief then but new, and which was in its infancy attended with some of those monstrous ill consequences which other nations have since felt from it. The States, ever vigilant for the success and advancement of trade, and particularly this favourite branch, set themselves to remedy this public grievance, which was accordingly remedied by a placard of the twenty-seventh of February, sixteen hundred and ten. The May following four ships proceeded for the Indies; these were followed by a strong squadron, which sailed from the Texel in December, under the command of Adrian Block Martz. When they were come as far as the Cape de Verde islands, a

squadron of seventeen Spanish ships of war came down upon them. A bloody and obstinate engagement ensued, both sides contending for honour and victory, till their ships were torn in a terrible manner, and almost shattered to pieces. The Spaniards were worsted, there being no more than four of their ships in a condition to make sail when the battle ended. The Dutch no sooner heard this news than they dispatched two ships more after them with materials for repairing the damage they might have sustained. Thus the power of the Dutch company arrived at that height, that in the space of two years (1613 and 1614) twenty-seven ships were fitted out on different occasions. This success will still more evidently appear from the dividends made for eight years consecutive on their establishment. In the year sixteen hundred and five, was paid to the proprietors a dividend of fifteen per cent. The following year they received seventy-five per cent. a prodigious profit. The year after forty per cent. Next year produced twenty per cent. profit. The summer next ensuing, twenty-five. And the autumn succeeding that, they had a profit amounting to fifty in the hundred. In the month of May which followed two years after, the profits divided to those who had stock in the company, amounted to thirty-seven for every hundred so employed.

This flourishing condition of the company occasioned the equipping of a strong squadron in the year sixteen hundred and fifteen. It was intended to cruize upon the Spaniards in the South-seas,

seas, after passing the straits of Magellan, from whence they might have an easy passage to the Indies, where they were unexpectedly to fall upon the Spaniards in those parts. Mean time the war went on in the Indies, the Spaniards exerting themselves to preserve and extend their conquests in the Moluccos, a matter of so much greater consequence to that nation, because of their near situation to their empire in the West, from which it was easy to form and preserve a communication.

John de Silva, the Spanish commander, lay under great difficulties, by reason of the continual quarrels between the Spaniards and the Portuguese, on which account the latter were extremely backward in sending the necessary succours to that leader. Verhagen the Dutch admiral, being informed of the situation of the Spaniards, resolved to lay hold of this opportunity to harass them. Wherefore, gathering together a considerable force, he set out for the coasts of Malacca, where he intended to wait the Portuguese galleons that were coming to the assistance of Silva. At length the succours appear, with a considerable body of troops on board, which however did not divert the Dutchman from his purpose. He attacked them with intrepidity, sunk the largest with all on board her, took the second, and drove the others ashore, with very little loss to the conquerors. A rich fleet of four ships, whose cargoes consisted chiefly in spices, to the value of three millions of ducats, brought the news of this victory to Holland. They arrived in the autumn of the

year sixteen hundred and sixteen, soon after which the company were informed, that the prince of Ternate, with the assistance of the English settled on his island, had driven the Spaniards out of all their possessions in the Moluccos; and thus that nation entirely lost the spice trade, for which they had long and strenuously struggled with the Portuguese.

The year preceding this, Isaac de Maire, with some other merchants, associated themselves, in order fraudently to interfere with the trade of the company, and share in its profits. For this purpose they fitted out two ships under the command of Cornelius William Schouten, and James le Maire, who proceeding for the South-seas, found out a new passage into the Pacific ocean, which passage from the discoverer obtained the name of the straits of Le Maire. From hence crossing the southern ocean, they sailed as far as the Moluccos, from thence they proceeded to Batavia, where their ships were stopped and sequestered on account of their infringing the privileges contained in the company's patent. The company suffered considerably at this time, from the frauds of those who retailed the spices they had imported, the shopkeepers mixing certain powders with those commodities, whereby they came to lose their character. The States informed of this abuse by the company, issued a placard, by which these embezzlements were forbidden for the future.

In the year sixteen hundred and seventeen, George Van Spilbergen returned, after having
failed

failed round the world, which navigation he performed in the space of two years. Schouten and Le Maire, who had set out in the same year with himself, embarked aboard his ship for Holland. The latter did not live to see his own country, for he died in his passage.

This year a placard was published, prohibiting seamen from going into the service of other states or princes, to which they had been allured by promises of great encouragement and indulgence, out of envy or emulation of the Dutch company's fortunate successes. Ten ships with very rich cargoes, valued at six or seven millions, arriving from the Indies in the years sixteen hundred eighteen and nineteen, added to the prosperity of this body of traders. This addition to their wealth encouraged them to defend their acquisitions, and to annoy their enemies by making reprisals. The diligence and love of Laurence Real to his country, a person of great knowledge in the affairs of his profession, and withal of great prudence, contributed in a great measure to the advancement of their affairs. He served the company for nine years in the Indies, where he had been honoured with the supreme command. He returned to Holland in the year sixteen hundred and twenty.

The company, sensible of the vast increase of their power, which began to render them independent of their old allies, thought of nothing now but how they might best promote their own advantage, let who will suffer by the attempt. This determined them to engage in the war of Java,

where they were opposed by the English, as well as by the natives of the country. This war being carried on with great obstinacy, notwithstanding the losses they suffered in it, had at last a favourable issue; they overcame both their enemies, reduced the island of Jacatra, and settled the colony of Batavia, the seat of the Dutch power, and the capital of their empire in the Indies. The States General contributed to this important settlement with all their power, an advantage which the English company at that time wanted, whether from the nature of their government, so much inclined to monarchy and the less important concerns of a court ignorant of the advantages of this trade, or to their want of power at that time to give the merchants the protection they wanted in so precious a conjuncture. It is from this settlement, that writers date the rise of that astonishing power and influence that nation at this day enjoys in the East, and which has rendered their East-India company the envy and wonder of the world, this body being in point of wealth, power, and dominion, equal to the greatest states.

From this time the company enjoyed a sort of sovereign power in the Indies, making treaties and alliances with the princes around. They gave commissions investing their officers with the rank, and powers, and authority of generals, governours, commanders in chief, with appointments sufficient for maintaining the grandeur and dignity of those places. And tho' the States General were sensible that those independent powers

powers were scarce compatible with the system of the Dutch constitution, they notwithstanding overlooked this inconvenience, because they believed this shew of magnificence and authority was useful to preserve the respect and obedience of the people of the East, who were ever accustomed to such pageantry. Besides, the republicans in Holland were pleased to behold a new commonwealth arising in the Indies, where the Orange family had no power or influence as in Europe. And tho' they magnified the house of Orange to the Indian princes, whom they persuaded that this was one of the most august royal families in all Europe, a conduct arising from policy only, yet the directors of the company continued to administer its affairs in a manner almost independent of the government of the States General. Besides the factions which at that time prevailed in Holland, occupying the cares of the government, prevented them from examining any unconstitutional proceedings in the Indies; and the vast flow of wealth which this trade brought into the nation, and extended its power so much, made it to be esteemed a very impolitic step to endeavour at lessening the interest or credit of a company, whose trade was so beneficial to the whole community. And further, both parties were in hopes of profiting by the acknowledgements of the company for such indulgences as might be shewn to them by their means, at the renewal of their charter, the term of which was now upon the point of expiring, tho' this was perhaps the properest if not the only juncture,

wherein the remedy of any overlooked abuses was practicable. The company therefore profiting by the contention of the factions, instead of diminishing or losing any of her privileges or powers, obtained a new charter, in which all her former advantages were augmented, and new privileges added to those she already enjoyed.

The vast success which had almost in an uninterrupted manner attended this company, so raised their credit that a new establishment was projected, wherein the body so incorporated should have the sole privilege of trading to the West, as the other company had to the East-Indies. The opposition of the company of the East, was the cause why this scheme did not advance with all the rapidity which might have been expected from so just a foundation, and several alterations and amendments were made in their charter, before their capital was entirely subscribed for. This consisted of a fund amounting to seven millions two hundred thousand florins. The States, to encourage the new undertaking, gave them three large ships, equally fit for the purposes of trade or of war.

Whilst the republic was thus fostering the infancy of her younger offspring, the elder was making prodigious advances. Such preparations and equipments were made for the eastern trade, that the company seemed rather to meditate the conquest of Asia, instead of securing a considerable part of her traffic; and the proceedings of the States, who interposed their authority in order to keep the ambitious of the company within bounds,

bounds, was very displeasing to those who had projected vast undertakings : however, the wiser councils prevailed. The abuses and male-practices in the sale of the company's actions or stocks beginning to revive, the placard of sixteen hundred and ten was renewed with some amendments suitable to the present exigency, whereby those evils were destroyed.

The year following arrived in Zealand the ship *Goede Vreede*, with five youths on board, the children of kings or princes of the East, who came into Holland in order to be educated in the knowledge of the sciences and the principles of christianity. Next year two more ships arriving, brought advice that the eastern commerce still continued to flourish, and that the war of Bantam was still alive, as well as that with the Spaniards in the Molucco and Manila islands. The company had now possessed themselves of the island of Banda. Three ships arriving after those, brought advice that the squadron last sent out had arrived safe in the Indies after a voyage of four months and three days. And now the company's patent expiring, there arose very great differences between the directors and the subscribers or proprietors, which, if the prudence of the States who interposed as mediators had not quieted all, might have had consequences very fatal to this traffic. The directors were ordered to produce their accounts, and the subscribers received by the public authority a dividend of twenty-five per cent. in cloves, according to reason and equity. The company had their patent

renewed at this time, which was to continue in force for the term of twenty-one years, commencing from sixteen-hundred and twenty-three. In the month of October arrived four ships with a cargo immensely rich. The difference which had long subsisted between the republic and the English was now terminated and taken away, the former paying the latter the sum of eight hundred thousand livres or florins.

Notwithstanding the vast advantages which resulted from the East-India trade to the Dutch nation, there were not wanting envious persons who thwarted their measures with abundance of zeal. Wherefore in order to put a stop to the evils which this spirit of opposition had already, or for the future might occasion, the States General added several clauses to their new patent, relating to the discovery of the passage into the South-seas by the straits of Le Maire. And that they might destroy all obstacles in the way of this enriching commerce, a strong squadron was ordered to be got ready at the charge of the commonwealth, which, in conjunction with the forces of the company, was to act against their common enemies in the East. Before this squadron was in a condition to put to sea, three ships were dispatched by the way of the Cape of Good Hope for the Indies on account of the commerce: the former followed for the same parts by way of the straits which open into the Pacific ocean. In May following two ships arrived with a cargo, which met with a prosperous sale. The evils relating to the sale of actions began

began to appear a third time, and a placard was issued accordingly, the common medicine for this malady.

In the following September four ships arrived under the command of John Peter Coen, and in the month of November a fifth followed which had lost them in the passage, all of them loaded for the company's account. The spirit of monopolizing began at this time to exert itself in the sales of the company, a few merchants buying up all the pepper in the company's warehouses, a quantity amounting to nineteen thousand bales, which cost them the sum of four millions five hundred thousand livres or florins, a very extraordinary purchase.

The transactions in India at this time were these. The English began to act against the Dutch in those parts, and in consequence hereof had made some commotions in Amboyna. And the Dutch still continuing their hostilities against their ancient enemies the Spaniards, endeavoured by all possible means to hinder their trade to China, with great hopes of success. September following three ships arrived; and in May thereafter the ship called the Heusden, from Surat, brought the agreeable news, that the affairs of the company wore a very favourable aspect at Ormuz, and in the countries thereabouts. Three ships arrived the following spring from those parts, which prosperities were somewhat allayed by the loss of the Schoonhoven, which was shipwrecked in a violent storm that overtook her in her passage to the Indies.

In the month of February, sixteen hundred twenty-six, four ships arrived, two from Surat, and the remaining two from Persia, with an ambassador on board, sent by that monarch. By these ships the States General and the company were informed of the victory obtained over the Portuguese, and of the troubles in Surat, where the prince had taken up arms against his father, and that both armies were actually in the field at their departure. The company, in consequence of this intelligence, ordered a squadron for the Indies consisting of nine ships, under the command of that Wybrandt, so renowned for his bravery in the action at Sierra Leon with the pirate Campaen. In the month of June arrived three ships, two whereof were of the squadron of James l'Hermite, the other came from the coast of Coromandel. The famous navigator William Isbrantz Bontekoe, arrived in this squadron.

Thus the company was ever fortunate in her beginnings, and the same prosperity attended her in her advances to that power which has rendered this body so respectable throughout all Europe, and in the Indies. Their profits increasing with the progress of their arms, the number of their ships and forces were constantly enlarged, and John Peter Coen, of whose prudence they had already received so many proofs, was solicited to go a second time in quality of governor general into the Indies; he at last consented, and set out for his government in April, sixteen hundred and twenty-seven. About this time the Rotterdam, followed

followed by four other ships under the command of John William Verschoer the admiral, arrived in the ports of Holland. These had set out under the conduct of l'Hermitte. The India warehouses were filled with the immense quantity of rich commodities of the growth and manufacture of Asia which this fleet brought home. Adrian Block Martzen was now ordered to sea, with a squadron of eleven ships under his care; he was now, as well as admiral and governor Coen, on his second voyage into those distant regions of the world. They set sail in the month of October. Their passage was very unfortunate, for two of the ships of this squadron were lost in a violent storm, tho' the ships companies and their cargoes were both saved. John Karstensz, a merchant of Embden, returned into Holland. This man was justly celebrated for his wise and prudent administration in quality of governor in the Indies, which rank he had possessed for several years. The arrival of this gentleman was attended with that of three rich ships he brought home with him. He had been some time at Portsmouth, where he had been necessitated to put in, when an embargo was laid upon his ships. In June, sixteen hundred twenty-eight, five more ships arrived in the Low Countries under the command of the sieur Carpentier, a person who had been dignified by the company's choice of him to act as general in the Indies. The cargoes of both these squadrons were prodigiously rich.

Amidst all these prosperities the affairs of the company met with several bad accidents, which

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it was impossible for them to foresee. Their ships were not only detained by the English as often as they fell into their hands, but there were other enemies equally troublesome, that lay in wait for them; these were the privateers of Dunkirk. These evils made it necessary to fit out a force to protect their commerce in Europe; wherefore a strong squadron under the command of John Dierkisz Lam, who had formerly served in the Indies, was sent out, with orders to scour the German ocean of all enemies, and upon his approach the Dunkirk privateers withdrew into their port. The stopping of the ships under the command of Karstensz of Embden, had sunk the hopes of the company not a little, but upon their being dismissed, their courage reviving, things went on with their wonted alacrity. Soon after this another strong squadron was dispatched into the East. This armament consisted of eleven ships; they set out in October under the command of admiral James Spex, and aboard of it went John Valbeck, a man famous for his profound knowledge in the mathematical sciences.

The following news gave the company no small mortification. The Viana which brought those accounts, told, that having sailed from the company's settlement at Batavia in the month of January preceding, with hopes of being able to pass the straits of Baly in good time, they had failed of their expectations, and being overtaken by the stormy season, they had run ashore on the south part of the coast of Terra Magellanica Incognita, and had been obliged to provide for
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their safety and that of the ship, by throwing overboard a prodigious quantity of their richest effects, by which means the ship got off with infinite difficulty and danger: that they had met with the squadron under the command of Adrian Block Martzen, which had also suffered by the violence of the weather: and finally, that the inhabitants of the island of Java, whether by their own aversion to the Dutch, or the instigation of other enemies, or both together, had conspired against the life of John Peter Coen, the plot being discovered by the friendship of a Chinese boy, whereby that execrable design was frustrated.

The Dutch officers about this time made several considerable additions to the discoveries of their rivals and predecessors the Spaniards and Portugueze. The vast extended country of Carpentaria, since better known by the name of New Holland, was first found in the year sixteen hundred and twenty-eight: as also the western part of the same land, which lies opposite to the southern shore of the island of Java, was discovered by the squadron of Dewit, who had the honour to give his name to that tract, since known by the name of Dewit's land. The southern coasts of the same continent which lies upon that sea which separates this region from the lands which extend under the Antarctic or south pole, were discovered in the month of January of the preceding year by Peter de Nuyts. This fine country, which navigators magnify as one of the happiest tracts on the face of the ter-

raqueous globe, contributed to eternize the memory of this discoverer, whose name it bears, and possibly ever will bear in our hemisphere at least. By these discoveries the Dutch East-India company acquired the title she claims to those immense and distant tracts.

Near this time arrived general Carpenter with the news of all these important discoveries, and with him five ships immensely rich. These accounts moved the directors to give orders for equipping a squadron of eleven sail, which were to set out for those parts under the conduct of Francis Pelsart, a man of sufficient abilities for such a command. It is somewhat observable, that amidst all this wonderful progress of the company in the acquisition of the commerce of the eastern world, the nation was torn with civil dissensions, the prince of Orange endeavouring to render his family master of the republic, whilst the friends of liberty and a more equal form of government, opposed him with all their power. But as the affairs of the company were governed entirely by their own councils, independent of the States General, who never interposed but to remedy such abuses as had begun to appear, or by their mediation to calm the minds of the public when offended with their proceedings, their interests met with no inconvenience from those calamities which embroiled the state, and amidst all those public disasters went on to advance their own interest, together with that of the nation.

The following year (1629) was attended with the same prosperity as the preceding. Six ships arrived at this time with rich cargoes, under three several commanders. In the East the king of Maratam, after employing foul and fair measures to reduce the power of the Dutch, had laid siege to Batavia, and had been obliged to break up from before it, after a siege of three months continuance, with the loss of sixteen thousand men. Next year arrived Peter Vanden Broecke, after a long residence in India. This person was the first Dutchman who opened the trade of his country to the ports of the Red-sea, and the countries contiguous to that gulph. The cargoes of seven ships which came home with this chief, were said to amount to eight millions. His passage, however, was very far from being fortunate; for of eight vessels, which had set sail from India under his command, no more than six arrived with him, one of them being destroyed by fire near the Azores or Western islands, and the other having lost the fleet, had been driven out of her course, and at last arrived safe, after having made the circuit of the coasts of Ireland. This admiral informed the directors of the sudden death of general Coen, who had been carried off two days before the arrival of general Spex, who acted as governor till such time as the company should signify their pleasure with respect to that command. Lastly, Anthony Van Diemen brought home with him seven ships in the year sixteen hundred and thirty-one, whose cargoes amounted to incredible sums.

The sweets of the profits flowing from a trade, which had ever since its commencement been attended with such signal successes, made the company resolve to extend their power and influence in the East, by every possible method. They were far from being delicate in the choice of the means and expedients, a scruple seldom found to obstruct projects where gain is the motive, sometimes using force, sometimes persuasion, to advance their ends. In consequence of these sentiments, in the year sixteen hundred and forty-one, they ordered their forces in the East to attack the city of Malacca, the strongest, and one of the most important places the Portugueze nation possessed in the Indies. This city, besides that it secured the commerce carried on by that nation to the kingdoms of Johore, Siam, and Pegu, was also of the last consequence by the advantages it afforded its possessors, in relation to the trade of all the Indies, as it in some measure commanded the strait through which most of the ships which trade in that part of the world must necessarily pass. In the very same year they possessed themselves of all the rich commerce of Japan, to the total exclusion of the Portugueze, and all other Europeans whatsoever. But with respect to this last particular, the Dutch drew not that vast benefit from this procedure which they expected. For no sooner were the Portugueze, by the advice of these strangers, banished from Japan, than the advisers themselves were compelled to abandon the port of Firando, where they had been at the charge of erecting a magnificent magazine,
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all of stone, and obliged to confine themselves within the narrow limits of the island Dismas where they have ever since been subject to the caprice of the Japonese, and to numberless other indignities and inconveniencies, all of them the consequence of this measure.

The time limited for their enjoying the privileges contained in their charter was now expired, when it was renewed for twenty-one years, to commence from January sixteen hundred and forty-four; the power and reputation of the company, with their consequence to the whole nation, and the present circumstances of the government of the United Provinces all acting together in their favour. Whether through the address of the directors, or whether it were, that the interests of the republic and those of the company were really inseparable, which I am more apt to believe, whatever the case was, it is certain, that at the conclusion of the general peace, the interests of the company were secured at the same time with the privileges of the nation, the Spaniards acknowledging their right to the possessions they held in the Indies. The company in gratitude for so many favours and graces received at the hands of the Dutch nation, and in order to perpetuate the memory of these benefits, ordered at her own expence, a magnificent monument to the commercial fame of the city of Amsterdam. This is that celebrated structure called the Stadthouse of Amsterdam, visited by all strangers as one of the noblest productions of art in all the seven provinces. And indeed such an edifice

was much wanted; for though anciently the former town-house served for the transacting of mercantile affairs, something larger was wanted, and more correspondent to the high pitch to which the commerce of this maritime capital was now arrived. The first stone of this building, in rearing of which the companies of the East and West-Indies were both conjoined, was laid on the twenty-ninth day of October sixteen hundred and forty-eight. It was finished in seven years from its foundation, the accidental burning of the old town-house hastening the work.

The flourishing state of the company's affairs did not render those entrusted with the management less industrious or active in her concerns. New schemes were constantly in agitation for her benefit and advancement. The difficulties they had met with in their trade with China, was the occasion that the general and council at Batavia dispatched a solemn embassy into that empire, wherein Peter Boyer and James Keyfel were the chief. They carried rich presents for the emperor. This happened in the month of July sixteen hundred and fifty-five. That monarch then resided in the city of Peking, and they were admitted into his presence, after eight months stay for that purpose. The civility shewn them at their first audience, gave great hopes of success: but these beginnings producing no consequences, they began to suspect that their designs were traversed by enemies residing at court. Their conjecture was but too well founded. Amongst those the principal and head was father Adam Schaal, a jesuit,
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and a native of Cologne in Germany. This monk had been upwards of five and thirty years at the emperor's court, and had insinuated himself so into the good opinion of that monarch, that he promoted him to the degree of mandarin of the first rank, and set him over all the philosophers and mathematicians of his dominions. This artful and sagacious favourite frustrated all the attempts of the Dutch ministers. He represented their nation as a fugitive and inconsiderable people, without lands or cities, living by rapine and a sort of peddling traffic, by which they cheated all such as had any dealings with them, and who had made themselves dreaded in the East, by seizing the lands of the natives, and such princes as had the misfortune to give them any countenance, without regard to treaties or justice. That wherever they came they were common and unmerciful oppressors. The Chinese, naturally suspicious, gave credit to these relations. Wherefore they interrogated the Dutch ambassadors in such manner as to conceal their own design, and so come at the truth. They asked them at what distance Batavia lay from China, and what was the power and strength of their nation in those parts. The Dutch not knowing the genius of the people they had to do with, made answer, that the capital and seat of the government of their company lay at five thousand leagues distance; and as to the other particulars, they thought the best way was to give such accounts of things as were most likely to create respect, and a high opinion of their power. This was precisely what they ought to have avoided.

above all things, and what turned out to their prejudice, as seemingly agreeing with what father Schaal had said of them. Wherefore about the end of the year sixteen hundred and fifty-seven the ambassadors were obliged to leave China, without being able to make any progress in the business committed to them: the Chinese having formed strong prejudices to their disadvantage, and being apprehensive of the dangerous consequences of admitting a nation so infamous for tyranny and breach of faith into their dominions.

Things went better in Japan, to which country they had sent Zachary Waghenaer. This person was invested with the character of ambassador to the emperor, and his instructions were, to use all his endeavours to be informed of the policy of the empire, and to study all the methods possible to acquire the affections and confidence of the emperor and his ministers. No person was more capable of fulfilling this commission, Waghenaer being of great abilities and experience, and of the greatest courtesy, and a most engaging behaviour.

A fire which happened at Jedo some time after his arrival, and which reduced that place to ashes, threw every thing at the emperor's court into the utmost confusion, and caused the ambassador to set out for Batavia without doing any thing. But the governor and council receiving intelligenc of the differences which arose between the Japanese at Nangasacki, and the Dutch established there, Mr. Waghenaer was obliged to return much against his inclinations before he had time to refresh himself

self after the fatigues of his journey. He arrived at last, but not before the month of March sixteen hundred and fifty-nine. Having by various ways found means to insinuate himself into the favour of the emperor and his ministers, he obtained all the advantages which were the object of his commission, by making two concessions in themselves extremely reasonable and easy. One was, that the Dutch upon the first surmise or intelligence of any secret designs which might be forming, or formed, in the Philippines against the dominions of Japan, should instantly, and without loss of time, communicate it to the court; and the other, that since the emperor had given a safe conduct to the Chinese trading in his ports, who were thereby under his protection, that therefore, the Dutch should cease to commit hostilities upon the ships of that nation.

Whilst the Dutch company was employed in these negotiations in the most remote kingdoms of the eastern world, a new war broke out in the island of Java, which menaced their affairs with destruction. Java had anciently been governed by one monarch, sometimes stiled emperor, and sometimes king of Jacatra. The governor who held Bantam for this prince, revolting from his master, assumed the rank and title of king, and was maintained by the Dutch like an independent sovereign. The Dutch had been accustomed to secure and establish their own power by sowing these divisions amongst their neighbours, one of whom was sure to be the constant ally of the
Dutch

Dutch when attacked by the other. Thus the kings of Bantam and of Java never failed to assist the Dutch, the one against the other. In the year sixteen hundred and fifty-nine, the emperor or king of Jacatra, being otherwise occupied in settling the troubles that had arisen in his own dominions, gave the king of Bantam a fair opportunity of attacking the Dutch, whom they saw thus destitute of the assistance of their ancient enemy. He therefore levies a great army in all haste, and lays siege to Batavia. The conjectures of the prince failed him upon this occasion. The Dutch company no longer stood in need of assistance to check the progress of such an enemy; they defended their capital against all his efforts, and compelled him, after sustaining vast loss of his troops, to raise the siege, and to make a precipitate retreat. The success of the emperor of Jacatra was still worse. For notwithstanding he inherited the aversion and unalterable hatred of his father to the company, he not only felt the effects of their growing power, but also suffered extremely for his obstinate refusal to comply with their interests. However, nothing could prevail with him, neither persuasions nor violence, to favour their commerce, or to have any correspondence with them. Notwithstanding those domestic troubles, and the danger of engaging in a foreign war, yet the preservation of the king of Bengal, in danger of being dethroned by his own brother, induced the governor and council to engage in his defence. They contented themselves

elves at the beginning with furnishing him with provisions and a train of artillery, and an offer, in case he were expelled, of a safe and inviolable asylum at Batavia. Their caution at this time, was probably the effect of the danger that attended their declaring before there was any probability of success. But when they perceived a respectable body of his own subjects resolved to defend him at all hazards, they sent troops to his assistance, which overcame his enemies, and restored him to the dignity of his former rank. The gratitude of this prince was of great advantage to their commerce: he permitted them to erect a factory and a fortress at Hughly, this last was defended by twelve pieces of ordnance of a great size, and a broad and deep moat. This favourable turn of affairs ruined the trade of the English at this place, and brought all the commerce of those parts into the possession of the Dutch company.

Altho' fortune all along favoured the affairs of the Dutch, yet the miscarriage of their embassy to China, in which the jesuits were the principal authors, still stuck in their remembrance. The loss of the charges they had been at in that embassy, which cost them immense sums, still aggravated the injury, and added fuel to their resentment. Wherefore a fleet of thirty sail was fitted out to chastise the order, by attacking the city and port of Macassar, in the latter of which the Portugueze fleet then lay, with immense riches, great part whereof was for the account of the

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the jesuits. On the seventh of June, 1660, they attacked the place by sea and land, when in spite of all the efforts of the prince to whom this city belonged, the Dutch gained a complete victory, burnt three of the Portuguese ships, sunk two more, and took one besides, so richly laden, that its cargo was said to have repaid the Dutch, not only the charge they had been at in this expedition, but also the embassy to China, the cause of the war. This success was attended with consequences highly for the advantage of the victors. The king was obliged to send a solemn embassy to Batavia, to submit to what terms the Dutch governor should think fit to impose, to expel the Portuguese for ever from his dominions, and to engage his royal word, never to admit any European besides themselves to settle in his territories.

Soon after this prosperity, happened one of the worst disasters that ever befel them in the Indies. They were at this time possessed of a most advantageous establishment in Formosa, one of the most fertile and pleasant islands in all the East, being plentifully supplied with every thing necessary for human life, abounding in various rich merchandize, which rendered the Dutch masters of a vast rich traffic from this settlement. The company had been at the charge of erecting two regular forts, strengthened by various works, a strong garrison, and a numerous artillery. The revenue of the place, which was very populous, was levied in the manner of a poll-tax, and was so great

great as to defray all the charges of the maintenance of this important colony, so excellently situated, no more than twenty-four leagues distant from the coast of China, and one hundred and fifty from those of Japan, both which supply infinite matter of the most lucrative traffic.

About seven years before the present year (in 1653) the Chinese had plotted the entire destruction of the Dutch. The natives had formed an universal conspiracy, which being discovered before it was put in execution, delivered them for this time from the danger that hung over them. The Dutch who had the care of this settlement, seeing the danger removed, remit their wonted vigilance, neglect the fortifications, and their magazines are insensibly exhausted, whilst the governors, as is commonly the case in all trading establishments, think of nothing but satiating their avarice, and making their fortunes. The Tartars had now conquered China for the third time, at which period there lived in this Dutch settlement one Iquon, or as the natives call him, Chinchiluns, a man of a prodigious spirit, unbounded capacity, and a soul wonderfully enterprising, and persevering to the last with a stubborn obstinacy. This man forgetting the meanness natural to his condition, as well as the timidity commonly amongst Europeans ascribed to his profession, being by trade a taylor, and actuated by an unconquerable aversion for the Tartars, with a few assistants, and two or three small barks, embarked on the ocean to commence a new trade,
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that of pirate. After cruising for some time against the nation which was the object of his hatred, and his power increasing, he arrived at last at so great a height, that he became formidable to the emperor himself. That prince finding no method consistent with honour to get rid of this adventurer, had recourse to means unworthy even of such a barbarian. Having learnt that Iquon's ruling passion was an unbounded and insatiable ambition, he enticed him to court by the promise of making him a king, and assigning him for his dominions the provinces of Canton and Tokien. No sooner was his enemy in his power, than he caused him to be seized, and condemned him to swallow a cup of poison. The son of this man succeeded to his father's command, and to his hatred of the Tartar nation, increased by the murder of his father. This person entreating the assistance of the Dutch, was refused, notwithstanding the vast advantages he offered them in case he was successful against the Tartars. Their denial exciting his resentment, he resolved to invade the settlements of that nation, and chiefly Formosa, where he was perfectly well informed of the weakness and security of the Dutch establishment.

For this purpose he assembled all his power. His fleet consisted of six hundred vessels, the greatest part of them small barks, but amongst these were one hundred ships of force, mounting each forty guns and upwards. So vast a preparation alarmed the Dutch, particularly the governor

nor of Formosa, who immediately sent to inform the general of Batavia of the impending storm, and to require instant succours to enable him to withstand that torrent which threatened to overwhelm and break down all before it. He also sent to Japan to bring such of the ships of the Dutch nation as were upon those coasts. All his diligence was to no effect for Souja, the uncle of Coxenga, son of the late unfortunate conqueror, appeared before the place with the fleet in the month of March, 1661, when as yet no succours had arrived to its relief.

The governor was not dejected by this appearance of danger. A small body of infantry (350) were sent down to the shore to prevent the landing of the enemy; yet notwithstanding the gallant behaviour of this small detachment who fought like lions, forty thousand Chinese got possession of the island; the Dutch being overpowered with numbers, retired to their fortrefs. Their first operation was to cut off all intercourse between the town and the island, which was immediately effected. Soon after they made themselves masters of all the circumjacent country. The victor, imitating the practice of a former Dutch governor, put such of the enemy as fell into his hands to death in the most inhuman manner, practising all manner of cruelty and insults upon those unhappy victims of his barbarous fury, without respect of age, sex, or condition.

Coxenga

Coxenga after considering the situation of the place, which there was small hopes of his being able to force with an army so unfit for such an enterprize as his own was, sent some of the gravest and most considerable amongst the prisoners he had taken in the out-works which he had just assaulted, and carried with vast effusion of blood, the Dutch disputing every inch of ground before they retired into fort Zealand, in order to induce the governor to surrender the place upon certain conditions. These were, that the Dutch should be suffered to pass in safety with all their effects from the island, to whatever place they should think proper; but that if this proposal were rejected, they had nothing to expect but the most severe and rigorous execution of the right of conquerors, upon persons who make a stubborn and obstinate resistance. Besides these threats, the condition of the ambassadors, who were in the power of their enemies, contributed to move the governor to accept those offers. Notwithstanding he made answer, that tho' his sorrow for their unhappy situation, and approaching sufferings, was extreme, and no less than what he owed to his friends and countrymen, and especially to persons of their high consideration, yet he could not even upon those weighty motives think of relinquishing his honour and reputation, by betraying into the hands of the enemy the trust confided to him by his country. The prisoners returned with this answer, to suffer the fate they apprehended. They were immediately put

put to death with all those of their nation who had fallen into the hands of the barbarians, men, women, and infants.

And now Coxenga set himself to effect by open force what he had not been able to compass by softer methods. He blocked up the port with three hundred junks, a light sort of small vessels, on which he had embarked the flower of his army: at the same time two batteries of twelve pieces of ordnance poured their shot into the place. Whilst these things were carrying on, admiral Cowen with a strong squadron of nine ships of war from Batavia came in sight. After landing his troops, he marched in conjunction with a detachment of the garrison to attack a redoubt which covered a body of six thousand of the enemy, who being the best armed and disciplined of all the forces of Coxenga, obliged the Dutch to retire with the loss of four hundred of their men, and after they had in vain renewed the attack time after time. Next, attempting to force the passage into the harbour, the Dutch admiral lost two of his best men of war, one of which was blown up by an accidental shot fired into her powder room, the other run ashore, where all her company to the number of three hundred and eighty, were slaughtered by the enemy. Cowen, seeing all his endeavours in behalf of the besieged frustrated, detached two of his squadron for Japan, whilst he embarked all the women and children in the fortress, which done, he set sail for Batavia with the account of the situation of the Dutch factory at Formosa.

The news of those ill successes affected all who heard them with extreme sorrow. Immediately measures were taken for the deliverance of their countrymen; an embassy was dispatched into China to solicit the aid of the Tartar emperor against an usurper who distressed their colony, for no other cause, than that they had refused to assist him against the Tartar nation; and lest this embassy should not succeed, which was much feared, five ships of war were ordered to sea without delay for the relief of their friends.

Cojet the Dutch governor still continued to make a gallant defence, and the enemy began to lose hopes of being able to reduce the fortress. Wherefore Souja the uncle of Coxenga thought of abandoning the siege without the knowledge of his nephew, and to withdraw that part of the army which was under his command. Notwithstanding his caution in keeping the secret, Coxenga suspected his design; wherefore forgetting the nearness of blood, he seized old Souja, loaded him with irons, and in spite of all obstacles that stood in the way of his design, the plague and famine raging in his camp, carried on the siege with so much vigour, that the governor was laid under the necessity of surrendering the place in the very moment when the succours sent for its relief came in view. It was delivered to the Chinese, and the governor embarking the remains of his garrison, set sail for Batavia, where he was laid in irons for giving up the place at the time when the succours sent to his relief were almost ready to disembark. This misfortune,
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great as it was, had favourable consequences, the Chinese emperor consenting to accept of their friendship, and granting them his assistance out of dread of the power of Coxenga, who now infested the seas of China and Japan.

About this time Charles the second of England, having married the Infanta of Portugal, caused a treaty of peace to be set on foot between the king of Portugal and the commonwealth of the United Provinces. This was soon after brought to a conclusion, both parties being equally weary of the war, in which neither side had been either absolutely victorious, or entire losers. The Portuguese lost most of their settlements in the East-Indies to the Dutch, who in their turn had been compelled to yield the Brazils in America to the former. Notwithstanding this peace took place in Europe, the war was still carried on in the Indies, where the company acting like sovereigns independent of the resolves of the republic, seized Coulan on the coast of Malabar, (in 1660) and the year after, Cananor, a place on the same coast, after a vigorous defence, underwent the same fate. From hence they proceeded to Cochin, a city of infinite consequence, both in respect of trade and the strength of its situation. Goens the Dutch admiral met with a very different reception from what he expected, the garrison holding out a considerable time, and killing numbers of his soldiers. However, persevering in spite of all difficulties, the Portuguese were obliged at last to surrender, after having sustained great loss of men in the defence of this capital. Goens seeing himself master of so important a city, was at a

loss how to behave. He thought it hard to abandon so fine an establishment after paying so dearly for the acquisition of it, and on the other hand, he had not a sufficient force to preserve a place of so great extent. Wherefore he sent to Batavia, the only method left him, to know the governor's pleasure thereon, and his answer was, to improve his good fortune to the utmost, and to spare no expence either of men or money in that enterprize. Soon after this message followed a strong squadron with a considerable body of troops on board of it, to reinforce him. Encouraged by this reinforcement, Goens marched his troops over land to attack Porca, the capital of an Indian prince of small power, who had lived in subjection to the Portugueze. The Indian complying with the times, submitted to the victors, paying the same acknowledgment to the Dutch he had formerly used to pay his ancient masters.

Cranganor, a city situated between Calicut and Cochin, yielded without striking a blow. Thus the company of the Indies drove the Portugueze out of all their settlements and fortresses on the coast of Malabar, within the limits of one year, having reduced under their obedience a coast extending one hundred and fifty leagues along the sea shore, and all that wealthy trade, whereof the Portugueze had been sole masters from the time of their first establishment in the Indies. These conquests were confirmed to them by the alliances concluded at this time with
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the Zamorin or emperor of Calicut, the king of Cochin, and other Indian potentates.

In order to improve by all possible methods the advantages which the indulgence of fortune now conferred upon them, a solemn embassy was dispatched to Arenzeb, who had lately mounted the throne of the Mogul. This offer of peace and friendship was accepted, with marks of the highest good will to their nation. In like manner treaties were set on foot with all those monarchs whose dominions border on the gulph of Bengal; all which had an issue equally favourable. Notwithstanding, in a short time after, some things happened, which gave rise to some differences with the king of Siam. Wherefore the Dutch factories were withdrawn from his dominions. This unexpected proceeding alarmed the prince, and awakened his fears. Immediately Siamese deputies are sent to Batavia, to know the cause of this extraordinary conduct. The council informed that monarch in the point on which he had required their answer, in terms full of the most profound respect. Whereupon the king sent an ambassador to invite the Dutch to re-establish their settlements in Siam, and offering certain assurances of ample satisfaction for the past, and for all future grievances whatsoever: so that now the Dutch returning to his ports, their trade in those parts flourished with the same vigour it had formerly done. Some time after the Dutch in their turn gave fresh cause of complaint. The crew of a Dutch bark cruelly put to death thirty-five of the Siamese, having before they proceeded

to this last act of brutality; violated the persons of their wives and daughters. The Dutch, foreseeing that nothing was more capable of alienating the affections of the Indian nations than outrages of this kind, so shocking to human nature, caused the offenders to be apprehended, and punished in a manner suitable to the abominable crimes they had committed, and that before either the surviving persons aggrieved, or the king, had time to apply for vengeance on the perpetrators.

The loss of Formosa still reigned in the breasts of the Dutch. Besides, the emperor of China making overtures of assisting them in case they resolved to attempt to re-establish that settlement, contributed to their forming the resolution they came to on this subject. This monarch had still more reason than ever to entertain apprehensions of Coxenga, who had not only reduced several islands on the Chinese coasts, but also some towns upon the continent. Wherefore on these assurances they ordered to sea a fleet of seventeen large ships under the command of Balthazar Borth, with orders to join the Tartars, and to oppose with all his power the advances of Coxenga. He set sail for the coast of China, where the conqueror had reduced the island of Quemoy, the Tartars with all their power not being able to recover it. The Dutch admiral resolved to begin by attempting the principal fortress in the island, which stood upon the shore, hoping, that this proceeding would dismay the enemy, and raise the credit of the Dutch soldiery. But Coxenga, whose men
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were excellently well disciplined, received him with so much gallantry, that he was forced to abandon his design.

Wherefore changing his measures, he determined to attack their fleet whilst the Tartar forces fell upon the land army. Coxenga's navy consisted of fourscore great junks, and twenty smaller ones, all of them filled with soldiers, and their full complements of seamen, and well provided with brass cannon. The signal given, both sides engage with the utmost bravery. The fight was bloody and obstinate, neither side being willing to yield, and Coxenga distinguishing himself above all others, by his personal courage in the midst of dangers, his experience in naval affairs, and his conduct in securing all advantages to his own men. However, nothing was able to stand before the fire of the Dutch artillery, which tore his junks to pieces, now like so many wrecks. Wherefore Coxenga, making a virtue of necessity, gave the signal for retreating, while he was yet in a condition to maintain his order, and to retire like a soldier. The behaviour of the Tartar army on shore was very different. Before the engagement began, the general formed his army into order of battle, in which position he continued without striking a blow all the time the fight lasted. After all was over, and the Chinese had retired, the Dutch general reproached him with a behaviour, which might be interpreted so much to his disadvantage. He made answer, that all his endeavours at first to bring his men to engage was to no purpose, but that if the Dutch

would attack a second time, he thought he saw a better spirit revive in their countenances, which promised a better behaviour. Borth asked no more; attacks Coxenga's fleet a second time, and routs them totally, the Tartar general looking on as before. This second victory recovered all the new conquests of Coxenga, who lost his life with immortal glory in this rencounter, the Tartars demolishing his fortresses as fast as the enemy quitted them, whilst the Dutch abandoned themselves to satiate their avarice by plunder. Soon after the company's forces reduced the island of Amoy, and the conquest of Formosa was no longer doubted. They were however disappointed in their expectation. Old Souja having procured his enlargement, assembled the forces of his nephew, and disposed every thing in the best manner, so that the conquest of the ancient settlement of the Dutch was looked upon as a matter of great uncertainty. However, having from his great experience sufficiently proved the instability of human affairs, he secretly formed the design of securing all by a peace which should satisfy both their enemies. But now the son of Coxenga being promoted to the rank and command of his father, and discovering the designs of the ancient commander, had him a second time committed to prison, where he died by his own hands. The abilities of this young leader were not inferior to those of his illustrious predecessors, and he ordered matters with so much prudence and courage, that the Dutch ad-
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miral despairing of gaining his point, returned to Batavia.

King Charles the second having engaged the States in a war with the English, retarded some time the advancement of the power of the Dutch company in the East; which was no sooner over, than they found themselves embarrassed by their quarrels with the king of Macassar, whose subjects committed all manner of insults and depredations upon their nation in the Indies. Not content with plundering such ships as had either through design, or the violence of the weather, taken refuge in his dominions, they had proceeded to murder some of the Dutch who had landed in his territories. Hostilities had not as yet been commenced on either side, when matters were made up by treaty, wherein the king stipulated to make ample restitution for the losses they had sustained, and to make all manner of acknowledgments for the injuries committed by his people.

The Dutch justly suspecting these offers, which were so unreserved, sent a great power of ships and land forces under Cornelius Speelman their admiral, with orders to see every article fulfilled with the greatest exactness. He arrived before Macassar in December 1666, and next morning the deputies of the king arrived with a thousand and fifty-six ingots of gold, the sum stipulated in satisfaction for the murder of the Dutch, and one thousand four hundred thirty-five rixdollars for the vessels that had been plundered; but they refused to make the submission promised by the king,

king, alledging that such acknowledgements were incompatible with his dignity. The company had with reason foreseen no less, and they had been also informed that the king had sent a large squadron to attack the island of Bouton. Wherefore the admiral that instant denounced war, and landing his men carried off an immense booty, having burnt fifty villages to the ground, and destroyed an hundred of the ships which lay in the ports of that island.

Having thus revenged the king's breach of his faith, he set sail for the relief of Bouton, which was already reduced to great extremities by the fleet and land army of that monarch. The succours arrived the last day of the year above-mentioned, and the first day of the new year the admiral forced the entrance of the harbour, with his small vessels, afterwards advancing to the relief of the place. The king of Macassar's general lay before it with an army of ten thousand men. The Dutch general, after making the necessary dispositions, and having encouraged his men, gave orders for attacking the enemy's trenches; and setting their magazines on fire, they were forced to abandon the siege with precipitancy. This misfortune was followed by an universal desertion in the troops of their allies, which were the flower of their army. The generals of the king of Macassar, finding their enterprize defeated, had recourse to treaty, the Dutch refusing to make any accommodation with them, but on condition of their surrendering at discretion, which they were
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at last necessitated to accept. And thus ended this war in the space of four months, which brought the company so many advantages, and added so much to their reputation.

After this they proceeded to disarm their prisoners, and five thousand of them were sent to people an island near to that of Bouton. Four hundred were made slaves, five thousand bougies or auxiliars of several nations were given to the king of Palacca, who had assisted them in the war. Three hundred vessels were restored to the king of Bouton, with all that had been taken from his subjects by the enemy, that could be recovered. Admiral Speelman returned to Batavia in triumph, where he was received with general acclamations, having augmented the number of his fleet with the junks of the king of Macassar, and which was adorned with an hundred and ninety-five standards taken from the enemy, all their arms and warlike stores, and the principal officers of the enemy who were brought prisoners to that capital.

Notwithstanding those losses the king of Macassar still refused to submit to the terms prescribed by the company; and being sensible that all the power of his island was too small a match for the Dutch company, he endeavoured to gain the neighbouring princes to engage in his designs, giving them hopes of for ever freeing the Indian potentates from the severity of their yoke. Many listened to his persuasions, so that the Dutch general, terrified with the approaching storm, had recourse to all the allies of the company

pany to assist in repelling it. Wherefore having drawn together all the force he could raise, he set sail from Amboyna (on the eighth of June) with a fleet of sixteen ships great and small, and fourteen shallops which carried the succours of the kings of Palacca and Ternate. Sailing for the island of Bouton, and thence for Macassar, he made several descents, and always with success, notwithstanding the superior numbers of the enemy. Soon after he attempted to force the entrance of the port of Macassar, in which he failed, being prevented by a fort which the king had caused to be built for that purpose. Some time after, being joined by a part of his fleet which had separated from him in a storm, he made a descent with his whole force. The Dutch troops consisted of six hundred Europeans, three hundred Indians trained to war, three thousand of the troops of Ternate and Bouton, seven thousand bougies, and two independent companies: those of the enemy amounted to twenty thousand, under the command of their respective kings, whom the king of Macassar had drawn over to his side.

The king of Palacca was detached with a hundred chosen men to attack the castle of Glifson in the night. This he executed with so much conduct and intrepidity, that by three o'clock in the morning the Dutch general was informed that he had carried it, when he sent him what troops were necessary to preserve that post. The enemy struck with this misfortune, made vast efforts to repossess themselves of it, but were constantly

stantly repulsed with great loss, wherefore they were forced to abandon that design. At this time the Dutch, laying hold of the convenient situation of the place, so galled the enemy with showers of bombs, and red hot bullets, that they were thrown into the utmost confusion, and the Dutch general, seizing this opportunity by sallying out with the choicest troops of his army, drove the enemy from all their posts.

Speelman reembarked his forces in order to invade another part of the island, where he spread fire and desolation wherever he went. At length both parties being tired with the inconveniences of the war, a peace was moved, which the king of Macassar forwarded by all the means in his power, because of the desertion of his Indian allies, each endeavouring separately to make the best terms possible for himself. He followed their example, and the treaty was concluded on the eighteenth of November one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven. By this treaty it was stipulated, that the governor of the island, the king of Macassar, and all the neighbouring princes, should send a solemn embassy, to make their submissions to the Dutch company at Batavia.

Whilst these things were transacting, the Dutch fleet and army continued at Macassar, when the rainy season coming on, caused such a mortality among the troops, that the Indians were tempted to break the peace, and suddenly falling upon them, they massacred a great number of the sick, and amongst those two captains. Whereupon

upon the war broke out with as great violence as ever, and lasted for two years after, in which time Speelman harrassed them to such a degree, that they were fain to implore his forgiveness, and to send another embassy to Batavia, with offers to submit to whatever terms the company should think proper to impose. They were left to the mercy of the general, who besides the conditions of the former treaties (of 1660 and 1667) which were abundantly severe, imposed others still more insupportable. (This last treaty was in June 1669.)

This treaty secured to the Dutch the commerce of the island of Celebes; and what was infinitely more considerable, it gave them the sole possession of the spice trade, from which all other nations were hereby totally and for ever excluded. For since this peace, those princes have lost all commerce with other nations, being nothing better than the slaves of the Dutch, the other European nations continuing idle spectators of their successes, by which conduct they lost a share in that lucrative commerce which it was then easy to have obtained.

Whilst the company's affairs advanced thus rapidly abroad, the mother republic was reduced to the last extremities in Europe, the French and English joining in her destruction, so that there scarce seemed any other resource left, than to seek an asylum in the arms of that child she had nursed with so tender a care by embarking for Batavia, and establishing the remains of the Dutch nation, and of liberty, in their settlements

settlements in the East. At last the English nation were touched with a generous concern for their calamities, and delivering them out of their sufferings, which was their duty on a double account, humanity and their own interest, raised them to their ancient grandeur and independence. The company were not free from the effects of a storm which had shaken the whole frame of the state. The French began to entertain desires of becoming powerful at sea, for which reason they laid hold of every opportunity to extend their commerce, and in particular they wished at this time to make themselves masters of some part of the Dutch company's possessions in the Indies. For this purpose they sent a strong Squadron into those parts, intending to attack Ceylon, and thereby to engross the cinnamon trade to themselves. Their first attempts seemed to promise them the desired success. For the French fleet appearing on the coast of that island, landed their forces, attacked the citadel of Triquinamale, which they soon reduced; after which a considerable party of the Indians went over to them, induced thereto partly by the view of their success, and partly by fair promises, and the high idea which the French gave them of the power and magnificence of their king. The council at Batavia hearing of this loss, ordered Goens with a strong Squadron to regain the possession of this important place. The French admiral on the approach of this power, set sail for Surat, leaving his new conquest to the protection of a very weak garrison. The Dutch admiral first blocked
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up the port, and landing his troops, he invested the place by sea and land at the same time. The garrison made no long defence, so that the troops of the company once more entered Triquinamale, where they found one hundred and twelve pieces of fine brass cannon, of itself no inconsiderable booty. Thus ended the French expedition against Ceylon, which served only to awaken the Dutch, and to put them upon their guard against such surprises for the future.

As soon as the French squadron arrived at Surat, they resolved upon the conquest of St. Thomas, a place which the Dutch company had taken from the Portuguese, some years before. The success of this enterprize was as great as that at Triquinamale, and they enjoyed this conquest for no longer a time than the preceding, the squadron of that nation sailing for France, and then leaving it as they had before done Triquinamale. This was the last attempt of any European power against the possessions or commerce of the company.

Their affairs advanced in a wonderful manner the remaining part of that century, their power and wealth increasing to a prodigious degree. We may form some notion of this last, by the quantity of cinnamon imported in the year sixteen hundred eighty-seven, which tho' it amounted to one hundred and seventy thousand pounds weight, was however much short of the quantity imported for many preceding years. This observation will serve at the same to shew the importance of that island which furnishes this rich

rich commodity in such quantities. Their charter was now renewed (on the eleventh of August 1698) for forty years, which advanced the power and credit of the company to an astonishing height, and rendered them as respectable in the eyes of all the powers of Europe, as they had formerly been in the East. In the seventeenth year of this present century, the company were in hopes of being able to obtain new favours and advantages, for which purpose they applied for a new charter, which was refused. However, the States condescended to issue a placard in their favour, which forbid all the subjects of the United Provinces to send any ships into the Indies, or any where else within the limits of the company's charter, as also to interfere in any manner whatsoever in that commerce, without the licence of the company, to have any concern in foreign companies, or to serve aboard their ships; all which precautions tended equally to promote the interests of the company and of the republic in general.

Whilst the company was studying to advance or secure her interests in Europe, there arose certain commotions in the East, attended with very dangerous consequences to their affairs in those distant climes. The Chinese had entered into a conspiracy to destroy and exterminate the subjects of the company, which coming to the notice of the governor, he resolved to lose not a moment in order to prevent its success. Immediately all the seamen were landed from the fleet, when to encourage them in what they were go-

ing about, the plunder of the suburbs of the city (in Java) was abandoned to them, after which the greatest part of the conspirators were cut to pieces. This severe chastisement preserved the city of Batavia and all the Dutch possessions in the island of Java to the company, tho' not without infinite effusion of blood, which was followed by a formidable rebellion, the flames of which were not extinguished for some time after, and even then with great difficulty.

This affair has been variously related, those who envied the governor, crying out against his cruelty, and laying the blame of all to his male-administration. Others again attribute these calamities to the wickedness and perfidy natural to the Chinese: However it is certain that this matter occasioned much noise in Europe, and the baron Imhoff was sent into the Indies, expressly on purpose to settle the concerns of the company, and to examine into the truth of this affair.

In the year seventeen hundred and forty, the charter of the company was very near expiring, but all that could then be obtained was the renewal of it for one year only. Since that time, every thing with respect to the affairs of the company has been established on a solid basis, not only to the satisfaction of the persons interested in her success and prosperity, but also to the whole body of the state in general.

The reader will not be displeas'd to peruse, after the history of the establishment of the Dutch East-India company, the account of the manner in which all their affairs in the Indies are carried
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on, an article for which I am indebted to the labours of the last editor of the collection of voyages published under the name of doctor Harris. Their whole business in India, says that writer, is divided into governments and directions in the following manner. First, Batavia, the chief and capital, where reside the governor-general and ordinary council of India, to whom all those governments and directions are subordinate, sending their accounts to them, the ballance whereof is entered into the accounts-general of India, which are kept there; besides which, there are several places immediately under the government and direction of the governor and council of Batavia, as these; Japon a chief-ship, Tonquin a chief-ship, Macassar a commandant, Siam a chief-ship, Bantam a factory, Japara a factory, Jambee a chief-ship, Pallambam a chief-ship, Arracan a chief-ship. Secondly, Amboyna, a government, under which are several islands, where they pay a yearly pension to the inhabitants, not to suffer cloves or other spices to grow. Thirdly, Banda is a government, under which are several islands, to the natives of which they also pay a yearly subsidy, to destroy the spices. Fourthly, Ternate a government. Fifthly, Malacca, also a government. Sixthly, Ceylon is a government, where they have many factories, all the accounts whereof are sent to Columbo, the principal of them all. Seventhly, Cochina government, under which is all the coast of Malabar. Eighthly, the government of Policat, has under it the coasts of Coromandel and Pegu.

Ninthly, Bengal, a direction, under which are all the factories in that bay, the chief of which is that of Hughly, from whence the accounts of all the rest are transmitted to Batavia. Tenthly, Surat another direction, and under it many factories. The eleventh division is that of Persia, a direction, the chief residence Gombroon, under which are Ispahan and Bassora. The twelfth and last division is that of the Cape of Good-Hope a government, to which is subordinate the island of prince Maurice. The difference between a government and a direction consists in this, that the former is always seated in a place which is the property of the company, whereas what they call a direction, is an establishment, where the place is under a foreign prince, and where the company have no garrison. There is no precedence in rank or place between all those governments, directions, commands, that of Batavia alone excepted, the persons possessing those charges every where taking place according to their seniority, as well as all other of the company's officers, of whatever quality or degree soever.

The prudence of the company in the order and arrangement of the several parts of her government is very conspicuous, and in particular, in that exact proportion of the salaries of her officers, from whence her success in a great measure proceeds. It is said that no servant of the company has so small an allowance as to be tempted by his necessities, nor so great an appointment as to set him above the duties of his function,

function, the common occasion of the decay of the affairs of those governments where a contrary conduct is pursued. Follows the detail of the salaries of the officers and servants of the company, beginning at those who have the smallest appointments. The under-assistant, scrivener, or writer, an office of the lowest degree, and commonly supplied with soldiers drawn from the guards, has from nine to fourteen guilders per menssem. The assistant has twenty guilders per menssem or month, and for his diet, four rixdollars more. The upper assistant, book-keeper, or secretary, twenty-eight to thirty-six guilders per month salary, diet four rixdollars. The under copeman, from thirty-six to forty-five guilders per month salary, diet eight rixdollars. The upper copeman, from eighty to one hundred and twenty guilders per menssem salary, and twelve rixdollars diet. There are also some persons sent out (to make purchases for the company I suppose) from the lesser chambers at seventy-two guilders per menssem. At Batavia and in Ceylon where provisions are dear, thirteen rixdollars are allowed them for diet. A commandore has one hundred and fifty guilders per month salary, diet twenty rixdollars. The commandant, a new title, somewhat less than the commandore. The director has two hundred guilders salary per month, and thirty rixdollars diet. The governor has the same appointment, as also a member of the extraordinary council of India. The members of the ordinary council of India at Batavia, have each three hundred and fifty

guilders per menssem salary, and one hundred rixdollars for their diet. Lastly, the governor-general of Batavia, has one thousand two hundred guilders per menssem salary, and two hundred rixdollars diet, besides a gratuity of one thousand five hundred rixdollars for every time he goes to the fleet, which is usually done when the ships depart for Europe.

All persons in the company's service, merchants, divines, civil magistrates, soldiers, and seamen, are ranked in their several degrees, and take place accordingly. The general is allowed wine, and other liquors, and provisions, out of the company's warehouses, without limitation. All other officers, down to the assistants, are allowed monthly, liquors, spices, oil, wood, rice, vinegar, candles, and other necessaries, in very large proportions, according to their quality. The upper copeman's allowance is twenty canadars of Spanish wine per menssem, besides mum, white wine, and other liquors, twenty-four pounds of wax for candles, corn for poultry, rice for slaves, &c. the diet money allowed them being only for fresh provisions,

Soldiers are classed or ranked in the same manner, viz. First, a common soldier has from nine to fourteen guilders a month, as the under assistant. Next, the serjeant has the pay and diet of an assistant. An ensign's pay and diet is equal to that of the under copeman. The lieutenant's is the same as that of the copeman. The fifth captain has for pay and diet the same as the upper copeman; and the sixth major's pay and diet

diet as the commandore. Military persons give place to civil officers of the same rank. Thus a commandore takes place of a major, and an upper copeman of a captain, as a copeman does of a lieutenant. There are three majors in India, one at Batavia, one at Ceylon, and one at Amboyna, or Banda. These assist the governor in military affairs, and command all other military persons. Sometimes provisional officers are made, who attain to the pay of their office, according to their merit.

The same order obtains amongst seamen. A common seaman has like a private centinel, from nine to fourteen guilders: third mate, gunner, boatswain, and steer man, from eighteen to twenty-four guilders a month, and the assistant carpenter from forty to fifty. The under steerman, or second mate, from twenty-four to thirty-six guilders, as the upper assistant. The upper steerman, or chief mate, from fifty to sixty guilders, and ranks with the under copeman. Skippers have from sixty to one hundred guilders per month, as the copeman, and commodores from one hundred to one hundred and fifty guilders per menssem, besides which, they have the ship's allowance for provision, and when in Batavia they have road money paid them every month for fresh provisions and fruit. In other roads they are supplied with these things from the factories on shore. The company employ no persons at sea with the pay or title of captains, and very few, as commodores, sometimes not more than one in all India.

The pay and allowance of the ministers or clergy stand thus. The predicant or preacher has the same as the upper copeman. Dominees or visitors of the sick, twenty-four guilders per mensem as the assistant. All of them are sworn not to commit to writing, nor to intermeddle in matters of state or commerce. They are allowed a president in all the governments, and in Batavia, two or three to supply the place of those who may decease. In the directions there are no dominees, only the scriptures, as also printed forms of prayer are read mornings and evenings thro' the week, and on Sundays. A surgeon's pay is from forty to fifty guilders per month.

In all qualities from under assistant to upper copeman or merchant, they generally serve five or three years by agreement, which term being expired, they are at liberty to leave the service, tho' they are commonly continued, and upon their own petitions, if the affairs of the company so permit, the governor and council entertain them in the place next in degree above that they formerly held, allowing them a salary somewhat under that of the office to which they have been thus promoted: but if their merits in the service are considerable, they are frequently advanced to a superior rank, tho' they have not perhaps been six months in the other office, so that some have thus risen in two or three years from assistant to under copeman, and others in as short a time from under to upper copeman. In these promotions they generally have respect to succession, as if a chief or second of a factory dies, and the
third

third performs the duties of that function to the satisfaction of his superiors, tho' no more than a simple book-keeper, he is promoted to be an under copeman and chief of the place, and if he continues to deserve well, he may be advanced to the office and rank of copeman in a year or two more. Married persons receive all their pay in the Indies, and those who are unmarried half theirs only, and that at an over-rate: as at Batavia the rixdollar, which is intrinsically worth no more than forty-eight stivers, is valued to such persons at sixty; and at Policat, the pagoda is valued at five and a half guilders, tho' it is in reality worth four and a half only.

Besides the above encouragements to their officers and servants, the company also finds them in lodgings, for which purpose, as well as for warehouses for their goods, they have spacious buildings. All or most of the persons sent out of Europe are of the qualities from assistant to upper copeman, rarely of any higher office, and now and then a person who is of the degree of member of the extraordinary council; all offices being generally left in the disposal of the governor-general and council at Batavia, to be given to persons properly qualified, according to merit. Thus persons of sufficient capacity may gradually rise by seniority to the quality of upper copeman, after which they can rise no higher till they are made commandores. Upon any vacancy in the governments or directions, an upper copeman of sufficient ability generally supplies that post; some have been fifteen or twenty years in the rank of
upper

upper copeman without being able to attain to one of those places; some even stand there and never rise higher, and there are not a few who never attain to the place of upper copeman, for want of merit or capacity.

All salaries and wages of merchants, soldiers, seamen, and others, go on for their outward bound and home voyages, and every one has a copy of his accounts out of the book of wages yearly, which he keeps, carries home with him, or disposes of at his pleasure. At his return, the chamber from which he was sent, pays him punctually the balance of his account, with all that is due to him for the term of the voyage. But such as have served the whole time of their agreement, and desire to be freemen in India, either dispose of their accounts, or transmit home letters of procuration, upon sight whereof payment is made them, so that there is no manner of trouble or difficulty either to the company or to her servants, in adjusting those accounts.

These freemen are such persons as have served out the term contracted for, and having received their discharge are permitted to live in the country, or such persons as have been encouraged to come from Europe with intention to trade on their own accounts. Such must always have families, and reside in garrisoned towns, and in their plantations on the spice islands, where they are allowed to traffic from port to port in provisions and other commodities, to such places as the company do not trade to, and even to those places, and in the company's commodities, with licence of
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the general and council. These freemen perform the public offices of all towns, and take their turns without exception to watch and ward as in the Netherlands.

The first ordinary council of India is chosen by the directors out of such of the company's servants as have served in quality of governors or directors, and none under those dignities; thus their chief council consists of persons of substance, and who are thoroughly versant in the affairs of all parts of the Indies. The extraordinary council is also chosen by the same persons, and tho' these, when at Batavia, sit with the general and the council, they have no other vote than that of advice. Several of the directors and governors are members of the extraordinary council, and by a late order, three of this body are obliged to reside at Batavia, and by another order, all the members of the ordinary council are also obliged to reside there, and never to absent themselves, except upon business of great importance only, and the general and chief director are never to leave that capital upon any account, or for any cause whatsoever.

The orders of the company are frequently sent out of Europe close sealed up, with directions not to be opened but upon extraordinary emergencies, such as the decease of the general, a piece of policy which causes the great ones to shew each other a great deal of respect and deference. The general has power by a particular commission to send home any person he shall think fit belonging to the ordinary council, who shall not behave himself properly towards him, and to take himself what salaries or allowances he

he shall see fit; and the great Matzuyker caused this commission to be publicly read on some differences which happened in the council of Batavia. The intention of this order is, in all likelihood, to corroborate the dignity and authority of their chief magistrate in the East.

The general, all the members of the ordinary council, the secretary, the mayor, the two upper copemen, called the two chief factors, he who keeps the general books of accounts, with their wives and families, live within the fort, in apartments suited to their rank and office. The general and council are thus situated for the convenience of business, all letters being opened and read in council, which commonly sits in the evening after prayers, and always on Sundays for one hour for the dispatch of affairs of less consequence, to hear complaints, and receive petitions. Tuesdays and Fridays are constantly allotted for the company's affairs. The office of second, or director general, is said to be the most laborious of all others, he having the care of all ships, goods, monies, and stores, and the ordering of all voyages, and the assortments proper for each. The two upper copemen, called factors of the castle of Batavia, are his assistants; they are to examine the accounts, and letters of advice, to draw up lists and calculations of the assortments, qualities, quantities of goods, sold at any place, to mark the increase or diminution, loss or gain thereon, and to transmit exact notes of all those particulars to the several factories where these goods are to be provided. Every member of the ordinary council of India, has that charge and employ

employ allotted him wherein he has been most versant, and for which he is best qualified; one is ordered to read, examine, and answer all letters and papers from the government of Ceylon; another those from the government of Amboyna, Banda and Ternate; another inspects papers relating to the commerce of the coast of Coromandel and the bay of Bengal; another superintends the directorship of Surat and Persia; another the Cape and isle Mauritias; only the general alone has the management of the correspondence with the company in Europe.

There are other particular offices and places of trust and importance at Batavia. 1. The general proposes all matters in the council, and concludes all the resolutions, and directs all matters relating to the government of the company, to the council and superior officers. He is sworn to be faithful to the States in the discharge of his function, and that he will never prefer any person thro' fear, favour, or affection, and only such as are most distinguished for their fidelity and abilities in the management of the company's affairs. 2. The director general: this officer determines the disposal, and destination, and cargoes of all the company's ships, sells off and disposes of all goods, stores, and provisions, takes charge of the treasure, and orders all payments, and gives receipts for monies. 3. Another officer has the management of the charity of orphans, and presides in the chamber established for that purpose, this council consisting of the company's servants, and the burghers, an equal number of each,

each, and their office and trust are the same as in the Netherlands. The council for this charity sits once a week. 4. A fourth officer is president of the college of justice, and he must always be a civilian. He gives judgment in all cases civil and criminal, between the company and their servants, or the burghers. None but the servants of the company can be of this council, and of those none under the rank of copemen, and are usually advocates, or such as have been bred up to the study of the civil law. 5. There is another person vested with the character of president of the college of Skepen and burgomasters. This judge determines in all cases civil, criminal or military, between the burghers and others. The counsellors, or judges his assistants, are three upper copemen in the service of the company, and three of the principal burghers. Both of those last mentioned courts sit constantly twice a week, and upon extraordinary occasions oftner. The place of their meeting is the stadhouse or town-house. All members of the ordinary council take an oath of fidelity to the governor and the States, that they will prefer no person from fear, or affection, but promote those who are found best qualified for the discharge of the offices in their disposal. The secretary of the council at Batavia is a person of great abilities and experience, of the rank of upper copeman, takes place next to those of the extraordinary council, and has the pay and allowance of a commandore. The majority of voices in council determines. The fiscal has a double voice. No person is allowed to enter

ter any protest, excepting only when the matter determined happens to be contrary to the orders of the company.

Upon any uncommon emergency which requires secrecy, the governor or director may assemble a council of two or three members only, and may proceed according to their resolutions. All persons of the quality of copeman, or upper copeman, as also captains and lieutenants, are capacitated to sit in council in all governments and directions, Batavia excepted. Those called seconds, that is to say, the next person to the governor or director in their particular jurisdictions, are generally copemen, and the chiefs in factories under the direction of superior governments, are for the most part either copemen, or under copemen; but if a person of higher rank should happen to come to a settlement where an inferior officer is chief, the officer of the highest quality takes place of the chief, and gives his advice in the affairs of the company, tho' he does not act as a governor or director, without special commission so to do.

All resolutions in governments or directions are entered in books for that purpose, and signed by the council; in subordinate factories where no council is, they content themselves with such books as are necessary for the purposes of the commerce. The office of fiscal seems to be implied in the oath he takes, that he shall by all the means in his power discover and seize all contraband goods, and in general prevent all frauds against the interest of the company. This officer,
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who is generally of the quality of copeman, or under copeman, is seldom above three years in that office, except at Batavia, where the two principal fiscals, who are of the rank of upper copemen, continue for many years in that employ. The chief of these, who is called advocate-fiscal, takes cognizance of all trespasses, frauds and misdemeanors in the service of the company, throughout all India, carries on actions for that effect, one half of the fines or profits arising therefrom goes into his own pocket, the other to the company, who after the charge of the process is deduced, generally allow one third of their proportion to the poor. Thus the governors, directors, or other persons, are exempted from any such enquiries.

Every year printed accounts of the state of affairs in Europe are sent by the company to their establishments thro' all India, and their officers are enjoined to behave to the other nations of Europe in the East, according to the correspondence of those powers for the time being with the Dutch in the western world. Abstracts of the rates of their goods in Europe, with the loss and gain thereon, are also sent them, so that the company neglects nothing that can contribute to enable her officers to make the best of every conjuncture that can possibly happen. Thus every person is not only acquainted with the duties of his function, and all the means supplied by which he may be enabled to discharge them, but also the certain prospect of advancing his own fortune and rank, contributes in an amazing manner

ner to the success of this wisely constituted body of merchants.

The order and management of their fleets is in this manner. All ships employed by the company are their own property, and all the men employed in them are in their pay, and sworn to serve them either by sea or land as occasion shall require. There are two persons, stiled admirals, who are also members of the ordinary council of India. The equipage-master is an officer of the quality of upper copeman, who has the care of all the shipping. This person must be a seafaring man, and is generally called commandore. His office is to direct and provide every thing relating to the construction, repairing, or fitting out of ships, and to take care of them in the harbours so as that they receive no damage. They have also a small fort about three miles distant from Batavia, which serves for an arsenal, and where are deposited all manner of naval stores, under the charge of a master ship-builder, who also commands in the fort and island. This officer is of the quality of upper copeman, and has large pay and allowance. When any fleet of war-ships is sent out on any expedition, the person appointed admiral or general, is for the most part a merchant of the quality of upper copeman, and sometimes one of the extraordinary council, and he has a council of merchants or military officers to assist him as occasion requires. Those who go as admirals of the fleets sent from Batavia to Europe, are such persons as have served in quality of governors, directors, commanders, or upper

copemen, and are willing to return home. Their salaries are paid them till the day of their discharge from the service. If no person is willing to return, then in that case, one of the rank of copeman at least, is ordered for that service, who may return again, if he so chooses.

As to the command of their ships sent from Europe, the squadrons of two chambers have it by turns. The squadron of the chamber of Amsterdam, which of itself has two fourths of the capital stock of the company, and which including the stocks of the inferior chambers who adhere to it, contributes three fourths of the funds, for that reason carries the flag of command for three years, and that of Zealand, which furnishes alone one fourth, carries the flag every fourth year; the merchant who has the command must take his passage upon a ship of one of those two squadrons. When a copeman or under copeman goes from port to port on board one of the company's ships, he commands in her, as also all the ships in company. When a fleet sails under a commodore, his council is to consist of copemen and skeepers. In the case of a single ship at sea, the council is to consist of the copeman, skeeper, under copeman, book-keeper and steersman, and they are ever to pursue the course marked out by the printed directions, and to set off their work every day upon the charts which are delivered up the very day of their arrival in Holland or at Batavia.

There is besides in every ship a person of the rank of under copeman or book-keeper, in the nature

nature of a purser with us, who keeps an account of the ship's expences, stores, provisions, men's wages; he is to take care that no embezzlements are made in the distribution of those articles. These are generally taken out of factories, and take place according to their rank and capacity at the time of their translation. This person, tho' no more than an assistant at the time of his being promoted, takes place of the steersmen, next to the skipper, on account of his office, or, as the Dutch term it, the pen. All chiefs or heads of factories may dispose of all ships and persons under their chieffhip, as the service requires; and they may also take out men, provisions and stores, notwithstanding that the ships whence they are so taken, may have come there thro' accident or necessity only.

The concerns of the poor in India are thus regulated. There is at Batavia, and all governments, a body called the chamber of orphans, and a council consisting of one half the servants of the company of the quality of copemen or upper copemen, and one-half principal burghers, besides a secretary and other assistants. They sit once a-week, and have the absolute disposal of orphans, and estates of deceased persons. At Policat, and in all the governments under Batavia, there are only two persons of the chamber of orphans, and a secretary, all of them the servants of the company. The chambers in those governments are not accountable to any others either in Batavia or Holland, and the estates of persons who decease in that particular government, are

under their charge, and their wills, inventories, and accounts, are there registered. They are to keep fair and distinct books of their transactions, and those books are by the master of the orphans chamber at Policat, to be presented before the governor every three months for his inspection. Those appointed for this office generally continue in it two years or longer, and in case of a vacancy, the remaining incumbent is obliged to continue a year longer in office to instruct him who succeeds. They take an oath to discharge their function with justice, and to keep secret the concerns of the chamber.

The secretary must give three thousand pagodas security for the performance of his trust, and is responsible for all goods sold at outcries, for which he receives three per cent. He may also deny any man to offer at those sales, or to buy, if he doubts of his capacity to pay. The chamber of orphans may call upon any person whatever to assist with their advice in difficult matters, and no person, not even the governor, is at liberty to refuse his attendance. This council is allowed two and an half per cent. out of the sales of the goods of the deceased, but nothing is received for sums of money left in cash. The above premium is equally divided betwixt the president and masters. This chamber takes charge of all orphans, as also the management of their estate, and their education, till the age of twenty-three, when whatever was left them is given into their hands with increase and interest thereof till that time. And in case their estates are in Europe, the
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the chamber causes all their effects, or the value of them, to be sent them. This council lend the sums in their hands to the company's chest at Batavia, for which they receive nine per cent. interest, and is deposited with freemen, or others, upon sufficient security, at twelve per cent. per annum, tho' at Policat the company usually pay six per cent. for such monies only. In case a person dies without heirs in India, or intestate, that is to say, without making any will, this chamber takes care of his effects till such time as the next heir demands them. The chamber may also require an estate from a widow to whom it has been left in trust for her children, and keep it for them: and even when they leave the mother in possession of this trust, they never fail to take a copy of the will, and to take her obligation for the same. Tho' they may keep and manage any orphan's estate at pleasure, yet they do commonly put it into the company's hands, taking their obligation for it. Every child receives a full proportion of his father's estate as the law enjoins, notwithstanding any will to the contrary. When a man in the service of the company dies, the official is not permitted to touch his papers, nor is the chamber obliged to make any declaration of his concerns to the fiscals of the company, and if money is due to him for wages, the chamber receives it for the account of the heirs of the deceased. The poor are by the company not only intitled to one third of their share of confiscations for contraband traffic, or misdemeanors, but also to

finēs for offences, and the confiscations of the estates of those condemned to capital punishment, There are besides many overseers of the poor at Batavia, and also at other places, and these have cognizance of all poor christians under the government of the company, of whatever nation they be, and make collections every Sunday for their relief, each person receiving in proportion to their necessities. The poor have always a considerable stock before-hand arising from confiscations and charitable benefactions, which is lent out to the company at interest, and this interest they employ for their occasional wants. And tho' the interest of their capital is already sufficient to support them, the weekly collections are however constantly made in order to provide against all disasters, whether thro' wars, misfortunes, great mortality, or any other cause whatsoever. These overseers of the poor are to keep fair and exact accounts of all their transactions, whether receipts or payments, with a list of all such as receive the benefit of this charity.

After surveying this plan of the Dutch policy in the Indies, it will be no difficult matter to conceive in what manner they have raised to themselves so powerful and extensive an empire in the East, and that the advantages they possess over all other nations in those parts, are the effect of a most wise and just establishment, and a plan constantly pursued without the least deviation.

Notwithstanding the splendor and magnificence,
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and high power with which their general is invested, he is obliged to a perpetual application to business, from which there is no manner of respite allowed him; and the same thing holds true with respect to the director-general, and the other members of the council of the Indies, who have as much more business to manage as their appointments are above those of other officers, and who are obliged to make the strictest account in what manner they exercise the vast power and authority committed unto them. By those examples, all their other officers are obliged to a constant and careful discharge of the duties of their respective functions, and from which they can never hope to be exempted, when they see the persons invested with the highest dignities and authority, obliged to a stricter and more laborious application than themselves. And the care of the affairs of their servants, with the encouragement given to those who merit well of the company, are circumstances of the highest importance and advantage to this interest, as well as that laudable frugality and œconomy in the charge of all their establishments, and the care taken to preserve the proper subordination to the republic, all which may be said to be those arts by which so noble a fabric was first reared, and afterwards augmented and preserved in all its magnificence and vigour. To say nothing of their strict care, that the children of such persons as die in the service of the company shall enjoy the fruits of their parents labour, which promotes

industry, and by encouraging marriages, multiplies their subjects without exhausting the mother country: how laudable is that care for the poor, by which the unfortunate are secured in the enjoyment of the advantages of their birth-right, as citizens and denizens of the republic of the United Provinces, in the most remote climates! No wonder such a people should in the extremities of the earth preserve unchanged their affection for a country, from whom they receive such marks of the most tender care and indulgence!

I shall now proceed to lay before my readers the œconomy of this flourishing company at home, in order at once to shew the profits arising from this lucrative commerce; the methods pursued to satisfy every proprietor in the fullest manner, that such profits are distributed with the strictest regard to justice, by the persons entrusted with the direction of their affairs; in what manner the republic of the Seven United Provinces preserves her proper weight and authority, by which she not only maintains her own rights, but also provides for the advantage and security of this corporation; finally, to enable the reader to make a just estimate of the advantages of this trading society to her mother country, and of the wealth she has drawn from this foundation, from the æra of its establishment to a very late period.

The original and primary stock or funds of the Dutch company for the commerce of the remote Eastern countries, consisted of the sum
of

of six millions four hundred fifty-nine thousand eight hundred and forty florins. This sum was raised in this manner.

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| Amsterdam furnished | Florins, | 3,674,915 |
| Zealand ——— ——— ——— | | 1,333,882 |
| Delft ————— ——— ——— | | 470,000 |
| Rotterdam ——— ——— ——— | | 177,400 |
| Horn ——— ——— ——— | | 266,868 |
| Enchuyfen ——— ——— ——— | | 536,775 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | 6,459,840 |

In each of the above places a chamber was settled, that for Zealand being seated in Middleburgh, and from those are chosen the seventeen deputies or directors, who manage the affairs of the company. They meet four times a year successively at Amsterdam, and twice alternately at Middleburgh, but not at all at any of the other towns. These deputies, which form the sovereign council of the company, tho' they are subject to the authority of the States General, are chosen in the following manner. The chamber of Amsterdam sends eight members; that of Zealand four; Delft, Rotterdam, Horn, and Enchuyfen, one each; and these places, the Maes, Middleburgh, and North Holland, chuse one a piece, by turns. The plurality of voices determines in this council, which represents the sovereignty of the whole body, and which regulates and orders all matters of importance, such as creating or appointing of counsellors, captains, or other officers, the equipment of
ships,

ships, the sale of all goods, the distribution of the profits and dividends; in all which matters, as well as in every thing else, the particular chambers are obliged to a perfect compliance with their orders. 'Tis by their appointment also that the time is fixt for the sale of goods, in respect of which the same regard is had to justice, and the proportion of the stocks of the particular chambers, as in the choice of the directors. Thus one half of all goods is sold in the chamber of Amsterdam; in that of Middleburgh, one fourth; and in each of the four chambers remaining, one sixteenth part of the goods, which become the property of the highest bidder.

There are also other deputies belonging to the respective chambers, besides the seventeen already mentioned which are sent to the sovereign court. Of these last the city of Amsterdam has ten, besides the former eight; and Haerlem, Leyden, Utrecht, Dort and Tergoe, send each of them one member; as the provinces of Guelderland and Frizeland, and Zealand, besides the four members already mentioned, have eight or ten more, from the several towns in those provinces. All those deputies are to give their advice in their respective chambers, and in case of the decease of any member, the town to which he belongs chuse three others, from whom the magistrates choose him who is to sit as deputy. The president of this committee, which meets twice a week, continues in office for a month, every one possessing this place in his turn. There are two advocates,

vocates, whose duty is to transmit all the resolutions of the company to their officers in the Indies, who act in consequence of those advices. Eight of those deputies have the management of what relates to the marine, to war, and to the building of ships; four others have the inspection of the magazines, and the care of all goods whether arrived from or sent to the Indies; four keep the monies of the company, and the remaining deputies are entrusted with the keeping the accounts and other affairs relating to order, and with the distribution of justice, which they dispense with a wonderful impartiality and integrity, the greatest officers of the company having in matters of right no manner of regard paid him beyond that which is shewn to the meanest mariner in the service.

There are other regulations which prevent the company from becoming a body separated from the state and independent on its authority; such as, that two relations never shall be admitted into the court of directors, by which all unjust or clandestine combinations are taken away, which convert all public designs into private jobs, by which a few particulars are enriched at the expence of the public weal. At the end of every three years the States General command an account of all the transactions of the company to be laid before them, when a strict scrutiny is made, that they do not transgress the bounds or concessions in their charter, that the proprietors are not defrauded out of any part of their right, that this traffic be pursued
without

without detriment to the common weal of the republic, all which regulations having a surprizing good effect on the affairs of this society. Formerly the committee appointed to this scrutiny, used to go to Amsterdam, where they took up a considerable time in the performance of their trust, and were maintained all this while at the company's expence. But upon the remonstrance of the company, they were permitted (in 1728) to send a deputation to the Hague in order to present their accounts for the inspection of the States.

The order observed in the company's magazines is perfectly surprizing, and those who are entrusted with the care of this part of their concerns, are obliged to find security in a considerable sum for their integrity; and the due discharge of their office, the least breach of which is punished with the most exemplary severity, a conduct observed with respect to every individual person in their service, the directors themselves not being exempted from receiving a punishment still more severe than others, upon the smallest fraud committed. Thus every thing is conducted with the greatest care, application, and order, in all the different branches of their affairs, a remarkable instance whereof may be seen in their dock-yard, where their ships are built and refitted, in which, notwithstanding that twelve hundred persons are constantly employed in it, there is as much order preserved as in that of any private builder possibly can be.

They are said to encourage such sailors as re-
turn

turn from the Indies in the dissipation of what they have gotten in the voyage, who by favour of the company's indulgence in this particular soon reduce themselves to their original indigence, and thus lay themselves under the necessity of entering again into the service, where a sailor used to the burning heats of those climes is preferred to any other. All persons employed in the service undergo an examination, that the company may be satisfied of their being qualified for the stations for which they are candidates, and dispensations thro' interest or favour are very rarely allowed of.

The original actions or stocks of this company consisted of the sum of three thousand florins, that is to say, a person possessed of this sum in the stock or funds of the company, had one action, and so of other sums. At this day an action is worth from twenty-five to twenty-six thousand florins, which vary in their value in proportion as the dividends made upon the capital to the proprietors, are sold at a higher or under price. No person can be a director, but such as have two actions, at least in the company's funds, and none can have a voice in the election of directors, but such as possess one action in the stock of this society. The salary of the directors vary according to the chamber to which they belong. Those of the chamber of Amsterdam have appointments of three thousand florins per annum, tho' those of some other chambers have no more than twelve hundred.

Nothing

Nothing can be easier or more expeditious than the manner of buying or disposing of stocks in this company. As soon as the price is agreed upon, the parties repair to the India house, where the seller desires the clerk of the book in which his stock is entered, to transfer such a sum from his account to that of the buyer, which he then signs, as also a receipt for the price received for such stock, which transaction must pass in presence of a director, who must also sign the whole, and thus all possibility of fraud is taken away. The expence of this transfer amounts to about seven shillings and six pence sterling. Notwithstanding that the directors settle the time of sales, and also the quantity and quality of the goods to be sold, dividing the profits arising from such sales amongst the proprietors, yet they have never at any sale divided the entire profits, and that for reasons extremely solid. For first, there is a necessity for reserving some part of these profits, for the expences of their governments, for long wars and expensive expeditions and equipments, and also to prevent the sinking of their credit by any sudden losses, or from other causes. Besides the renewal of their charter, and other favours and graces from the state, may be said to have been obtained at no small expence to this society. It has moreover been deemed expedient, to have a considerable treasure deposited in bank, to answer the exigences of the state as well as those of the company. And not only so, but there has frequently been a necessity to reserve, and sometimes

sometimes even to destroy, great quantities of spices, and other valuable commodities, in order to prevent the sinking of the value of those articles. They have also sometimes paid their proprietors their proportions in cloves, mace, and nutmegs, at a low price, by which the persons so paid, have gained great profits.

The following account of the dividends made by this company for a considerable number of years, will contribute more than any thing to give an accurate idea of its importance, and of the flourishing condition in which it has always subsisted.

Table of the dividends of the Dutch East-India company from the year sixteen hundred and five inclusive.

Time of Sales. Proportions paid, and in what.

| | | | |
|------|------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| 1605 | July the 1st, was paid | 15 | } per cent. in money. |
| 6 | March — — | 75 | |
| 7 | July — — | 40 | |
| 8 | April — — | 20 | |
| 9 | June — — | 25 | } in mace. |
| 10 | April — — | 75 | |
| | November — — | 50 | in pepper. |
| | | 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ | } in money. |
| 12 | December — — | 57 $\frac{1}{2}$ | |
| 15 | August — — | 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ | |
| 16 | February — — | 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ | |
| 20 | April — — | 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ | } in cloves. |
| 23 | November — — | 25 | |
| | | | 1625 August |

400 A NEW HISTORY of

Time of Sales. Proportions paid, and in what.

| | | | | | |
|------|----------|---|---|-----|--------------------------|
| 1625 | August | — | — | 20 | } per cent. in money. |
| 27 | March | — | — | 12½ | |
| 29 | January | — | — | 25 | |
| 31 | January | — | — | 17½ | |
| 33 | December | — | — | 20 | |
| 35 | March | — | — | 20 | } in cloves. |
| | May | — | — | 12½ | |
| | August | — | — | 12 | |
| 36 | March | — | — | 25 | |
| | November | — | — | 12½ | |
| 37 | March | — | — | 15 | } in spices. |
| | November | — | — | 25 | |
| 38 | October | — | — | 19 | } in cloves. |
| | November | — | — | 25 | |
| 40 | January | — | — | 15 | } in money. |
| | November | — | — | 25 | |
| 41 | February | — | — | 15 | } in spices. |
| | November | — | — | 25 | |
| 42 | December | — | — | 50 | } in money. |
| 43 | January | — | — | 15 | |
| 44 | November | — | — | 25 | |
| | December | — | — | 20 | |
| 46 | January | — | — | 22½ | |
| | December | — | — | 25 | |
| 48 | January | — | — | 25 | |
| 49 | ditto | — | — | 30 | |
| 50 | ditto | — | — | 20 | |
| 51 | ditto | — | — | 25 | |
| 52 | ditto | — | — | 15 | |
| 53 | ditto | — | — | 12½ | |
| 54 | June | — | — | 15 | |

1655 January

Time of Sales. Proportions paid, and in what,

| | | | | |
|------|----------|---|-----|--|
| 1655 | January | — | 12½ | } per cent. in money. |
| 56 | December | — | 27½ | |
| 58 | ditto | — | 40 | |
| 59 | ditto | — | 12½ | |
| 60 | November | — | 40 | |
| 61 | ditto | — | 25 | |
| 63 | ditto | — | 30 | |
| 65 | January | — | 27½ | |
| 68 | June | — | 12½ | |
| 69 | July | — | 12½ | |
| 70 | June | — | 40 | |
| 71 | ditto | — | 45 | |
| | July | — | 15 | |
| 72 | June | — | 15 | |
| 73 | June | — | 33⅓ | } in bonds payable by the province of Holland. |
| 76 | February | — | 12½ | |
| 79 | January | — | 25 | } Ditto on the province of Holland. |
| 80 | January | — | 25 | |
| 81 | ditto | — | 22½ | } in company's bonds. |
| 82 | July | — | 33⅓ | |

Time of Sales. Proportions paid, and in what.

| | | | | |
|------|-----------|-----|------------------|--|
| 1685 | February | — | 40 | } per cent. in money. |
| 86 | May | — — | 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ | |
| 87 | April | — | 20 | |
| 88 | ditto | — — | 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ | |
| 89 | ditto | — — | 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ | |
| 90 | ditto | — — | 40 | } in bonds of the com- pany at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, payable in 1740. |
| 91 | August | — — | 20 | |
| 92 | April | — — | 25 | |
| 93 | ditto | — — | 20 | |
| 94 | ditto | — — | 20 | |
| 95 | November | — — | 25 | } ditto at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. payable also in 1740. |
| 96 | June | — — | 15 | |
| 98 | ditto | — | 15 | |
| | September | — | 15 | |
| 99 | June | — — | 20 | |
| | December | — | 15 | } per cent. in money. |
| 1700 | July | — — | 25 | |
| 1 | May | — — | 20 | |
| 2 | ditto | — — | 20 | |
| 3 | ditto | — — | 25 | |
| 4 | June | — — | 25 | |
| 5 | May | — — | 25 | |
| 6 | ditto | — — | 25 | |
| 7 | April | — — | 25 | |
| 8 | May | — — | 25 | |
| 9 | ditto | — — | 25 | |
| 10 | ditto | — — | 25 | |
| 11 | ditto | — — | 25 | |

1712 May

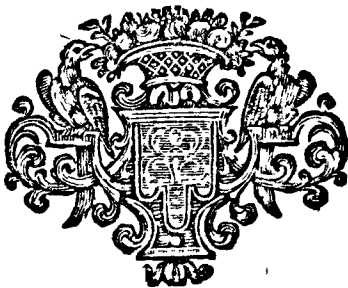
Time of Sales. Proportions paid, and in what.

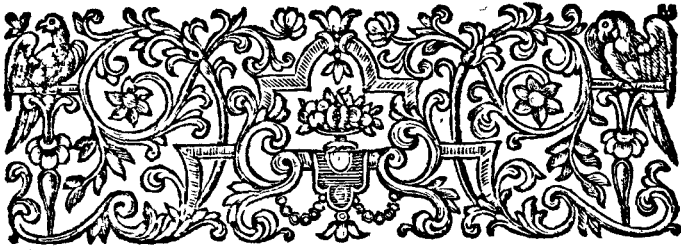
| | | | | |
|------|-------|-----|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1712 | May | — — | 15 | } per cent. in money. |
| 13 | ditto | — — | 30 | |
| 14 | ditto | — — | 33 ¹ / ₂ | |
| 15 | April | — — | 40 | |
| 16 | May | — — | 40 | |
| 17 | ditto | — — | 40 | |
| 18 | ditto | — — | 40 | |
| 19 | ditto | — — | 40 | |
| 20 | ditto | — — | 40 | |
| 21 | June | — — | 33 ¹ / ₃ | |
| 22 | May | — — | 30 | |
| 23 | ditto | — — | 12 ¹ / ₂ | |
| 24 | ditto | — — | 15 | |
| 25 | ditto | — — | 20 | |
| 26 | June | — — | 25 | |
| 27 | May | — — | 20 | |
| 28 | ditto | — — | 15 | |

The whole amounting to 2784 per cent.

Thus one year with another the proprietors of this stock have received a profit of somewhat more than twenty-four per cent. per annum, a prodigious acquisition of wealth (the consumpt of the nation only excepted) to the Dutch republic, and it is even an advantage to have this consumpt, the only cause of objection to this traffic, supplied by the citizens of the commonwealth; and at least a less evil, that the states of Asia should be enriched by the luxury of the

people, than that neighbouring countries by supplying them with those articles allowed by all to be pernicious, should have it in their power to invade and maintain a war against a state, by the force of that money which their own supineness in neglecting the India trade might suffer such neighbours to rob them of. The amount of the dividends of the company in the year sixteen hundred and eighteen are said to have extended to no less than eighteen millions sterling, a prodigious profit arising from six millions and a half of florins, a sum equal to no more than six hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling nearly.





THE
HISTORY
OF THE
COMMERCE
OF THE
EAST-INDIES.
BOOK III.

*History of the Trade of Great Britain to
the East-Indies.*

NEXT to the Dutch, the English nation is justly reputed to possess the greatest share in the commerce to the Indies. Those countries were not unknown to this island in ancient times. As far back as the reign of the great Alfred, a

prince whose glory will ever adorn the annals of England, the charity of this magnanimous king sent one Sighelmus to carry alms to relieve certain poor christians in the Indies. This person executed the commission of the king, and at his death, left in the treasury of the church of Shireburn of which he had been made bishop, a great quantity of spices and jewels, an unquestionable proof of the certainty of this fact. However, it is far from being true, that there was any kind of direct commerce between the people of this nation and those remote kingdoms. On the contrary, we knew nothing of the produce of India but thro' the conveyance of the Venetians, who, from the time that the northern barbarians had overthrown the Roman empire, and together with it all the traffic of the East, which had changed its channel from Alexandria to Trebezon, Damascus and Aleppo, had with Genoa, Pisa, and other free cities, possessed themselves of this rich commerce. An annual ship of prodigious burthen supplied this country with these rich commodities. These goods, which the Venetians had in their power to give us at their own price, cost this nation an infinite deal of treasure. And in this condition did this traffic subsist and continue till the time of queen Elizabeth, when one of their caracks, a ship of vast burthen, was shipwrecked on the isle of Wight. The sight of so immense a cargo, which was then lost, whetted the ardor of the merchants to attempt the trade to Turkey, the only route by which all that traffic was carried on in those days.

days. This accident gave birth and existence to this new trade by way of the Levant.

The original of the East-India trade of Great Britain directly to those remote lands, that is to say, thro' the ocean, was this. Queen Elizabeth, tho' she had procured her subjects the liberty of trading to Turkey for those East-India commodities with which the Venetians as above were wont to furnish us, was sensible that something greater was still wanting to the English commerce. One Thorne, a merchant of London, who traded to Seville, having by his long residence in that city gained a perfect knowledge of the East-India trade, represented to Henry VIII. what infinite advantages his kingdom might reap from this traffic, adding how glorious such an enterprize would be for the king of England, not only to carry on the lucrative trade of the Indies by his own people, but also to rival the Portugueze by pursuing it like them by a way hitherto unknown to others, which was that of the North.

This passage by the North, whereof the difficulties have never as yet been surmounted, was treated as a project too hazardous to be attempted. So that Mr. Thorne's scheme being rejected, Sir Francis Drake had the honour to be considered as he whose information gave birth to this trade, as the lights and informations he communicated were of a more solid nature, as being derived from experience and his own knowledge. This was in the year MDLXXVIII. The following year Stephens went into the Indies by the route

of the Portugueze round the Cape of Good Hope, and sent a full account of what he had seen in his voyage from Goa where he then resided. The voyage of the famous Candishe round the world in the year MDLXXXVI opened a certain passage into the East; and in MDXC three ships under captain George Raymond sailed into the Indies with design to cruize upon the Portugueze. Of this small squadron not one ship returned, except one that had been sent back from the Cape of Good Hope with the sick, and which had never been in the Indies.

Though no ships had been sent into the East in this period by the English on account of traffic, yet numbers of English sailors had been in those parts in the service of foreigners. These men returning into their own country, gave a perfect account of those parts, adding that English factories might be established, and a trade carried on thither with the greatest facility imaginable. This occasioned many rich men, as well merchants as the nobility and others, to apply to the queen (Elizabeth) for a charter empowering them to undertake this trade. Their request was granted in December MDC, which was the forty-third of her reign.

By this charter they were created a body corporate, under the title of THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF LONDON TRADING TO THE EAST-INDIES. A common seal was granted them; Thomas Smyth, esquire, alderman of London, was appointed their first governor, and a court
of

of directors established to be chosen, on, or within six days after, the first day of July yearly. They were also empowered to make by-laws, to export goods free of custom for four years, to export to the amount of thirty thousand pounds in foreign coin, with licence to do the same every voyage, provided they brought into the kingdom the like sum arising from goods exported into foreign countries. This charter excluded all others from this traffic, and the queen obliged herself not to grant any charter to other merchants for the term of fifteen consecutive years; but with this proviso, that if within that space this charter should appear to be in any respect detrimental to the public, it should upon two years warning under the privy-seal, become null and void. But if experience should make it appear, that this new corporation was for the weal and benefit of this nation, that then she laid herself under the obligation of a promise, not only to renew their charter, but to add such other clauses and graces, as should appear most conducive to the advantage of this commerce, to the good of the undertakers, and to the benefit and interest of the kingdom in general, the true end of all public enterprizes.

In consequence of this charter, a joint stock was began to be raised for carrying this scheme into execution; and so much was it relished, that in a very short time seventy-two thousand pounds were paid into their treasurer's hands. Wherefore five stout ships were fitted out in order to make the first attempt in the new commerce of the East. These were the Dragon of

six hundred tuns burthen; this was the admiral; the Hector, vice-admiral, of three hundred; the Ascension, also of three hundred; and the Guest, a store ship, of one hundred and thirty. This fleet, which cost forty-five thousand pounds equipping, was manned with four hundred and eighty men, and carried a cargo of twenty-seven thousand pounds value, first purchase in England, the whole amounting to seventy-two thousand pounds, the entire capital of this new company. The success of the expedition was equal to the expectations of the adventurers: captain James Lancaster, after a prosperous voyage to the Indies, concluded a treaty with the king of Achen, sent a vessel to trade to the Moluccos, and erected a factory in the island of Java; which done, he returned to England after a happy navigation, with considerable profits for his employers.

Soon after king James succeeding to the throne of England, gave this new establishment all the countenance shewn it by his predecessor, which together with the profits of the late voyage determined them to make a fresh attempt. In 1604 Sir Henry Middleton was pitched upon to command in this expedition, in which three ships were sent out with proper assortments. The admiral visited the Molucco islands, and also that of Java, all the princes of those parts shewing him the greatest civility and respect. The Dutch did not observe an equal conduct with respect to their old allies. They looked with jealous eyes on the attempts of a nation, whose
advan-

advantages and talents for trade were at least equal to their own; wherefore they began to practise the same arts with regard to the English which the Portugueze had formerly made use of against themselves, that is to say, they employed all their industry in scandalizing and calumniating the English nation amongst the Indian princes, representing them as a cruel, perfidious, and domineering people, whose business in the East was very different from that of trade, their thoughts being bent upon nothing less than the enslaving of those countries who admitted them. This conduct of the Dutch towards our countrymen in the infancy of their Indian commerce, was what gave occasion to those disputes that ensued between the two nations. Sir Henry Middleton set sail from Bantam, with letters and presents for the king (James I.) and arrived in the Downs in May MDCVI, having lost one of his ships and abundance of his men. The year following a third equipment was made, and captain Keeling was dispatched into the East with three ships. In spite of all the opposition of the Dutch, who again disturbed the English traders, this voyage was signally successful, especially at the Moluccos, where those republicans did all that in them lay to disgust them at their new commerce. They returned to England with a rich loading of all sorts of spices, and arrived in the Downs in May MDCX, and, what is a very singular instance of good fortune in so long a voyage, without the loss of so much as one man. Captain William Hawkins

kins had been sent out with this fleet, in quality of ambassador, to settle a treaty of friendship and commerce with the Great Mogul, which commission he executed with great prudence and success. Two ships had been sent out to the coasts of Arabia and the Red-sea, in the year MDCVII, with indifferent success. And two years afterwards captain Middleton was sent to the Moluccos, where the Dutch formed the design of seizing his ship. Notwithstanding, he had the address to escape this snare, and set out for England with a prodigious rich cargo. He is said to have brought home for the account of his employers, one hundred and thirty-nine tons of nutmegs, the same quantity of mace, besides pepper and other valuable commodities.

This success of the company, and the money they saved to the nation, which foreigners were wont to drain from it by supplying us with those commodities, not to reckon what it gained by the exportation of her manufactures and produce, and of goods of the produce and manufacture of India sold to other European nations, all these were so many arguments with the king to countenance a company that appeared to be so beneficial to the public. Whereforeupon their first application, (in May 1609) he consented to enlarge their charter to what extent they desired, and to render those advantages perpetual. The company seeing such hopes of enjoying the fruits of so many advances, began to build their own ships, which they had formerly been
been

been in use to purchase ready built in some of the Hanse towns, a considerable advantage of itself to them and to the nation in general. The first attempt in this new art of naval architecture, was at the same time a monument of the company's wealth, and of their spirit for commerce. This fine ship was fitted to carry a loading of one thousand and two hundred tons, and is said by English writers to have been the first ship of great burthen ever built on this side the seas. A pinnace which carried a burthen of two hundred and fifty tons, was also built at the same time; she was to sail as tender to the other. This was then looked upon as a matter of so much moment and utility to the public, that the king and prince of Wales, with a great number of the principal nobility, were present at the launching of these great British-built ships; and so great was the public joy on this occasion, that all the rich utensils made use of at the entertainments on board of them, were left to be taken away by those who waited at table, or to whoever else had an inclination for them. The greater vessel was named by his majesty the Trade's Increase, the pinnace was called the Pepper-corn. Both of them were equipped to sea, with two others in company, in the spring following, the whole expence amounting to eighty thousand pounds sterling. Sir Henry Middleton commanded in this expedition. Soon after followed a single ship; and in the spring of the year 1711, three ships were sent out under
the

the command of captain John Saris, the expence of which equipment amounted to three-score thousand pounds.

A new inconvenience attended those prosperities; the Portugueze did all that lay in their power to hinder the English commerce on the coasts of India. Wherefore the company were obliged to expend more treasure upon the fitting out of the next squadron, which put to sea in the year above mentioned. The largest of the four ships fitted out for this expedition, commanded by captain Thomas Best, arrived safe at Surat, where he settled a factory. This negotiation was scarce compleated, when the viceroy of Goa, hearing of what had passed, fitted out a strong fleet to fall upon him. This armament consisted of four great ships, called galleons, besides twenty-six gallies, aboard of which were five thousand men, with an hundred and thirty pieces of great ordnance. Best was not shaken with so terrible a power, but resolved with his own ship and a small pinnace only, to attempt or suffer every thing in defence of his new establishment. He accordingly engaged the Portugueze fleet, and had the honour to triumph over an enemy so superior to him, after having killed twelve hundred of their men. From henceforward the Portugueze have never dared to molest the English on the coast of India. The brave English captain, after making the best use of his victory for the prosperity of the factory, set sail for the island of Java, where he
took

took on board a rich cargo, and set out for London, at which metropolis he arrived safe in the month of July in the year 1614.

Captain Saris also returned in this year, his ships being likewise freighted with immense riches. Sir Thomas Smyth, the then governor of the company, was employed to remonstrate to the king, that it were not only for the advantage of the company's affairs, but also highly for the honour of the nation, if a person of rank and distinction were sent to the court of the Mogul emperor, vested with the character of ambassador, instead of the agent the company had sent to the court of that monarch. Wherefore Sir Thomas Roe was sent out in this high quality, and captain Keeling was ordered to sea with four fine ships to convoy him to India, where he was safely landed, and afterwards performed the orders of his commission with great success. The company began now to extend her power, and the sovereignty of her mother country, over different parts in India. The island of Banda was by their industry procured to the crown of England, the inhabitants surrendering it by a formal instrument. This right did not prevent the Dutch from attempting to reduce those places under their own power, they pretending in the mean while that their title and claim were of a higher and more ancient date. At the same time the English procured the surrender of Lantore, by a like solemn instrument, which was dated on the twenty-fourth day of November 1620.

These

These proceedings, which promised great advantages for the company by securing a large portion of the spice trade, served only to hasten her destruction. The accounts of the differences betwixt the two companies of the several nations arriving in Europe, negotiations were set on foot for the settling those mercantile affairs. For this purpose there had been issued by king James two several commissions for treaties on this head, the one in the year 1613, when the conferences were held in London, and the second in 1615, when this affair was canvassed at the Hague, both times to no manner of purpose. So that there was a necessity for a new negotiation, which was begun in the year 1619, and was managed by commissioners appointed by the India companies of both nations, under the direction of the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the States General. On the seventh of July, an agreement was signed, by which it was stipulated, that all former injuries should be forgotten on both sides; that the companies of either nation might enjoy full and perfect liberty to trade, but without forgetting the respect due to the trading companies of two nations joined in amity and alliances; that the price of pepper and other spices should be adjusted; that the islands of the Moluccos, as also Banda and Amboyna, should belong to the English and Dutch conjointly, the former possessing one third of all the traffic of those places, and the latter the remaining two thirds; that the charge of the fortifications in those islands should be levied by an imposition
on

on spices of their growth ; and that what related to the fitting out ships of war or others for their defence, should be committed to a council of defence, composed of persons in the service of the different companies ; that the fortresses as above should remain in the keeping of those presently in possession of them, and that such strengths as had been acquired by the common expence or arms of both companies, should remain the common property of both, and be garrisoned by the troops of both nations in such manner as the council of defence should see fit and determine. That in all time to come, the entire trade to India should remain free to both nations equally, and that neither should undermine the other by building separate fortifications, or by underhand treaties with the Indians ; that in order to corroborate and confirm this contract, both companies should respectively solicit and move their several governments, not to erect any separate companies, during the period fixed for the observance of this solemn agreement ; that if, thro' death or any other accident it should so happen as that no person should remain to take care of the factories of either nation, that then, and in that case, those of the other nation in the place should take into their care, and account for all the effects so left ; and finally, that this treaty should remain in force for twenty consecutive years, and that all disputes which should arise in the time of its continuance, and which should not be accommodated by the councils of the companies, should be settled and

determined by the king of Great Britain, and by the States General of the United Provinces. This treaty was ratified by king James in July 1619, in which instrument the king promised not to grant any charter to any other persons whatsoever, during the term mentioned in this agreement.

This transaction made it be believed that all disputes with the Dutch were at an end, at least for twenty years to come. But this was far from being the case; the Dutch taking the first opportunity to reduce those persons whom they had just engaged by the most solemn obligation to defend. Their general in India got together a great fleet, with which he attacked Lantore, and having overcome the people of the country, proceeded to commit the most horrid outrages. They next set fire to the town, pillaged all the warehouses of the English company, stuffs, money, bullion, all was made prize of, and with those there were carried off twenty-three thousand pounds weight of mace, and one hundred and fifty thousand pounds of nutmegs. From plunder the victors proceeded to the last acts of inhuman barbarity, the factors of the English company were seized, stripped naked, bound with cords, or loaden with irons, and after being most unmercifully beaten, were thrown headlong from the walls, and when all this cruel tragedy was over, their executioners not yet satisfied with their sufferings, dragged those miserable objects in chains thro' the streets. Those of the factory at Poolaroon, underwent the same cruelties;

elties; and the affairs of the company were again plunged into greater confusion than ever. The Dutch alledged in defence of these outrageous proceedings, that they having a more ancient right to these islands, no subsequent act of the natives, who had before given up all their privileges, was of force to invalidate it; and further, that the war being carried on against the natives as principals, those who had thus contrary to their engagements assisted them, had no manner of right to complain of the event of a war of their own seeking. The English answered, by asserting their just claim to that country, and by denying that the inhabitants of Banda had ever made any manner of cession of their freedom, or of their island to the Dutch.

Whether it were owing to the embarrassments of the court, and the differences then subsisting between king James and his parliament, it does not appear that the government made any remonstrances against these unwarrantable proceedings, or demanded the satisfaction which the credit of the administration, or the nation's honour, absolutely required. The remissness of the English encouraged the Dutch, who had formed the project of wresting out of their hands the small part of the spice trade which remained in the possession of the company of that nation. They proceeded to commit still greater barbarities in Amboina, where their cruelties are just matter of reproach to human nature. This island, which is forty leagues in compass, is situated near Seran, and gives name to some other isles in its neighbourhood. Its principal produce is cloves,

the chief subject of its traffic, and in order to collect and buy up this commodity, the English company had planted on it no less than five several factories. The head of all these was that at the city of Amboina, at which place the agents of the company resided, and who directed the management of the inferior factories at Hitto and Larica, upon the same island, as also those of Lobo and Camballo situated on a promontory of the adjacent island of Seran. The Dutch had four forts on the island of Amboina, and the point of Seran, but the chief of all those was that at the town of Amboina, which was defended by strong fortifications, and a number of brass ordnance. One side of this fortification was washed by the ocean, the other being separated from the land by a broad and deep ditch, which was filled by the sea-water. The garrison consisted of about two hundred Dutch soldiers, and an independent company of free-burghers, besides which there were three or four hundred mardikers in the town, who were always ready to assist the citadel at an hour's warning. And the ships which constantly lay in the road, whether on account of traffic, or for the defence of the place, added to its security, this being the rendezvous for the trade of Banda as well as that of the rest of Amboina. The English lived in the town under the protection however of the castle, holding themselves in perfect safety, as well from the ancient amity of the two nations, as by virtue of the late solemn engagement between the companies of England and the United Provinces.

Two

Two years were elapsed since the conclusion of that treaty by which all differences between the companies were terminated, when fresh cause of discord arose. The English complained heavily of the prodigious and unnecessary charge which the Dutch pretended to have expended in fortifications and otherwise, and that they paid their own part of the garrison's pay in provisions and cloth of Coromandel, at three or four times the value it cost them, whilst nothing was accepted of from the English but ready specie; by which method of proceeding the latter were made to pay two thirds of the charge, which ought to have been equal and common to both nations. These and such like proceedings giving rise to perpetual disputes, the affair was at last carried before the council of defence at Jacatra in the island of Java, who not being able to bring affairs into a posture of being compromised, the state of the case was sent to Europe to be laid before the companies, or to be adjudged in the last resource by the king of England and the States General, in terms of the agreement concluded for that effect.

Whilst these things were thus in agitation, in Amboina, at Jacatra, and in Europe, the differences were still increased, till the following event put a final end to the quarrel. A soldier of the Dutch troops, by nation a Japonese, came on a certain night to a centinel who was posted upon the wall of the citadel of Amboina, and entering into discourse with him, happened amongst other things to ask some questions about the strength of the

fortress, and the number of the garrison employed in its defence. This fellow had been occasionally introduced into the citadel amongst others of his nation to relieve the garrison, the Japonese troops not being permitted to lodge in the fortress at other times, as not being trusted equally with the Dutch soldiers. The centinel informed his superiors of what had passed, and the Japonese was apprehended on suspicion of a treasonable design upon the citadel. He was immediately put to the torture, and by the unsufferable torments he underwent, was induced to acknowledge himself and some others of his countrymen, guilty of the crime laid to his charge. Hereupon, the other supposed accomplices were put to the same trial, as was also a Portugueze who was guardian of the slaves of the Dutch. During this examination, the English continued to go to the castle as usual upon affairs relating to their employ, where tho' they saw the prisoners, and learnt the cause of their tortures, they were however very far from imagining that they themselves were in any danger, as they were conscious of their own innocence, and did not so much as know any thing of the Japonese, nor the Portugueze whom they saw punished before their eyes.

There happened to be at this time a prisoner in the castle, one Price, formerly surgeon to the English factory, and his crime was, that in a drunken fit he had threatened to set fire to a Dutchman's house who had quarrelled with him. This man was dragged from the dungeon where he lay, and being shewn the Japonese who were
still

still in the agonies of the recent torture, he was given to understand that those wretches had confessed, that the English were also concerned in the design of betraying the castle; and further, that if he did not acknowledge the truth of that accusation, he should undergo, not only the same torments whereof he then beheld the effects, but also suffer cruelties still more exquisite. These threats were seconded with what they menaced, when overcome with the unsufferable pains of the rack, he answered every thing put to him in the manner they desired. The examination was scarce ended when captain Towerfon the English chief, and the rest of that nation who resided in the town, were sent for to the governor on various pretences. As soon as they arrived, they were informed of what had been laid to their charge, and immediately confined. This proceeding was followed by attacking those left in the English house, which was seized as well as all the effects within it belonging to the company.

Towerfon with one other person were kept prisoners in the citadel, the rest were laid in irons, aboard of different ships then in the harbour. The same day those of the English nation residing at the remaining factories in the same island of Amboina, viz. at Hitto and Larica, were also seized, and soon after the company's servants at Camballo and Lobo, were brought in irons to the capital of those islands.

The governor and fiscal then proceeded to the examination of those unhappy Englishmen. One

Beaumont and another whose name was Johnson were first called upon, and brought from their confinement on ship-board, and being come to the castle, Johnson was carried into a place apart, (the place of the torture) and Beaumont left in the hall under a guard, from whence he could hear the pitiful cries of his companion, at every application of the torture. How soon the person under examination had tasted the rack, Price, who had before undergone the same rites of hospitality, was brought in to confront him. Johnson, however, persisted obstinately to deny every thing, when Price was ordered out, and Johnson again brought to the torture: and after continuing about an hour in the same state of torment as formerly, his cries piercing the ears of his companion all the while, he was at last brought forth, all over drenched in water, and his body most cruelly scorched and burnt in several places. In this condition he was thrown into a bye corner, where a soldier stood over him, to watch that no person should speak to him. Emanuel Thomson then succeeded to the torments of his countryman, his cries also piercing the other, who already knew too well the cause of his complaints. And after half an hour spent in this inhuman method of bringing the truth to light, he was likewise thrown out into a place apart from all converse. Beaumont was then brought in, and denying with horrid oaths and imprecations every thing he was charged with, was in his turn equipped for the torture. They did not however proceed any farther with him

him at this time, the governor pretending to be moved with his extreme old age. This was the work of one day (Saturday the fifteenth of February). The day following nine of the prisoners were brought from the ships, when one Brown, unable to stand the torture, made answer as they desired; but Edward Collins, denying all the allegations of the governor, with deep execrations, his hands and feet were first made fast to the rack, and a cloth bound about his neck, whilst two men with earthen jars of a prodigious capacity, stood ready to pour the water into it. Every thing being thus prepared, the sight of the torture made him pray for respite, and to promise an entire confession, on that condition; but no sooner was this terrifying apparatus removed, he again asserted his innocence; but (said he) as I know the torments you can inflict, I am ready to confess whatever you are pleased to desire, if you will do me the favour as first to tell me what you would have me say. Whereupon the fiscal being enraged, gave orders to give him the torture, which done, he soon desired to be eased from his pains, promising an entire confession. Being let down, he considered some time with himself, and then proceeded to tell, that some months before, himself together with Thomson, Johnson, Brown, and Fardo, others of the prisoners, had plotted to surprize the castle with the assistance of the Japonese. Being interrupted by the fiscal, who asked him whether captain Towerfon were not of the conspiracy, he answered no, to which the fiscal returned

returned this answer, that he lied, and then demanded him to acknowledge that Towerfon had called all the English together, and told them that the abuses and insolence of the Dutch had obliged him to think of that plot, and that he wanted nothing but their consent and secrecy ; and a Dutchman who was present asked whether they had not all sworn secrecy upon the bible ; Collins answered with dreadful imprecations that he was utterly ignorant of any such matter, but upon their ordering him to be made fast again, he recanted and said, that all was true as they had expressed it. They then proceeded to ask the tormented person, whether the rest of the English factories were not consenting to this plot, whether the English president at Jacatra, or Welden their agent in Banda, were not privy to the affair ; to all which he answered in the negative. The fiscal then questioned him by what means the Japonese were to have executed their purpose, and Collins hesitating, that he might have time to devise some probable falsehood, the fiscal helped him out by asking him whether two of the Japonese were not to have gone to each point of the citadel, and to the door of the governor's chambers, that while he should come out to enquire the cause of the confusion, which was to have been raised without, they (the Japonese) should kill him. One who stood by, irritated by this method of proceeding, called out to the fiscal, that he should cease to tell the criminal what he was to say, but to let him speak for himself,

himself,

himself, upon which the fiscal went on from the question in hand, by enquiring what reward the Japonese were to have had for their service? Collins made answer; a thousand rials a piece. And being unable to say any thing upon the spot in answer to this question, at what time this plot should have been put in execution, he was dismissed from the torture.

Samuel Colson, who had the question next put to him, was so terrified at the sight of Collins, whose eyes were ready to start out of his head with the torture, that he confessed whatever he thought most agreeable to those in whose power he was, though after coming out he protested his innocence in the strongest manner. But John Clark who succeeded him, was not so easily brought to comply. He withstood the torture two hours together, in which time the elements of fire and water were both made use of to compel him thro' agony to yield to their desires. His hands were made fast to a large door as far asunder as they would stretch, by means of iron staples drove into the extremities of it. His limbs were next made fast in the same manner, and also stretched as far as possible asunder. Then was bound about his neck and face a cloth so close, as to contain the water that was to be poured into it. This done the executioners poured their jars into the cloth; and the water rising above the nostrils and mouth of the sufferer, he was thus compelled to draw in with every attempt to breathe, huge quantities
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of the fluid, till by repeated draughts he was so glutted, that (what is horrid to imagine) his very entrails seemed to come out at his mouth and nostrils, stifling him so that he would often fall into a swoon, when the victim was taken down, and prepared for undergoing his trial a second time, by making him vomit up what had cost him so many nauseous and painful draughts. Thus was this unhappy man handled, time after time, till his body was swoln to almost twice its former size, his cheeks inflated like bladders, while his eye-balls stood out beyond his forehead. And when he bore all with an unshaken resolution, the fiscal and his tormentors were heard to say, this must be an inchant d person, a witch or devil, to bear such unsufferable torture; and therefore his hair was ordered to be cut off, lest some charm might possibly be contained in that part. A second piece of cruelty was now tried. He was hoisted up as before, when these disgraces of human nature caused the executioners to hold burning tapers to the soles of his feet, till the fat that dropped from him extinguished them, in which case fresh lights were brought, and all this failing, they began to extend their hellish cruelty to the other parts of his body, by scorching him in the palms of his hands, as also under the elbows and armpits. At last exhausted and overcome with torture, he seemed willing to yield, but not being able to frame a relation in such manner as to make it withal probable, they were reduced to the necessity
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of leading him along by questions so devised, as to render it impossible for him to mistake their meaning. However, all they drew from was no more than yea and no, that is, to affirm or deny whatever they signified to be agreeable to them. After having thus treated him, he was carried out by four blacks to a dismal dungeon, where he lay for several days without any surgeon to dress him, till his flesh putrified, and maggots dropt from his sores in a most loathsome manner. It was now dark, so that the other English brought from Hitto, and who had all this time waited their own turn of suffering, were first remitted to the smith's shop, whence they were conveyed loaded with irons, to the same loathsome dungeon where Clark and his fellows, whether English or Japonefe, lay rotting in their sores. Thus ended the work of Sunday.

Next morning (Monday the seventeenth of February O. S.) William Griggs, John Fardo, with certain Japonefe, were introduced into the place of torture. The Japonefe were first questioned to accuse Griggs; which after abundance of cruelty and suffering, they at last consented to: and Griggs, to avoid the same torments, followed their example, and confessed whatever was agreeable to the will of his judges. The same conduct was observed with respect to the other Japonefe and to Fardo, tho' this latter did not comply till he had first suffered the torture by water. Thus, those persons were remitted back to their prison. John Beaumont was now brought

brought in a second time; one Newport the son of a Dutchman, but who had been born in England, served for interpreter. Griggs was also brought in to accuse Beaumont affirming the latter to have been present at the forming of the conspiracy. This Beaumont denied with the most tremendous oaths, till being hoisted up, and plied with repeated draughts of water till his entrails were ready to burst, he was at last fain to answer whatever the fiscal put to him, in the affirmative. Notwithstanding the moment he was let down, he not only protested to Newport and to one Johnson a Dutch merchant, that all he had confessed was an absolute falshood, but even demonstrated to them the impossibility of such a thing ever to subsist. However the fear of a second torture caused him to subscribe his confession, which done, an iron bolt of a most intolerable weight, and two shackles were rivetted to his legs, when he was also sent to the loathsom place whence he had come.

George Sharrock, formerly assistant at Hitto, being next called upon, began with praying the Almighty God, that in order to shun the grievous torments with which his companions and countrymen had been afflicted, he would suffer him to make such probable lies against his own innocence, as might serve at once to persuade the Dutch, and help him to escape the torture. He was now brought near to the rack, where the tormentors stood ready with water, and lighted tapers. The governor and fiscal then proceeding to examine him with regard to the pretended treason

treason with which he was charged, he fell upon his knees, protesting before God and man his entire innocence. He was therefore ordered to the rack, and told that if he did not acknowledge himself guilty, he should first be most exquisitely tormented with fire and water, and afterwards dragged by the heels to the gallows to be hanged up. He still persisted to vindicate himself, but being commanded by the fiscal to be hoisted up, he craved a moment's respite, alledging in his defence, that he was at Hitto at the time of the pretended conspiracy (said to have begun on new-year's day) and that he had not been at Amboina since November, which he was ready to prove by several persons of known good faith and credit, as well Dutch as English. But upon a second threat of being tortured, he again begged a delay, and now told that he had often heard Clark say, that he would be revenged on the Dutch for the unfufferable wrongs they had done the English, to which purpose he (Clark) had formerly proposed an excellent plot to captain Towerson, (the governor and fiscal shewing by their gestures and countenance, their satisfaction at this story) that Clark said he had entreated Towerson to be permitted to go to Macassar, where he would consult with the Spaniards proper measures for robbing the lesser factories in the islands of Amboina and Serani, when no ships were there. They asked the prisoner what answer Towerson made to this proposal of Clark's? he made answer, that Towerson was enraged to the highest degree against
Clark

Clark for this motion, and could never afterwards abide him. The fiscal not being pleased with this latter part of his confession, told him he lied, and threatened him anew with the torture. The prisoner once more begged them not to proceed, when he began to relate another story quite different from the former; that upon twelfth-day last, Clark told him at Hitto, of a conspiracy to seize the citadel of Amboina, and asked him whether he would be of the plot. To which he made answer by demanding whether captain Towerfon was privy to it, and Clark answering in the affirmative, he (Sharrock) promised to do as the others. Thus he proceeded, varying likewise in other points, from the confession they wanted him to make, and was ordered back to prison, whence he was brought the day following and compelled to sign a confession, tho' he told the fiscal to his face, that what he signed out of dread of the torture, was absolutely false and void of all foundation. And the fiscal reproaching him with lying, he burst out into a bitter passion, accusing the Dutch with shedding innocent blood, which, said he, you must answer to your God for, at the day of judgment. In this manner, they proceeded with the other prisoners, compelling them to a confession by insupportable torments, and when themselves knew not what to say, they were in a manner dictated to by the fiscal. Notwithstanding all of them protested their innocency before the torture was given, when it was removed, and at the moment of their execution,
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by the most solemn protestations and appeals to the tremendous tribunal of the Almighty God at the great day of judgment, and offering to take the holy sacrament to vouch the truth of their declarations.

On the twenty-fifth all the prisoners, whether English, Portugueze, or Japonese, were solemnly condemned, excepting four of the former, who proved their being *alibi*, viz. at Hitto, at the time of the pretended conspiracy, and the day following they were also all of them (excepting only captain Towerfon and Emanuel Tomson) brought into the great hall of the castle, in order to be prepared for death by the Dutch ministers. The English asking the Japonese why they had accused persons whom before they had never so much as seen, they replied by shewing the wounds received by the torture; adding, that flesh and blood could not withstand a trial, which was capable to change the nature of stones and other inanimate things. Beaumont and Collins were respited and pardoned, the latter drew lots with the other two by the favour of the governor, and the first had owed his life to the entreaties of two Dutchmen. Next day (the twenty-seventh) ten English were led to execution, with one Portugueze, and eleven Japonese, all of them protesting their innocence till their last breath, and thus fell the victims of the cruelty and avarice of the Dutch company. The day following was spent, by order of the governor, in publick rejoicings for so great a deliverance. The governor and fiscal then pro-

ceeded for Banda, where after the strictest scrutiny, with respect to the behaviour of the English agent, nothing was found that could be justly laid to his charge. Mr. Weldon, for that was the agent's name, perceiving the disorder of the company's affairs at Amboina, and finding it neither to agree with the honour nor interests of his masters to reside any longer in that island, withdrew the poor remnant of the English, and embarked them along with him for Jacatra. This heavy news no sooner reached the English there, than the president moved with horror at those proceedings, sent to demand of the Dutch general, by what authority the Dutch governor at Amboina had proceeded in this violent and barbarous manner against the English, and to know whether he approved of their conduct. The answer was, that the authority by which the governor in Amboina acted, was derived from the lords the States General of the United Provinces, by virtue of which he had supreme power in all cases civil and criminal, and that further, the justice of his proceedings against the English traitors was not only just, but indispensably necessary, as might be seen (said he) by the copy he then transmitted him of their own confessions.

There are many circumstances which contribute to render the innocence of those unhappy persons highly credible, and the conduct of the Dutch as well as their motives extremely suspicious. It might be asked why the English, if they were conscious of any guilt, did not endeavour

deavour to make their escape, how soon they saw their pretended accomplices the Japonese apprehended, whose sufferings themselves were witnesses to, three or four days before they were called in question. It might also be asked, in what manner, or with what hopes of success, a citadel, strong by nature and art, garrisoned by a body of between two and three hundred infantry, besides as many more of their own free burghers in the town, always ready and certain friends in all dangers, I say, with what expectations, half a score of English, and not one military person among them, was to reduce and to hold this fortress in spite of all the efforts of a vigilant, crafty, covetous, and suspicious people? Can it be said they relied upon the Japonese? ten poor dastardly barbarians, unarmed! and with what magazines of provisions, arms, warlike stores! What was to arm this army? Was three rusty swords, two antiquated muskets, and half a pound of powder, which was all the contents of their arsenal, to effect such an enterprize, and to blow up the citadel and lords and commons of Amboina? What must the other Hollanders in the three other castles which the company have in that island, and all the crews of the ships in the road, be doing, whilst the English were cutting the throats of their garrison in the citadel? And further, is there no credit to be given to men as unanimous in their denial, as they were dissonant from one another, and even each from himself in their pretended extorted confessions; to persons under

the apprehension and in the very jaws of death, all the powers of their conscience awake, all worldly considerations vanished, and nothing before their eyes but death, judgment and eternity? On the other hand, the Dutch had many motives to tempt them to a piece of cruelty from which they apprehended no ill consequences. Their unbounded avarice, and their desire to possess the whole trade of the Moluccos, Banda, and Amboina, must strongly incline us to think, that a nation, the very basis and foundation of whose power, and the vital principle of their constitution, is the quest of money, would not be over-scrupulous in an affair which so cheaply secured to them a thing of so great consequence to their trade. Perhaps the lenity, or indolence or timidity of our court at that time, was none of the least motives to their adventuring upon this cruel expedient, so disgraceful to the then administration. In this manner, and by the above methods were the English company entirely driven out of the spice trade, which the Dutch thus wholly engrossed to themselves, and have continued sole possessors of ever since.

King James dying soon after these disasters, there was no longer any hopes of finding any remedy for these evils. The reign of Charles the first was very early disturbed with various embarrassments, which disabled that prince from doing any thing in the affair. He seems notwithstanding to have had it at heart, as 'tis certain he granted letters of request which were presented to the States General for obtaining suitable
satisfaction

satisfaction to the East-India company of England, for their injuries and losses by the governor of Amboina. This measure had not the desired effect, nor did the king insist further upon it at this time, reserving it till he should find an opportunity to be revenged on the Dutch for other insults, by giving some signal blow to their maritime strength, and for ever to put it beyond their power, to execute the scheme of dividing the Spanish Netherlands with France, and so to dispute in confederacy with that court the English title to the sovereignty of the Narrow Seas, a project which determined the republic at this period to join with the house of Bourbon. This design of the king was followed by the disputes about ship-money, which brought the nation and government into the utmost confusion, and left the Dutch company in quiet possession of this disputed branch.

The East-India trade of England now began to decline apace, and the severities of the Dutch terrified the company from engaging in disputes which they were not able to support, and even their servants were apprehensive of settling in any of their colonies. In order to remedy this growing evil, the king thought proper to accept the proposals of certain merchants of London, of sending a squadron into those parts to settle and trade, but without prejudice to the rights or interest of the company; wherefore a commission was issued for certain persons therein named to send a determined number of ships into the East. And in consequence of this commission six large

ships were sent out, Sir William Courten who was one of the promoters of this scheme advancing on his own part one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of the charge. Their success in the Indies was equal to their expectations; but the Dutch, who dreaded above all things the restoring of the English commerce directly with the Indians, fell upon them in their return, in which action two of their largest ships, with every soul on board, and a cargo worth one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, were sent to the bottom.

Notwithstanding this disaster, seven ships were sent out the year following, by the same proprietors, which met with the same misfortune in their return, with the former. One of those vessels running ashore on the island Mauritius, fell into the hands of the Dutch, by which accident her owners lost ten thousand pounds sterling, notwithstanding all the pretended offers of the Dutch of friendship and assistance. Another was met by two Dutch ships of war belonging to their India company, who attacked her in a hostile manner, and besides seizing every thing aboard, by which the owners lost seventy-five thousand pounds sterling, killing the captain and several seamen, the remaining part of the crew were dragged in triumph, together with the English ensign, thro' the streets of Batavia, where they were exposed to the brutal insults of the populace. By these outrages most of the proprietors were utterly ruined, and thus failed this attempt to restore the commerce of the English
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to the East-Indies. King Charles, notwithstanding all his embarrassments, did not neglect the care of their concerns, tho' all his remonstrances to the republic were attended with no other good consequences than a restitution of eighty-five thousand florins, a sum no way proportionable to the damage.

The Dutch company now carried all before them in the East-Indies, and the English society for this traffic, were not only forced to abandon all thoughts of regaining their just rights, but were also obliged to leave off all mercantile proceedings for several successive years, the dismal distractions at home disabling the nation from all care of such distant concerns altogether. There are no monuments of the company's transactions, if it be true that they subsisted as a company at all, during the sequel of this reign; wherefore we have nothing to lay before the reader which concerns that period.

The Dutch began to think of profiting by the immense addition of wealth and naval power which the confusions in England had begot them, and that by an entire subversion of our maritime force, out of a belief that the commonwealth of England would not venture upon a foreign war at a time when she had scarce breathed from her intestine struggles. They paid dearly for their temerity, the government of England resenting their insults as became them, and defeating on several occasions their wanton aggressors in the first Dutch war, which was the consequence of these measures. Nor did the new revolution which gave

the sovereign power into the hands of a tyrant, produce any change to the advantage of the Dutch, who were said to promote his advancement with all their power; so that they were at last compelled to submit to a peace on their enemy's terms (the 5th of April 1654) by which they were obliged to do that justice to the Protector, their ancient friend, which they had insolently refused to a prince who ruled by an infinitely better title. By this treaty the Dutch stipulate, "That the lords, the States General of the United Provinces, shall take care that justice be done upon those who were partakers or accomplices in the massacre of the English at Amboina, as the republic of England is pleased to term that fact, provided any of them be living. By this treaty, there was settled a commission which sat at Goldsmith's Hall, whose determination was to be final and decisive of all complaints to be laid before them with respect to the English and Dutch East-India companies. The English company gave in an account of damages, amounting, besides the loss of their settlements, to two millions, six hundred and ninety-five thousand, nine hundred and ninety-nine pounds, nineteen shillings sterling. This sum was specified in fifteen several articles. The Dutch company balanced this demand by a charge, which however was not specified by particulars, amounting to eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds, all which being weighed with the evidence produced in support of the different demands, the commissioners came to the following conclusion (signed the 30th of August,

August 1654) viz. that they commit to eternal oblivion, all complaints, controversies or pretensions between the companies. ordaining, that the Dutch do cede the island of Poleron to the English company, who in their turn yield all title to exclude or molest the Dutch company in Persia, and also all pretensions on the latter in name of customs of Ormus or Gombroon; that the Dutch company do pay to the English, the sum of eighty-five thousand pounds sterling; and finally, that the sum of three thousand six hundred and fifteen pounds be paid to the heirs, representatives, or administrators of the sufferers at Amboina, in the proportions mentioned in this deed, by the Dutch company, which done, no complaint or claim whatsoever is to be admitted on that score in all time to come. This award being put in execution according to the letter, the affairs of the company began to acquire fresh vigour, and there was actually a subscription entered into under the protection of Cromwell, amounting to eight hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Things were in this train, when Charles the second was brought back by the address and taciturnity of Monk, and the constitution thus restored to its ancient form. Amongst the first cares of his government, was the revival and prosperity of the trade to India. He granted the company a new charter (3d of April 1661) which confirmed all their ancient privileges, and added new ones. They were now permitted to export a quantity of bullion equal to fifty thousand pounds sterling every voyage, on condition that

that they re-exported to parts beyond seas Indian goods to that amount. Their exclusive right was also confirmed, and the company were empowered to grant licences to private traders in the Indies, as also to order all matters civil and criminal, and to make peace and war in all parts within the limits of their charter, but with this proviso, that this charter might be made void, as soon as it should appear to be detrimental to the general good of the nation, upon three years previous notice. Advantage was likewise taken of the negociation now begun for the king's marriage with the infanta of Portugal for the prosperity of the company, and thus the important island of Bombay was acquired to them by the care of the government.

Soon after, a squadron under the command of lord Marleburgh, was sent to receive the investiture and possession of the island from the hands of the viceroy, who had received the king of Portugal's orders to that effect. But the Portuguese clergy opposing this design, terrified the viceroy into their measures, so that the English fleet was obliged to retire to Sually to refresh. The governor of Surat, in whose government this place is situated, threatened the English factory at Surat, in order to compel the English fleet to sheer off, he being apprehensive of the near neighbourhood of so formidable a force. Wherefore the admiral after being permitted to buy what provisions or commodities he wanted, set sail for England, leaving Sir Andrew Shipman, who had been created governor of the new acquisition

quisition by the king, to pass the westerly monsoons in the country with the remaining part of the squadron, in which time they buried a considerable number of their men. The monsoons being over, the fleet put to sea (in October) and set sail for Bombay, and threatening those that opposed their pretensions with the vengeance of the kings of England and Portugal, the church reflecting on what the Spaniards and Portugueze had suffered by an English fleet in the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, abated of their zeal, and at last consented to a treaty, by which the inhabitants were to be continued in the free exercise of their religion, and possession of their estates under the crown of England, and Mr. Cook, who succeeded Shipman now deceased, took possession of the island in the name of the king his master, in quality of governor, and immediately set about building a fortress for the protection of his new government. The trade of Bombay flourished exceedingly, but the revenues of the place not being equal to the charge of keeping it, the crown thought fit to make it over to the company in fee-tail, in which manner they continue to hold it to this present time.

The Dutch had now for a considerable time pursued the project they had formed of driving the English out of the trade of the East. Their success in time of war, when they attacked them directly, was generally answerable to their superior force; and whilst treaties subsisted between the two powers, they had recourse to other methods. As they were no longer at freedom to
attack

attack the English in those parts, they fell upon a method every whit as effectual to ruin them in the Indies; and this was by waging unintermitted war with the Indian princes, till they compelled them to expel the English out of their dominions. In this manner did they drive the English from their settlement at Bantam on the island of Java, after a long and bloody war, in which the Dutch supported the prince of Java against the king his father. This loss affected the company extremely, and therefore they resolved at all hazards to attempt the recovery of so important a place. For which purpose they made great and extraordinary preparations, there being soon after (1685) a fleet ready to put to sea, consisting of twenty-three ships of war of the line, and amongst those several of great force (sixty and seventy gun ships) and aboard of them eight thousand fighting men. But all these preparations were defeated by the unexampled rapacity of the court, who in view of extorting sums of money from the company, laid an embargo on the fleet for nine months running, when the Dutch ambassador offering a hundred thousand pounds, to stop the company's proceedings, the court, to their eternal infamy, suffered themselves to be corrupted by this bribe, and thus selling their country for so mean a gratification, defeated the company's project to all intents and purposes.

James the second espoused the interest of the company with still greater zeal than his royal predecessor, notwithstanding the new charter they received of the latter, in the twenty-eighth year

year of his government, the advantages of which were extended by the same monarch by a fresh charter seven years later. King James, who was a warm promoter of the British commerce, gave them vast privileges, and a sovereign and almost unlimited power. He empowered them to build fortresses, to levy troops, to determine causes under the form of courts martial, and to coin money, and this with an intention to enable them to dispute with the Dutch the traffic of the East, and to secure a portion of this beneficial trade to his people. The company however, were far from making a proper use of the powers with which the sovereign had invested them, which they made their countrymen feel the full weight of, without communicating to them any part of the benefit accruing from them.

The company having been at the charge of fitting out so many ships of force, were under a necessity of employing them in the Indies; but their capital being insufficient for such an undertaking, their generals and chiefs of factories in India were ordered to borrow money of the Indian merchants, for which they were to have the company's security, in order to enable them to purchase a loading for their ships homewards. This was accordingly put in execution, and those ships which could not obtain a cargo home were employed in freights in the country. The policy of the company was thus far justifiable enough, but the following particular can never justly be defended, which was, that the servants of the
company

company should endeavour to borrow, or take up upon credit, as much cash or goods as possible of the Mogul's subjects, which done, they were to find out cause of quarrels with their creditors, and from this handle interdict them from trading, the merchants of Surat carrying on at that time (in 1686 and 1687) a prodigious commerce by sea, to Mocha, Persia, and Bassora to the westward, and to Bengal, Achen, Malacca, and Siam eastwards, by virtue of passes obtained of the English general, who gave them to all who demanded them. The general, in consequence of his instructions, soon began to complain of grievances, the substance of which complaints were contained in thirty-five articles, most of which related to two English gentlemen Messrs Pitt and Boucher, who had formerly been by the appointment of the company of the general's council, These two persons had drawn upon themselves the resentment of the governor, because they had always preferred their own honour and integrity to the general's favour, and had for this reason constantly opposed all his pernicious and oppressive measures. At last, his vengeance grew to such an height, that the only means of safety left them was to take sanctuary in the Mogul's country, where Mr. Boucher, by means of a licence from the monarch, continued to trade with abundance of success. But his companion in adversity was not so fortunate, for being taken at sea by pirates, who at first demanded no more than five thousand pounds for his ransom, but being persuaded by the governor to raise their pretensions

pretensions to twenty-five thousand, he continued prisoner with them the remaining part of his life. Not content with the vengeance he had taken of Mr. Pitt, he now sent to the governor of Surat to demand Boucher, with his wife, children and effects, which demand was delivered in the most arrogant and haughty terms imaginable, insisting among other things, that the gates of Surat should remain open when he went to take his pleasure, and such like frivolous requests.

These pretences were made the foundation of a war with the Mogul, the governor, whether from the violence and weakness of his own spirit, or by instructions of his constituents, or both, seizing the ships of the Mogul's subjects wherever they were found, notwithstanding they had the sanction of his own passports, and this without ever sending to know the king's pleasure thereon, or so much as the common form of declaring war observed amongst all civilized nations. Thus were the company involved in a quarrel which cost them upwards of four hundred thousand pounds, besides ruining their credit with the Mogul and his subjects, a disaster which they have not got the better of entirely to this very day.

The general seeing so many ships of force in his hands, without any employment for them, dispatched them for Mocha, Persia, and Bengal, in order to seize the ships belonging to Surat, which traded to those parts under the protection of his own passports. One Andrews who commanded

manded the ship Charles the Second, set sail for Mocha, where he set up the flag of England upon the English factory, and made prize of two English ships. The captain of one of these refusing to make a voluntary delivery of his ship, was killed in his cabin. But there being but a small part of their cargo aboard, this enterprize was not so successful as desperate. The governor and merchants of Mocha were far from countenancing these violent proceedings, and Andrews, suspecting their design of compelling him to restore the ships, fled on board with great precipitation.

Andrews soon set out with his prizes. But the company paid dear for those captures, they being obliged to make ample restitution to the owners for their losses. The cargo of the Streights merchants, one of their seizures, was made good to the owners at the rate at which some coffee, part of her cargo brought over by the supercargo, sold for in England, where it had met with an exceeding good market, the whole amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds. The Bristol's cargo was also in like manner made good to the proprietors, as was that of the Johanna, which came to sixty thousand pounds, and the Little Betty a ship which with her cargo (both sold at Bombay) did not bring the company above six hundred pounds, was by them paid for in England at the rate of twelve thousand pounds. It is said that the owner of this vessel, who had arrested Tyrrel the captain who made prize of her,
accept

as he was going off the Exchange, refused to accept of king James as bail for him, tho' he accepted of Sir Joseph Hern.

The Charles, Cæsar, and Royal James and Mary, brought prizes into Bombay, fourteen sail of the Surat merchant ships, there being no war as yet (in 1688) with the Mogul, but only with the inhabitants of Surat, whom the general threatened to humble.

In October of the same year, the general went to Surat, accompanied by the Royal James and Mary, and several other ships of force, in order to frighten the governor and inhabitants into a compliance with his demands. Failing in his design, he left Surat precipitately, (Jan. 1689) taking with him all the ships, except the Adventure which had been by accident forced over the bar, where she was destroyed by the worms. On his passage to Bombay he was met by a corn fleet, destined to supply the Mogul's army, which then lay at Dunder-rajah-pore, fourteen leagues south from Bombay. Wherefore a council was held in order to determine whether they ought not to make prize of this fleet. One captain Hilder, as the oldest officer, being first asked his opinion, was entirely against the molesting of this fleet, alledging in support of what he had advised, that this proceeding must undoubtedly streighten the army, and so oblige them to break up in quest of provisions, and might possibly in some measure affect Bombay, which for fuel and provisions was greatly beholden to the neighbouring country.

The greatest part of the other officers were also against this measure. The general notwithstanding continued immoveably fixt in his resolution to seize the fleet, and made answer to their just objections, in terms full of pride, insolence, and self-sufficiency; tho' no person ever shewed a more dastardly soul when the danger drew near, than he did.

The Mogul general being informed that the general of the English company had seized the fleet which carried the provisions of clothing and corn destined for the support of his army, sent to him in terms of the highest respect, to request the discharge of the fleet, assuring him, that as he had never hitherto interfered between the general and the inhabitants of Surat, he was still resolved to pursue the same conduct with respect to both, unless his refusal of so just a demand should oblige him to act in a different manner. The answer of the general was full of insolence, and the fleet was unloaded at Bombay. The Mogul chief sent again to require the surrender of his fleet, threatening, that if this last demand was not complied with, which must be before the eleventh of February, which was near at hand, he should quarter with all his army at Bombay, before the fourteenth next following. This demand being also rejected with the same arrogance, he performed his promise with the greatest exactness; and that very night (the 14th) landed at Souree, a place four miles distant from the principal fort, with a body of twenty thousand men. The security of the general, who
trusted

trusted to the reputation and power of the company in the Indies at that time (greater than they were ever before, or since) made him neglect those precautions which were necessary in the neighbourhood of an enemy. There were even a sufficient number of small ships to hinder any enemy from landing, had they been properly disposed; but all had been neglected from a belief, that the Indian general would certainly never attempt to land. Accordingly his coming being unexpected, he surprised the redoubt that stood at the place where he made his descent, the garri-son of it flying, after firing a great gun to give the alarm. At one in the morning, three guns were fired from the castle, to give the general notice of the approach of the enemy. This surprize struck such a panic into the inhabitants who lived without the fortress, that the women both white and black ran half naked with their children in their arms to the castle, where they were obliged to continue without the walls, till day light relieved them by discovering them to be friends. In the same manner the fortress of Mazagun was deserted notwithstanding its strong situation upon a rock, three sides of which are defended by the sea; and that with so great precipitancy, that every thing was left to the enemy, tho' the seamen offered to bring them off, the officer who commanded dreading more that the treasure and arms should fall into their hands, than into those of the enemy. The Indian general found in it eight or ten chests of treasure, those chests generally containing one thousand pounds

each, four chests of new arms, fourteen cannon, two mortars, besides powder, bombs, and cannon shot. The Mogul's general profiting by these ill measures of the English, sent a party to plunder the peasants of Mahim, and at the same time to seize the fortress, which he conjectured might have been abandoned as well as the other. He was not mistaken, the garrison having embarked for Bombay before they saw an enemy. He now took possession of Mazagun, planted his flag upon the ramparts; and fixed it his head quarters. The day following, some of his troops shewed themselves to the English general on the hills of Mazagun, a sight which stung him to the quick. Wherefore captain Pean was ordered with two companies consisting of seventy men each, to drive the enemy from those posts. One Monro, who had formerly served at Tangier, was appointed for his lieutenant. This small body marched in good order till they came within shot of the enemy, who stood behind a rising ground which defended them from the shot of the English, and from whence they did not offer to advance. Monro seeing this caution of the enemy, gave it for his opinion, that the most effectual means to dislodge them, would be by dividing their own forces into platoons, and so to separate those of the Indian infantry. The captain affronted at this piece of advice, told the lieutenant, that when he was appointed commander, he might do as he thought proper; but as that care lay upon himself, he would act in his own way. He then ordered

ordered his men to spread themselves as much as possible, and to discharge all at once upon the enemy as soon as they saw them open in the plain. This conduct he said would strike a terror into them. Monro opposed this disposition, putting him in mind of the danger he must expose his men to if the enemy should advance upon them whilst they were loading again; but all was in vain, and the captain adhering tenaciously to his own conceptions, ordered his men to fire in the manner he had already directed. The enemy being lighter armed than the English, and perfectly well practised in close fight with sword and target, no sooner saw the English fire spent, than laying hold of that important moment, they rushed upon them with all their speed, when all gave way to so bold and rapid a movement, the captain being the foremost to the Portugueze church, where a party of one hundred men lay ready to receive or support him, as exigency should require. Monro still continued to make a stand with a part of the wing which he commanded, those who stood firm to him not exceeding fourteen in number. They were soon surrounded by the enemy, and every man of them cut to pieces. Pean returned to the general, whose minion he was, and he was better welcomed than he deserved.

At the time that the general left Surat, several persons, some of whom were servants of the company, and others independent, were sent to prison, where they were laid in irons, Mr. Boucher and those protected by his firman, being the

only persons exempted from that severity. The rest of their usage was in conformity to this proceeding; they were obliged to pass thro' the streets with irons about their necks, as a mark of infamy. Sir John Weyburn had some time before this (in 1686) been sent from England with a commission from the king to execute the office of judge admiral. Another commission was also given him on the part of the company by their governor, which he was also made to believe to be from the king, to condemn and put to death thirteen of the inhabitants of Saint Helena, at which place, one Johnson, the second, had been killed, in a tumult caused by the oppression of the governor of that island. Weyburn on his way to India put in at Saint Helena, when the thirteen proscribed persons were, without form or process, put to death, a proceeding for which the company paid very dearly afterwards, and which Weyburn's death only exempted him from. 'Tis thought that the illegal proceedings of the general (Child), and the many personal affronts he had received from him, occasioned his death, which happened at Bombay, about two months before the invasion of the Indians. He was much lamented by all persons of probity who knew him, and had formerly been captain of the *Happy Return*, which accompanied the duke of York in his way to Scotland, aboard the *Gloucester*; and it was he who sent his barge for the duke in the storm in which the *Gloucester* was lost, and brought him safe on board his own ship, and afterwards landed

landed him safe in Scotland, for which action he received the honour of knighthood. He continued ever after in the good graces of king James, but refusing to comply with the measures of the court, this office had been given him, in order to dismiss him with honour.

The Mogul general was now master of the whole island, the castle excepted, to reduce which he planted batteries of cannon on Dungee hill, which as they overlooked the fort, galled the garrison prodigiously. Besides these, four cannon were planted in the custom-house, a battery was raised at the Moodies-house, within two hundred paces of the court, and another at another place, so that there was no going out or in at the gate of the castle without imminent danger, till such time as a half moon was raised to protect that entrance. All persons were then pressed into the service of the company, of whatever rank or condition, without exception. Provisions also became scarce, an evil which the addition of three thousand Savages taken into the service of the company exceedingly increased. The winter months being over, the small ships were sent to sea, to cruize on the Mogul's subjects, which service succeeded well enough. Amongst others captain Hamilton, from whom this relation is extracted, had amongst others been pressed into the company's service, and had now given him the command of a small privateer of seven or eight tons burthen, twenty fighting men, and sixteen rowers. With this vessel he brought nine prizes into Bombay, most of them loaded

with provisions and clothing for the enemy's army, which was at this time increased to the number of forty thousand. There was one piece of oppression which contributed much to the decay of the service, and that was this. The cruizers were not allowed any share of the booty, to prevent which, no sooner any prize was brought in, than the chests aboard were strictly scrutinized, and if they had saved any part of their pay, all of it was laid hold of for the company's behoof, as being part of the money found in the prizes, so that the cruizers instead of being constantly upon the watch for prizes, never looked out till such time as hunger began to press them, by which means many of the enemy escaped being taken.

The ill success of the war ashore, soon made the general sick of it. Wherefore in the month of December two persons, under the character of English ambassadors, were dispatched for the court of the Mogul. The first in commission, was Mr. George Weldon; Abraham Naava, a Jew, the second; and Meer Mezamie, a merchant of Surat, who had some interest at court, and a friend to the company, assisted on this occasion. They arrived at Jehanabat, where the court then was, in fifteen days. Their reception at first was very indifferent; but by means of presents to the officers at court, they were at last admitted to an audience, being brought into the presence of Aurengzeb, in a very humbling attitude, their hands tied before them, and they obliged to fall prostrate to the ground before the monarch,

monarch, who after a severe reprimand, asked their demands. To this haughty behaviour, usual in the Eastern courts, they made answer, by confessing their faults and asking pardon. They then intreated, that their firman, which they had justly forfeited, might be renewed, and that the Mogul general might be ordered to withdraw with his army from Bombay. Aurengezeb told them, that he accepted of their submission, and pardoned the injuries they had done his people, on condition that Mr. Child their general should depart forth of India in nine months, never more to return: that their firman should be renewed, on condition that satisfaction should be given his subjects for the debts contracted, the robberies committed, and the losses they had sustained by the war; and that how soon security was given for the performance of those conditions, the Mogul general and his army should be ordered to evacuate their island.

The death of the general, which happened the January following, did much facilitate the company's affairs, tho' this accident was kept a secret till the pleasure of the king should be known with respect to him. And in the month of March, Meer Mezamie died also, supposed to have been by the enemies which his friendship for the English had gained him: and when the ambassadors sent to enquire of him, in what manner he had disposed of the monies he had received for secret services, his answer was, that he was sorry he had ever intermeddled in
their

their affairs, for that having served them with his life, they were not contented even with that last proof of his attachment; and that for what uses that money was put to, he neither dared, nor would, divulge. Whilst the affairs of the English company were in this bad posture, Baroon the ambassador of the Dutch company, hearing of the revolution which had happened in England, and thinking Aurengzeb ignorant of the affairs of Europe, laid hold of the first opportunity in an audience, to magnify the power and influence of his nation, at the expence of Great Britain: and the Mogul appearing to be satisfied with his discourse, ordered him to proceed. He then gave him to understand, that the English were a weak and contemptible nation in comparison of the Lords the States General of the United Provinces, the latter having been obliged to send a king to govern them, and that if the English were by his majesty excluded from the trade of his dominions, the Dutch could carry it on, with greater advantage to his people, and also fill his coffers with treasure, whilst the English would not know where to get their daily bread. The Mogul replied with great gravity, that if it was true that his masters were so much superior to the English in power and riches, it must in that case be an easy thing for the Dutch to drive them out of India, and to enhance all the trade of his dominions to themselves, and that he commanded him to tell his masters that he expected no less from them. The ambassador excused

cused himself, pretending that he could do nothing in the affair, without orders from Holland, when Aurengzeb reprimanded him, by shewing the falshood of what he had advanced; for, says he, you well know, that no more than seventeen years ago the king of France conquered most of your country in a few days, and that then, it was the forces of England, not those of Holland, which repelled him; and if England did not hold the ballance of power, either the emperor, or the king of France, could conquer it in one campaign. The ambaffador made no answer, and returned dissatisfied that he had not been able to procure that indulgence for the company, he had been sent to solicit.

The English ambaffadors, after obtaining pardon, began to be respected, and were permitted to take their diversion abroad, till such time as a new firman should be drawn up, an affair which required some time, according to the methods observed in the courts of the Eastern princes. However, orders were sent out on both sides; to forbear hostilities, so that frequent visits past between the Mogul's troops and the English. The firman being ready, and the required security given, the Mogul general left Bombay the eighth of June 1690, leaving the pestilence behind him, which in four months time destroyed more men than the war, and for joy he maliciously set fire to his head quarters, the fortress of Mazagun.

General Child was succeeded in the government of Bombay by Mr. John Vaux, though
Mr.

Mr. Bartholomew Harris, who had been prisoner at Surat during this rupture, had the seniority in the service of the company; but as it was the custom not to admit any one into offices of high trust, that had been prisoner to the Mogul for crimes of a capital nature, without a particular amnesty from the monarch, Mr. Vaux was obliged to go to Surat, to receive the firman, and the Mogul's serpaw, or present, usual on these occasions. This consists of a fine horse, which must never afterwards be sold upon any account whatsoever; a compleat suit of cloaths made of rich atlasses, or zeerbaftas, that is to say, sattins or taffaties, wrought with gold and silver flowers; and besides this, a fine turban, embroidered shoes, and a dagger of curious workmanship, in a fine fash. The general being equipped in this habit, the firman is presented by the Mogul's messenger, when the governor of the city or province, in a speech adapted to the occasion, sets forth the great honour conferred upon him by the most powerful potentate under heaven, with an admonition that his future behaviour may render him deserving of such a distinction. Mr. Vaux received the firman as above, in a gilded box, and putting it on his turban for a small space, returned by an interpreter the compliment of the governor, acknowledging the civilities of both him and the monarch whose servant he was. He was then conducted by the governor from the garden in which this ceremony had been performed, into the city, thro' an infinite concourse of people, who welcomed his accession
to

to that high rank, with shouts of joy, as he passed to the English factory. After remaining about a week at Surat, Mr. Vaux sent to acquaint the governor of the necessity he lay under to return back to his government of Bombay, when he received for answer, that as no other person could be trusted by the Mogul, to see the performance of the contract performed, it was hoped he would not think of leaving the city, lest the king should repent of the favours he had shewn the company whose commission he carried. Thus Vaux was detained hostage for the future good behaviour of the English company. Mr. Harris depending on the custom generally observed by the company, demanded the presidency of Mr. Vaux; and he, tho' the other was altogether unqualified, to save contention, yielded it. Harris came afterwards to be ruled entirely by one Annesley, a man of no character, but of great craft, so that this latter came to hold the reins of government solely by himself, and had avarice and address enough to embroil the affairs of the company, as well as of the private traders, during the government of Harris, and after his death procured himself to be made president, or rather tyrant of Bombay. The following is an instance of the justness of the character given him by captain Hamilton.

There are a great many large ships belonging to the subjects of the Mogul, which trade all over India. The owners of these, having a high esteem of the abilities of the English in the art of navigation, above any other European nation,
procured

procured English navigators and officers to conduct their ships, allowing them very considerable wages and other indulgences. Captains had from ten, to fifteen pounds a month; mates, from six to nine pounds; and the gunners and boatswains, besides good salaries, were allowed to carry certain goods and merchandize free of freight. Mr. Annesley undertook to reduce these wages one half, to the persons employed, looking upon the remaining moiety as his undoubted due, in quality of his office. Some awed by fear, or compelled through necessity, complied; whilst others despising his threats, refused to come into his measures. These he looked upon as rebels, prosecuting them to the utmost of his power, and when that failed, bribing the Mogul's governor to plague and harass them. Thus some were oppressed and ruined by his practices, whilst others bid him defiance with impunity. Those who suffered, and these who were out of his reach, equally strove to expose him and his superiors to the hatred of the Mogul subjects, and in the end effectually destroyed both their esteem and credit with the trading part of that people. Those in lower circumstances, thus losing their employ in the service of the Moorish merchants, and whose being and subsistence depended on their labour and industry, were forced to devise new ways of subsisting, prejudicial enough to the company's affairs, several going over to the service of the pirates.

The company in England being informed of Harris and Annesley's male administration, sent out

out Sir John Gayer to take upon him the management of their concerns. This person arrived in the year 1694, and was invested with the title of general of all India. Annesley was immediately divested of all power to do future harm, tho' he continued in the service of the company till the year 1700, but was at last dismissed from all employment under that company. The new governor, tho' far from being a man of a vicious character, committed some actions which very much wounded his reputation. One instance is as follows: a young lady who had no relations alive, but had a portion of three thousand pounds, happened unadvisedly to marry a person she loved in a clandestine manner, contrary to the statute law of Bombay, where no marriage is binding without consent of the governor. Gayer taking advantage of this statute, dissolved the marriage, and on account of the money, married her to his own son. Another piece of bad conduct in this governor was, the compelling the crew of a ship to go on board against their own inclination, and to proceed on a voyage to China, notwithstanding the loud complaints they made of their captain's ill usage of them, and that with a great deal of justice. The consequence of this proceeding was, that the crew mutinied on their passage, murdered their captain in his cabin, and then went a pirating with the ship, infesting the navigation of the straits of Malacca, where they took and plundered every ship they were able to overcome.

The

The third and last particular I shall mention alledged against Sir John Gayer, was the suffering himself and his wife to be taken prisoners by order of the governor of Surat, when it was in his power to have prevented that measure, by defending himself in his fortrefs, or at least by a timeous and easy escape: this was no more, according to the prevailing opinion, than a stratagem of Gayer's own contrivance, whereby he found means to reside at Surat, where he could employ his money to much greater advantage, than he possibly could at Bombay, his own government.

Nor was the government of Sir Nicholas Waite, who succeeded Gayer in the direction of the company's affairs at Bombay, any more for the interest of his constituents, than that of his predecessor. The looseness of his morals, his barefaced injustice and prevarication, provoked the inhabitants and soldiery at Bombay to such a degree, that they seized him, and sent him prisoner to England, so that his reign, which was very short, was however exceedingly prejudicial to his constituents, as well as to the private traders under his government.

From the time that the president had been obliged to reside at Surat, Bombay had been governed by a person deputed from him. At this time, out of near eight hundred English that dwelt here before the war, there were no more than sixty left alive by the plague and the sword; so that Bombay, from being one of the most delightful

lightful places in all the Indies, was now become a most dismal desert. The spirit of injustice (says my author) still reigned there, those whom the war and pestilence had left alive, being refused liberty to return home to their native country, nor were they permitted to seek the advancement of their fortunes, being still continued in the service of the company, into which they had been compelled in the late exigency of their affairs, and in which they saw no prospect of ever being preferred. This occasioned considerable discontents, and the rigorous exaction of the company's duties of five per cent. on provisions, in the middle of the war, when the importation of them ought above all things to have been encouraged, added not a little to the general murmur.

Let us now return to Great Britain. In the year 1693, king William granted this company a charter of regulations, which proves by the references contained in the body of it, that their former charters had been renewed in the month of October preceding. This act empowered them to open books for a new subscription to the amount of seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds. By this the company were also bound, to cause all their goods to be publickly disposed of by inch of candle; to extend their exports of goods of the manufacture of this kingdom to the value of one hundred thousand pounds; to furnish to the crown five hundred tons of the best salt-petre yearly, at the rate of thirty-eight pounds ten shillings per ton in time of peace, and in

time of war at forty-five; finally, they were ordered to make all dividends upon their capital in money only. These conditions observed, this charter was to remain in force for the space of twenty-one years. They were likewise to conform and give perfect obedience to all such orders, qualifications or restrictions, as their majesties, by and with advice of the privy-council, should see fitting, on or before the twenty-ninth of September 1699; that otherwise letters of revocation should be issued, whereby all their powers and privileges should be rendered null and of no effect. The restrictions fixed at that time (1694) were contained in another act called, a charter of regulations, containing among other particulars, that the governor and company trading to East-India, should once every year in the month of August, transmit to the privy-council a true and fair account of the qualities, quantities, and value at prime cost of the goods of the manufacture of England by them exported, together with the place from whence so exported, and this certified by the oaths of the officers of the customs, and of the company's servants; and it was at the same time provided, that none of the above goods and merchandize so exported, should be reloaded in the dominions of Great Britain, nor conveyed to any other parts beyond seas, than the places within the limits of their charter. It was further ordered, that on application made by six or more proprietors, each of whom should be possessed of one thousand pounds capital stock in the funds of the company, demanding a general
court

court to be held, that then the governor, or deputy governor, should within eight days after the above application, call such a court, which might not be adjourned but by consent of the majority of the proprietors so assembled. To these and other such restrictions, the company were required to give perfect obedience, under pain of losing all the powers and privileges they stood possessed of.

It might be thought that all those powers and advantages secured and confirmed to them by so many charters, should have settled their affairs upon a solid basis, and especially during a reign which seemed to deny them nothing. This was however very far from being true at this juncture. Their authority was contested in a bold and open manner by the private traders, stiled by them interlopers, who paid no regard to their pretensions, out of a belief, that the crown had no power to grant any exclusive privilege in matters of trade. But the greatest evil of all was the straits and poverty of the government, the ministers favouring the private merchants in order to draw sums of money from them for such licences, and thus ruining the credit of their administration, by an open breach of all those charters which themselves had been the instruments of procuring, for which the company had paid such exorbitant sums, and on the faith whereof so many persons of all ranks had thrown their fortunes into the company's capital. The sum wanted at this time by the government was two millions, and, it not being believed that any number of new proprietors

would advance such a sum for a new charter upon the credit of the administration, who had so lately prevaricated with the old company, the affair was laid before the house of commons (in 1698) in order to have every thing settled upon a more solid basis, that of national security. The motion for a new company was no sooner made, than it was supported by all the weight and interest of the persons in power, notwithstanding the opposition of the members of the old company, whose zeal and vehemence had no manner of effect. Their cause had no better success in the house of lords, where Sir Thomas Powis, and Sir Bartholomew Shower, their council, supported their pretensions with abundance of eloquence; for it had been already determined to sacrifice the interests of the old company to those of the public, or to speak with more justice, to the necessities of the government.

Thus a new company was constituted, and incorporated by a law, at the price of a loan of two millions, for which they received interest after the rate of eight per cent. tho' by subsequent acts of the legislature, it has been reduced to six and to five per centum.

The old company had no other plan left but to negotiate an union with her younger sister, a thing the more likely to succeed as it was evidently the interest of both. An agreement was soon determined, by which it was resolved, that the effects of both companies should be brought home to be disposed of for their several accounts, and all possible precautions taken that both might do it with security;

security ; that no advantages either on the part of the crown, or of the new company, should be taken of the old company on pretence of forfeiture ; and that a release should be given by the two companies to each other reciprocally, and by each of them to their respective factors and servants ; that the funds of the old company, amounting to three hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, should immediately upon the execution of the above part of this agreement, be united to the capital of the new company ; and that the old company should purchase, six hundred and seventy three thousand five hundred pounds stock of the new company, in their capital stock of one million, six hundred and sixty-two thousand pounds, to be transferred by three of their members in their political capacity, with the profits to arise therefrom, whereby the old company may have nine hundred and eighty-eight thousand five hundred pounds in the common funds, an equivalent to the interest of the new company therein, and that the above stock of six hundred and seventy-three thousand five hundred pounds, should be transferred at four several times, one fourth part to be paid for at each transfer, at the rate of one hundred pounds for one hundred pounds ; that the dead stock of the old company at home and abroad should be valued at thirty-three thousand pounds, that of the new company also at home and abroad, at seventy thousand pounds, and that the old company should, at the time of transferring their first fourth of the said six hundred and seventy-three thousand five hundred pounds, trans-

fer at the same time all their dead stock at home and abroad to the new company, the latter paying for one moiety thereof sixteen thousand five hundred pounds, and that the new company should also pay to the old company thirty-five thousand pounds, as the one moiety of their dead stock, and that thereupon, the old company should be intitled to one moiety of both dead stocks, in the same manner as the members of the new. The members of the new company so transferring to be intitled to the arrears of their annuities till the time of the said transfers, after which all annuities arising from the ancient stock of the old company (315,000 l.) to be paid to persons to be appointed for that effect by the old company for their use, and in like manner the new company to enjoy all profits previous to this agreement, and also five per cent. on all ships entered inwards, or cleared outwards, previous to the execution of the said agreement, but that each company desist from any separate exportation.

That, for seven years next ensuing, both companies were to share equally in the administration of all affairs relating to their funds or commerce, and that twelve persons should be elected by the general court of each company respectively, out of the courts of committees, and directors of the said companies, who should be named in the new charter, the managers of the united trade to India, and that a new additional stock should be raised for carrying on the future commerce, to be advanced in such proportions as the said twenty-four managers, or the major part of them should

should see fitting, the general courts approving thereof.

That for the space of seven years ensuing, the old company should remain a separate corporation; and preserve their stock as a body politick, with power to transfer and assign in their own books, as at that time then present, and that at the end of seven years they should transfer and assign in the books of the new company, their share in the capital, to such members as should then stand intitled to the same, whereupon the said members of the old company should become members of the new company gratis.

That each company should indemnify the other from their debts and demands, and a proper proviso be made for that purpose; and that the new company, from the time that this agreement should be put in execution, should not take up any monies upon their common seal, nor do any other act, except what related to their separate effects as aforesaid, without the concurrence of the old company.

That it should be covenanted between them, that his majesty should within ten days after making the above assignment, make a re-grant, and that the old company should surrender their charter, and act of incorporation, within one month after the expiration of the said seven years, and also that the king should within ten days after the said surrender, make a new grant to the trustees, and subject to the same trustees all such estate and effects of the old company as should come to, or devolve upon the crown, by reason of the said surrender.

Finally, that immediately from and after the said surrender, the new company shall be stiled, The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies. And that nevertheless, the future management of the said stock and trade, after the expiration of the said seven years as above, should be according to the charter of the new company, of the date of the 5th of September 1698. And that for the better attaining the purposes aforesaid, there should be a tripartite indenture, to be put in execution on the part of his majesty and of both the said companies, wherein such covenants and provisions should be made as should be thought reasonable, with proper releases to each company, in such manner as that as soon as the above term of seven years allowed for the conveniency of both sides should be expired, the two companies should thenceforwards become, and be one in name and in effect.

Thus were the animosities and quarrels between the two companies, both at home and in the Indies, put an end to, tho' in these distant parts a considerable time was spent even after this coalition, before peace and harmony were entirely restored. For heretofore nothing but the brittle bond of lucre and self-interest had held the British subjects engaged in this commerce together, by which persons who secretly entertained the greatest aversion for each other, were obliged to a certain degree of compliance to obtain their several ends. All this time their affairs were in a languid condition, as being principally supported
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by such as had no other concern for them, than in proportion as their private interests were connected with them. The ministry were so much taken up with humbling the exorbitant power of the house of Bourbon, now grown to a height that justly alarmed all the other powers of Europe, that they had no leisure for the more tranquil concerns of trade and commerce.

There however remained several inconveniences after this union, to remove which the company resolved to apply to the court. The loan of money has been a way of procuring that protection, of very ancient standing, and it was resolved to pursue the same measures in the soliciting of some remedy for the present inconveniences. Wherefore they offered to lend the government in the sixth year of the reign of queen Anne, the sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds, over and above what the government stood indebted to them for already. Their proposal was without difficulty accepted of, and the parliament was to afford them all that they required for the benefit of their traffic. A law was therefore passed, by which it was enacted, that the English company trading to the East-Indies, do pay into the Exchequer the sum already mentioned at certain times, in failure whereof, the monies to be recovered of the company by way of action of debt, with twelve per cent. damages, and that the company be empowered to borrow on their common seal a sum of money, the principal not to exceed one million five hundred thousand pounds over and above
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what they were formerly legally intituled to borrow on their common stock. If the governor and company, and general court of the merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, shall see fit to call in monies from their respective adventurers towards the raising the said sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds, or repayment of monies borrowed for that effect, they are by this act empowered to make such calls; and if any members shall neglect or refuse to pay their shares of the monies so called in; or which the company in pursuance of the statute 9 W. III. cap. 44, or their charters, shall call in for carrying on their trade (after notice fixed on the Royal Exchange) that then the company may stop the dividends payable to such members, and apply the same towards such payment, until it be satisfied; and also stop the transfers of the shares of such defaulters, and charge them with interest at five per cent. till payment; which being still neglected, the company may in three months sell so much of the defaulters stock as will pay the same. The above sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds, shall be deemed an addition to the stock of the English India company, and be free of taxes. The united stock of the company shall be subject to the debts contracted by the said company, and such persons intituled to seven thousand two hundred pounds, part of the two millions original stock, who have not united their stock to the corporation's, and who are authorised to carry on a trade for their separate use, may hold and enjoy the said trade as if this act had

had not been made. But the company may repay the same at the end of three years, together with the annuities due thereon, and then the whole trade shall be vested in the said company. Matters of dispute subsisting between the two companies relative to the union, to be referred to the arbitration of Sidney earl of Godolphin, and after the making the said award, and surrender of the charter of the governor and company of merchants trading to the East-Indies, the persons who at the time of the surrender, pursuant to an indenture tripartite, made between the queen on the first part, the said governor and company on the second part, and the said company of the third part, shall be directors and managers on the united trade of the English company, shall continue in that quality, until new directors are chosen, according to their charter, dated the 5th of September 10 W. III. provided, that after a time limited, and repayment of the said two millions, and one million two hundred thousand pounds, and all arrears then due for annuities, which annuities amount to one hundred and sixty thousand pounds per annum, and upon three years notice, that then the aforesaid duties on salt, &c. and the benefit of trade given by this and the former act and charter to cease. This proviso is extended as to time, by statute 10 Ann. cap. 28, and the 29th, empowers the company to enter such goods as they shall import at the custom-house, by bills at sight or sufferance, and shall give security under their common seal for payment of such customs and duties as are rated in the book of rates, and
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upon coffee, to be ascertained by oath of the importer, viz. for payment of one half at the end of six calendar months, and the other half at the end of twelve months; and the custom-house officers shall grant to the company such bills at sight or sufferance, and take security as aforesaid, making such allowances and deductions as are made to other merchants paying their customs at or before the landing their goods and merchandize; but nothing herein contained to extend to alter the method of paying the duties of fifteen per cent. on muslins and callicoes, or the duties on any other goods to be ascertained by sale at the candle.

Soon after the accession of George the first to the imperial crown of these kingdoms, a new evil was discovered, the preventing of which was of consequence to the interests of the whole nation, as well as of the company in particular. This was, that divers persons had made several attempts to learn the secrets of the affairs of the company for the information of certain foreigners, who projected the sharing in this lucrative commerce. Wherefore it was enacted by the legislative power of the nation (stat. 5 Geo. I.) to render such practices ineffectual; that all subjects of these kingdoms who shall sail or go to the East-Indies, or such places of Asia, &c. beyond the cape of Bona Esperanza, or the straits of Magellan, contrary to the laws in being, or to the tenor of this act, shall be liable to the punishment inflicted by law for such offence; and it shall be lawful for the united company of merchants

chants of England trading to the East-Indies, and their successors, to seize such persons, and to send them to England to stand trial, and to be punished according to due course of law. Every person who shall solicit, procure, obtain, or act under any commission, authority, or pass from any foreign power, to sail, or trade to, or in the East-Indies, shall forfeit five hundred pounds, whereof one moiety to the informer, the other to the crown.

These laws did not produce the intended effects; and the profits of the company, who had for some years past divided ten per cent. upon their capital, excited a general eagerness to engage in this trade, and especially amongst the English. This gave occasion, amongst other projects formed by our neighbours, to the establishment of a new company at Ostend, in which many English were concerned; for these causes an act was passed in the ninth year of the same reign, prohibiting all subjects of the three kingdoms from encouraging in any way the establishment of any foreign company trading from the Austrian Netherlands to any place mentioned in former acts; for securing the exclusive title to that trade to the united East-India company in England, or to have any interest or share in the stock or actions of any such foreign company, or to make any payment in money or bills, or any other way whatsoever, towards the promoting or support of that or any other foreign company; the persons so offending to forfeit their interest and share in the stocks of such company, with
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treble the value thereof, one third to go to the crown, and the remaining two thirds to the East-India company, in case they inform, or sue for the same, otherwise one third to go to the common informer, recoverable by action of debt, &c.

The attorney general of his own authority, or at relation of the said united company, and for the company, may file a bill of complaint in the court of Chancery, or of the Exchequer, against any person who shall have subscribed or contributed to, or promoted, or any wise become interested in the establishing of any such foreign East-India company, or the stock or trade thereof, for the discovery of his offence, remitting or waving the forfeiture of the treble value of the offender's stock or concern in any such company, and insisting only on the single value. And if thereupon such person shall answer to the bill, and not plead, or demur to the discovery thereby sought; and in case the single value only of such interest or share shall be decreed to be paid, one third part thereof shall go to his majesty, and the other two thirds to the company. If any subject shall have accepted of any trust, or know of any interest, share, or concern, which any of his majesty's subjects shall have in any such foreign company, and shall not within six months after accepting the trust, or the coming to the knowledge of any such interest, &c. truly discover the same in writing, to the said united company of England, or their court of directors, he shall forfeit treble the value of the said concern, interest,

interest, &c. so accepted in trust, or so known, and not discovered; one moiety to the crown, the other to him who will sue for the same, by action of debt, &c. or such offender shall, at the discretion of the court where the prosecution is commenced, suffer one year's imprisonment; and persons that, within the time above, shall voluntarily come to the court of directors, and make a true discovery in writing of the interest, &c. of any subject in the stock of such foreign company, shall have one half part of the clear amount of the forfeitures arising by this act.

Any of his majesty's subjects not lawfully authorized, found in the East-Indies, are declared guilty of a high misdemeanour, and may be prosecuted for the same, and, if found guilty, shall be liable to such corporal punishment, imprisonment, or fine, as the court where the prosecution is commenced shall see fit; and the offenders may be seized and brought to England, and any justice of the peace may commit them to the next county goal, till sufficient security be given by natural born subjects, or denizens, for their appearance in court, &c. and not to depart out of the kingdom without leave.

All actions on account of offences against this act, or against 9 Will. III. cap. 44. or 5 Geo. I. cap. 21, &c. shall be laid in London or Middlesex, in the option of the prosecutor; and a *capias* in the first process shall issue upon any bill, plaint, or indictment, &c. prosecuted for the said offences.

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In the seventh year of the reign of the same prince, a law was passed for the better preventing an unlawful, and further securing a lawful trade to the East-Indies. By this law it was enacted, that all goods shipped on board any ship for the East-Indies (except goods of the company, or goods licenced by them, and naval stores, provisions, and necessaries for the ship in her voyage) and all goods taken out of such ships in her voyage homewards from the East-Indies, and to England, before her arrival here, shall be forfeited with double the value, and the master or officer of such ships, knowingly permitting such goods to be so shipped, or taken out from on board such ships, shall for every offence forfeit one thousand pounds, and shall not be entitled to any wages, &c.

Agreements or contracts made, or entered into by any of his majesty's subjects, or in trust for them, on the loan of monies by way of bottomry, upon any ship in the service of foreigners, and bound to the East-Indies, &c. and all contracts for loading or supplying any such ship with a cargo of any sort of goods, merchandize, treasure or effects, or with provisions, stores, or necessaries, and co-partnerships entered into with relation to any such voyage, or the profits thereof, and all agreements for the wages of any person serving on board any ship to be employed in such voyage, shall be void; and every person, subject of his majesty, that shall go to the East-Indies contrary to the laws now in force, shall be deemed

a trader, and to have traded there, and all the goods there bartered or trafficked for, or purchased by such person, or found in his custody, or any other in trust for him, by his order and procurement, shall be forfeited, with double the value.

And by this act it shall be lawful for the attorney general, or the company, at any time within six years, to file in any of the courts at Westminster, informations against clandestine traders, and the defendants being found guilty thereof, the court shall forthwith proceed to give judgment therein against them, &c. It shall also be lawful for the attorney general at the relation of the company, or by his own authority, to exhibit bills of complaint in the Exchequer, against persons trading to or from the East-Indies contrary to law, or against any person concerned as agent, factor or co-partner with such illegal traders, for discovering of such their trading, &c. and for the recovering the duties and damages, &c. and such persons shall pay to his majesty the customs of the goods of such unlawful trade, and shall answer to the company thirty per cent. according to the value thereof in England; and if such offenders pay the amount of the customs of the same into the Exchequer, and damages to the company, they shall not be otherwise prosecuted by this act, or any other statute for the same offence; but if a decree be obtained against the defendants, they shall pay costs to his majesty, and the relator respectively.

And if such bills (being exhibited at the relation of the company) be dismissed by the court, the company shall pay every defendant his full costs; the forfeitures and penalties herein before appointed, or in former acts relating to the East-India company, may be sued for, not only by the attorney general, or the said company, but also by any officer of the customs, such officer having the consent and order of the court of directors, as by the act is particularly required; and one third of all such penalties shall be to the crown, one third to the company, and the remaining third to such officers of the customs as shall inform and sue as aforesaid. The united company shall be allowed to ship out stores, provisions, utensils of war, and necessaries for maintaining their garrisons and settlements, free of all duties, so as the duties, if they had been paid, do not exceed in any one year three hundred pounds. No East-India goods to be imported into Ireland, or the Plantations, but from Great Britain, on pain of forfeiting ship and goods, &c.

Thus we have seen the company engaged in a constant struggle with difficulties, partly owing to the evil maxims of some persons about the prince, who made them buy every favour at a prodigious ransom; and partly from the Dutch, who had this advantage over the English company, that they had all the assistance their government was able to give, and were permitted to dispose and manage their own affairs as to them seemed most conducive to their interests, in a sovereign

vereign and independent manner. The case has been much altered of late years, for the advantage of the English company, the legislature having taken into their protection the concerns of a body from which the government has reaped so much benefit. So that the company has for some time been gaining upon the Dutch, at least in those countries where both nations enjoy equal freedom to trade, and where the success depends principally upon the choice and good opinion of the natives. The company have in a particular manner extended their settlements in the island of Sumatra, having no less than three several establishments upon it, Bencoolen, Aken, and Sillebar; but the first of these was the most considerable of all, and first began to flourish about the year 1685. In process of time they became so considerable, that several of the petty sovereigns of the island began to put themselves under their protection, hoping thereby to screen themselves from the power of the Dutch, at the same time that they enjoyed the benefit of trading with their rivals the English. Nor has their attachment to their new masters ever been called in question, notwithstanding that their treatment has not always been to be defended. What principally determined the company to settle on this part of Sumatra, was the convenience of the pepper trade carried on from Lampour, a commodious port seated at the bottom of a deep bay, twenty leagues within the straits of Sunda. The company had enjoyed the profits of this establishment till they were drove out by the Dutch

in 1683, when the king of Bantam, in whose dominions this place lies, was compelled by the Dutch to break off all correspondence with the English.

The good correspondence which the factors settled at Bencoolen entertained with the inland princes of the island, was what induced the chief to remove from Bencoolen in the year 1719, where great numbers of English died every year thro' the unhealthfulness of the place. For these reasons, they made choice of a place a few miles distant, whereon they were to erect a new fort under the name of Marlborough Fort. The work was now considerably advanced, when the natives dreading a strength which threatened their liberty, laid schemes for the destruction of the power of the company in their island. So that a general insurrection ensued, those of the country people who were in pay of the company deserting to the enemy, after having set fire to the fort, and the enemy had already entered Bencoolen, where all the Europeans were put to death to a man. The remaining English were therefore obliged to consult their own safety, and to withdraw, and after having secured on board a ship, the company's treasure, books, and effects, they embarked for Batavia. The English however found means to return the year following, where they continued to work on the fortifications of Fort Marlborough, unmolested by the natives. The chiefs employed by the English company had been guilty of some indiscretions, which being light in comparison of the tyranny of the Dutch,

the Malayans out of dread of the latter were willing to put up with, and gave the English all manner of encouragement at their new settlement Marlborough Fort, a place incomparably more wholesome than Bencoolen, notwithstanding its vicinity to this latter. Besides, as the Fort of Marlborough is a place of much greater strength than York Fort (at Bencoolen) the servants of the company are free from any apprehensions of a surprize from the natives. So that every thing contributes to extend the traffic and consequence of the company on this island. These successes, joined to the care of the company in the choice of persons of prudence and abilities to be employed in the Indies in quality of chiefs, have given their affairs a new face; and it has been said, that had it not been for the losses sustained by the establishment of new companies abroad, they should soon have been in a condition to have doubled their dividends, the benefit of which was laid open by the exhibition of the company's books, and of the amounts of their sales, a step occasioned by the clamour then raised with respect to the decay of trade. This conduct of the ministry was what gave occasion to the rise of many new attempts by foreigners to obtain a share in a traffic which they saw attended with such prodigious returns.

The proposals made at this time for laying the trade of the company open, seconded by clamorous complaints of the injustice of a monopoly, by which a body of private merchants satiated their avarice at the expence of the whole nation,

gave them fresh alarms, which were increased by the circumstances of the times, when they had all the reason in the world to be apprehensive of the effects of popular clamour. Wherefore a new negotiation was set on foot with the administration, wherein they made proposals highly for the benefit of the government, on condition that they were secured in the possession of their exclusive title to the East-India trade, in such manner as to free them from all future apprehensions. A law was soon passed, by which all their powers and privileges were confirmed in the manner they desired. It was hereby enacted, that the company do, on or before a certain day fixed, pay into the Exchequer two hundred thousand pounds, to be applied towards the supplies granted to his majesty, for which no interest shall be paid, nor any addition be made to the capital of the company by the public on account thereof, nor the same nor any other part of it be paid to the company. That after the twenty-ninth day of September, 1730, the annuity or yearly fund of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, shall be reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds, in respect of the capital stock or debt of three millions two hundred thousand pounds, which annuity so reduced shall be charged on the same duties and revenues by the like weekly or quarterly payments, and with the same provisions for making good deficiencies in the said reduced funds, as their present fund or annuity is now charged on, till other provision is made by parliament with consent of the company. But that
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that upon one year's notice by parliament after the twenty-fifth day of March 1736, after the expiration of that year, and on repayment of the said debt of three millions two hundred thousand pounds to the company, and all arrears of their reduced annuity of one hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds, which shall be due at the end of the said year; then and from thenceforwards, the said annuity or yearly fund shall cease and be no longer payable. And at any time after the said twenty-fifth of March, after a year's notice by parliament, and after the said year is expired, upon repayment made to the company of any sum not less than five hundred thousand pounds, part of the capital stock of three millions two hundred thousand pounds, and on payment of all arrears then due on their reduced annuity, that after such payments made, such part of the said annuity as shall bear a certain proportion to the capital so paid in part, shall cease and be abated; and so from time to time, upon such yearly notices, and payment of such other sums in part of the said capital stock, till the whole of their annuity be entirely sunk and determined. Notwithstanding any such redemption, all persons intitled to any interest in the stock, &c. of the said company, shall be and continue a body politic and corporate with perpetual succession, with power to purchase lands, &c. in Great Britain, not exceeding ten thousand pounds in value at any one purchase, with full enjoyment of all powers, privileges and immunities, as by former charters have been granted, with power to declare what share in their remaining capital shall qualify mem-

bers to be directors, or to vote in their general courts. The company shall, notwithstanding the said redemption, continue to enjoy the whole and sole trade to the East-Indies, &c. but with the proviso of determination herein after contained. Persons, other than the factors, &c. of the said company, sailing or trading to the East-Indies, &c. shall forfeit the ships so employed with the goods laden therein, and double the value, to be sued for, recovered and distributed as by the 7 Geo. I. cap. 21. is directed. The company shall enjoy all the powers granted them by former charters, &c. and not changed by this act, freed and discharged from all proviso's of redemption, &c. as fully as if the same were herein repeated, but subject to the restrictions contained in such acts and letters patent now in force, as also to the provisions following, viz. Provided that upon three years notice by parliament, after the twenty-fifth of March 1736, and repayment made to the company of their capital stock of three millions two hundred thousand pounds, and all arrears of annuities payable in respect thereof; then and from thenceforth the right, title, and interest of the said company, to the entire, sole, and exclusive trade to and from the East-Indies, shall cease and determine. But after the said determination of the company's right, &c. the corporation may, with all or part of their joint-stock, &c. trade to those parts in common with others the subjects of his majesty. Any notice in writing from the speaker of the house of commons, to be deemed a due and proper notice by parliament. Nothing in this act to extend to subject the Levant company

pany to any penalties and forfeitures on account of their traffic in the Levant seas ; nor restrain any trade within any of the limits of the East-India company, that the South-sea company are any way intitled to.

Thus the reader has seen the foundation and first beginnings of the commerce of the East-India company under queen Elizabeth; the progress made in it in consequence of the regulations made, with a view of promoting so national a concern ; the various vicissitudes of good and bad fortune their affairs have undergone, whether from their enemies the Indians and Dutch, the negligence and ill conduct of her governors and servants abroad, and the still more pernicious practices of ministerial craft, by which vast sums of money have been drawn from them, for privileges which are ever precarious; and lastly, their happy and flourishing estate, from the time that their own consequence, and the services done the state, brought the whole body of the legislature to become their patrons and protectors. We shall now proceed with all possible brevity to lay before the reader a small account of the possessions and settlements belonging to this wealthy body.

The first in order, is Gombroon or Gambroon, on the coast of Persia, which owes its wealth and grandeur to the demolition of Ormus, and the downfall of the Portugueze power in the Indies. This city, lying in the latitude of $27^{\circ} 40'$ north, and justly accounted one of the greatest marts in the east, was built by the great Shah Abas,

Abas, from whence it has obtained the name which prevails amongst the Persians, Bander Abassi, or the court of Abas. The English began to settle here about the year 1613, when in recompence for the services of that nation against the Portugueze, the Shah Abas granted them half the customs of that port. However, this revenue was at last reduced to one thousand to-mans a year, that is, in our money, three thousand three hundred thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence: this having also of late been but ill paid, if it is true that any of it is now in their possession. The company still maintains a noble factory here, and where all their trade of the Persian empire is carried on; a branch of commerce which takes off a prodigious quantity of European commodities. This establishment had suffered greatly by the civil commotions that tore this empire about the year 1720, though as the affairs of that state have been since that reduced to order and tranquillity, it is probable the company have reinstated their commerce at Gambron in its wonted splendor and importance.

Their second settlement is that of Mocha, a city seated at the entrance of the Red-sea (lat. $13^{\circ} 11' N.$) a place of great traffic, where the English nation are much carested, and carry on an infinite trade for coffee and other commodities, as well as in all the adjacent ports of Arabia. One inconvenience which the company shares here in conjunction with other nations, is the violence and exaction of the Arab princes; nor is it entirely free from the depredations of pirates which infest those parts.

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On the coast of India they are possessed of forts, or factories, or settlements, at Baroach, Swally, Surat, Bombay, Dabul, Carwar, Tellechery, Anjengo, Fort St. David, Conymere, all of them on the Malabar shore.

On that of Coromandel stands Fort St. George, the capital of the English company's dominions in the Indies. This place is situated in one of the most incommodious spots imaginable; the sea beats perpetually with prodigious violence on the sand whereon it stands; there is no fresh water within a mile of it; it is subject to inundations from the river in the rainy season; and the sun from April to September insufferably hot, the sea breezes being the only circumstance that renders it habitable. The reason of this bad choice for a settlement is variously related. The person entrusted by the company about the beginning of the reign of Charles II. to build a fortress on that coast; according to some accounts, made choice of this place as the most proper to ruin the trade of the Portuguese settlement at St. Thomas; while others assert, that his only motive was to be nearer a mistress he had at the Portuguese colony. This is however certain, that there were several places in the neighbourhood, free from most or all of these inconveniencies. The war carried on by the company at Bombay and Bengal, in 1685, to 1689, against the Mogul's subjects, was a considerable advantage to Madras. The tranquillity which reigned here, and the vicinity to the diamond mines of Golconda, where there are frequent good purchases to be made, caused a
prodigious

prodigious resort of Indian and Black merchants to this place, and thus principally contributed to render it populous and flourishing. The town is divided into two parts: that inhabited by Europeans is called the White town, is walled round, and can only be attacked at two places, the sea and river defending the rest; there are two churches here, one for the English, the other for the Roman communion. It is also a corporation, had a mayor and aldermen chosen by the free burghers, but the governor and his party are generally thought to determine the choice. It had besides laws and ordinances of its own, a court in form, consisting of the mayor and aldermen in their gowns, with maces before them, a clerk, attorneys, solicitors &c. tho' the author from whence this account is taken, alledges, that in matters of consequence, a few pagadoes well placed, could turn the scales of justice, the cause generally going according to the favour and inclination of the governor; but that in trifling affairs there is not the same cause of complaint. The governor has or assumes a dispensing power to annul all its transactions. They have no power of inflicting capital punishment, except for piracy only; so that crimes of another nature are sometimes made to infer piracy, out of personal views, or from other causes. Thus, says my author, a private trader, if he has the misfortune to incur the displeasure of a governor, is soon found guilty of piracy. That part called the Black town is inhabited by Gentows, Mohammedans, Christians of India, as Portugueze and Armenians, there being temples
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and churches for each religion, all persuasions being tolerated. Governor Pitt walled it in toward the land, out of fear that the Mogul's generals in Golconda might some time or other plunder it. The government of both towns are absolutely vested in the governor, who likewise commands in chief in military concerns; all other affairs of the company are managed by the governor and his council in conjunction; and most of those are also said to be his creatures. The company have their mint here for coining of money, from bullion brought from Europe and elsewhere, into rupees, and this brings them a considerable revenue. They also coin gold into pagados of different denominations and value. The diamond mines lie at a week's journey from this place. When a person goes to the mines with design to trade, he first makes choice of a piece of ground to dig in, and then acquaints the king's officers appointed for that service of his intentions. The money for leave to dig being paid, the ground is inclosed, and centinels placed round it. All stones above a certain weight (sixty grains) belong to the king. Frauds in this particular, are punished with death. Some get estates, whilst others lose their money, their labour, and their expectations. The trade of Madras was some time ago thought to be upon the decline, through the oppression of the servants of the company, which has also caused many merchants to withdraw. This colony produces little of its own growth, and next to no manufactures for foreign trade. The Moors, Gentows, and Armenians, have got possession of the
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the trade they were wont to carry on to Pegu, the English being now chiefly employed in ship-building. The people of Surat share in their trade to China; the gold and some copper only are for their own market; the gross of their cargoes of sugar, sugar-candy, allum, china-ware, and some drugs, are all destined for Surat. Their trade to Persia is carried on by way of the river Ganges. The trade to Mocha in Coromandel goods, began in the year 1713, Fort St David supplying the goods for that market. So that the trade of Fort St. George is altogether, like that of Holland, carried on with supplying foreign markets with foreign productions. There are computed to be in the towns and villages belonging to this colony eighty thousand people (this was some time ago) five hundred of these Europeans. They have rice from Ganjam and Orixá, wheat from Surat and Bengal, and fuel from the islands of Diu, near Matchulipatam. Thus are they easily distressed by any enemy, whose power at sea is superior to theirs. The governor is a person of great power, and treated like a prince by the rajahs of the country. He is attended abroad in a magnificent manner, having besides his English guards, seldom fewer than three or fourscore persons in arms. Two union flags are carried before him, with a band of music, such as is used in that country. There are two persons near him, whose office is to cool him with fans, and chase away the flies.

There were formerly several other European settlements on the same coast, but all of them abandoned,

abandoned, on account of the exactions of the rajahs of the adjacent countries. Matchulipatam was the last quitted by the English, esteemed about sixty years ago the most flourishing colony in the Indies. Their house is now quite deserted. Some time ago the Mogul's viceroy on this coast, made the governor of Fort St. George an offer of the islands of Diu in a present, and the inhabitants were very well satisfied at the thoughts of being under the government of the company. But this proposal not being soon enough accepted of, the viceroy and people changed their minds, and refused to let the governor erect a factory when he would willingly have done it.

Next to this stands Narfipore, where the company had a factory for long cloths, for the use of their settlement at Matchulipatam. Not far from hence is Angerang, seated on a deep river which is navigable a great way up the country. This place is famous for the finest long cloth which the Indies produce; but the impositions of the rajahs, who possess the banks of the river, on the cloth transported on it, has ruined the place. The English factory established here in the year 1708, was soon withdrawn.

Amongst several small ports along the shore, Wahow is the most noted, producing abundance of rice for exportation, besides some cloth. It is not frequented by Europeans.

A little farther you find Vizagapatam, an English fortified factory, with eighteen carriage guns mounted on its ramparts. The country round it affords fine and ordinary cotton cloths, and the best dures

of muslins in all India. Want of money to purchase is the ruin of this settlement. In the year 1709, the nabob of Chikacul levyed war upon this factory, the cause whereof was, that their former chief had borrowed monies of him on the company's seal, which his successor (for he was dead) refused to pay. The nabob applied to the governor of Fort St. George, but with no better success. Wherefore he came against Vizagapatam with an armed force, and the war which was drawn out into a considerable length, growing burdensome to the company, the affair was at last compromised, upon paying the nabob a sum almost equal to what he demanded. The places we have now spoke of, lie in the kingdom of Golconda.

Next to this is that of Orixá. In this country lays Ballasore, on a river of the same name, four miles from the sea by land, though by windings of the river 'tis no less than twenty. The country abounds in commodities of its own growth, such as rice, wheat, gram, doll, calavances, pulse of several sorts, annise, cummin, coriander, and caraway seeds, tobacco, butter, oil, and bees-wax; and also in manufactures of cotton, in sanis, casses, dimities, mulmuls, silk romals, and romals of silk and cotton; gurrahs, and lungies, and of herba (a sort of grass) are made gingham, pinascos, and several other sorts of goods for exportation. The English, French, and Dutch have factories here, at present of small consideration in comparison of former times, before the improvement of the navigation of Hughly river caused

caused their decline. This place drives a good trade to the Maldives, which, as they afford no grain of themselves, receive hence all necessaries they have occasion for. This was formerly the principal European settlement in the bay of Bengal. Here are pilots for conducting the shipping which arrive from April to October, up the river Hughly (a branch of the Ganges) each company maintaining pilots for their own shipping, who have liberty to serve strangers when they are not wanted by their own employers, from whence they reap considerable benefit.

Piply; seated on a river supposed to be a branch of the Ganges. This was formerly settled by the Dutch and English, and is now reduced to beggary from the same cause as the preceding. The country produces the same commodities with Ballasore. It is now inhabited by fishers.

Advancing five leagues on the western bank of the river Hughly, you come to the river Ganga, another branch of the Ganges, which though broader than Hughly river, is more incommodious for shipping, by reason of the sand banks in it. The Danes have a thatched house a little below the opening of this river. There are many villages and farm houses in those vast plains, which lie along the banks of Hughly river; but no town of any consequence till you arrive at Culculla, a mart for corn, butter, oil, coarse cloth, and other country commodities. A little higher up, is the place where the Dutch ships ride, when the current of the river does not allow them to proceed farther. This place, as also

Juanpardao, is seated on a great and deep river which runs eastwards, and on the west of it runs a river which washes the back of Hughly island, and leads up to Radugur, famous for the cotton-cloths, and silk romals, or handkerchiefs, of its manufacture. Bussundri, Fresindi or Gorgat, and Cohong, are places situated on the same river, and produce vast quantities of the finest sugar in Bengal.

Near to this is Fort William, of which we have already spoken, the greatest settlement the company have on this coast. The company have but small traffic in the kingdom of Dacca, the first on the eastern shore of the Ganges, no more than in those of Aracan, Ava, or Pegu, lying in order on the same coast. The islands along it are entirely uninhabited, and so no commerce can subsist in them.

Going along the shore of the continent, you come to Merjee, a town situated on the banks of the Tanacerin, in the dominions of the king of Siam. This place enjoys a good harbour, and the country about produces rice, timber for building, tin, elephants teeth, and agale-wood. There were formerly settled at this port, a considerable number of English free merchants, who took advantage of the mildness of the government to drive a considerable commerce, till they were ordered thence by the old East-India company, who threatened the king of Siam with a war, if he continued to harbour them; therefore, one Weldon was dispatched to Merjee, with this message, who added the outrageous murder
of

of some of the Siamese, to the insolence where-with he provoked the government. The people resolved to be revenged for this barbarity, and lay in wait for Weldon by night when he was ashore. But he having got notice of their design, made his escape on board his ship, and the Siamese missing him, vented their fury upon all Englishmen indiscriminately that fell into their hands. Seventy-six were massacred in this manner, scarce twenty escaping to the ship. Hitherto the English had been greatly carested by the Siamese nation, having been promoted to places of the highest trust in the government. One was advanced to be head of the customs at Tanacerin and Merjee, and another promoted to be admiral of the royal navy. A great revolution which fell out at this time in the Siamese state, and the jealousies of the English company, caused most of the English merchants to disperse themselves, some to Fort St. George, others to Bengal, and others to Achen. The affairs of the company have been fully reinstated since that time in their former flourishing condition, and they now enjoy the benefit of the commerce of the Gulph of Bengal, from the mouths of the Ganges to the extremity of the promontory of Malacca, without being at any charge for settlements, forts, or factories.

Sumatra. The company are believed to possess the best part of all the trade carried on in this island. Their factories are those of Mocha, Bantal, Cattoun, Bencoolen, Marlborough Fort, and Sillebar. The Dutch, by being possessed of the neighbouring island of Java, have had the address

to fix themselves on part of this island, where they are said to be in possession of a gold mine which turns to small account to the possessors. It is not to be doubted but the English company act with as much conduct in neglecting to search after gold, as being no doubt sensible that commerce is of itself the richest mine in the world. There is no country under the sun which produces this precious metal in greater quantities than the island of Sumatra, the empires of China and Japan only excepted; and no person can reasonably alledge that the manner in which these nations have amassed so prodigious a treasure is not the best. Now 'tis certain that these have acquired so much wealth by no other arts but industry and parsimony, the only certain way of enriching either nations or private persons. The company therefore act wisely in neglecting the mines on the island of Sumatra, which must be secured at the expence of forts and garrisons, and worked at the hazard of gaining the aversion of the natives, whose laziness hinders them from working them for themselves. Besides, those mines do not in any way approach the idea entertained of their riches. One reason whereof may be the following, that as all the numerous nations inhabiting the different parts of this island, are continually employed in picking up the gold which the torrents have washed into the sands of their channels, or discovered in the crannies of the rocks, not only a much greater quantity of metal must be this way found, but also may be much easier come by to the Europeans settled on the island, than the
painful

painful search for it in the mines, attended with numberless insurmountable discouragements and inconveniencies, which the Dutch in their way of mining must inevitably undergo. The only certain and adviseable method therefore of acquiring the benefit of the gold trade in the island of Sumatra is, by settling colonies in the most convenient parts, to use the inhabitants with gentleness and affability, to observe the most exact justice in all dealings with them, and thus by degrees to bring them into an esteem of European manners, the only way to engage them to use or take off European commodities. Thus the danger of securing the obedience of so many barbarous nations with a few men will be avoided; a correspondence will be maintained, which will draw vast quantities of gold into Europe, and that in return for those commodities which give bread to infinite multitudes of poor at home, the real and only solid riches of any state; and navigation and naval power will be promoted; all of them powerful reasons in vindication of the company's conduct in this particular, that they overlook the working the mines of Sumatra, a species of traffic which is generally attended with luxury and idleness (as in Spain,) and is indeed the bane and destruction of all industry, and of every other species of business whatsoever.

The English were formerly in possession of several settlements on the coasts of the Chinese empire, as well as in the kingdom of Tonquin, all of them now withdrawn; tho' the company still do carry on trade to those parts, especially to

Tonquin, for such articles as they want themselves, or can afford for the commerce of Europe, which latter are abundantly numerous. The company's factory was formerly settled in the island of Chufan, when the trade was carried on at Amoyor, from whence it has been removed to Canton, where about forty years ago it flourished to such a degree, that the company had great hopes of being able to engross this beneficial branch to themselves. What defeated these expectations was, the high duties laid upon teas and other Chinese commodities, which by the encouragement this tax gave to smuggling, soon reduced the company's China trade to as low an ebb as that of other countries. As part of these duties have been taken off since the above impositions, it is to be presumed that this commerce goes on with its ancient prosperity; one thing is certain, that since this ease has been granted by the government, they have found the advantage of it by the increase of the revenue arising therefrom; whether this is also a national advantage, let others determine.

The company are in some sort excluded from all correspondence with the Manilla or Philippine islands, notwithstanding what the French alledge in pretending that the English carry on this trade under Irish colours, and that to a considerable extent, whatever may be really done in this way under the Morisco or Portuguese flags. The custom of the Spanish nation in this particular is without example, in laying open this trade to all nations, contrary to all the known maxims of that monarchy,

monarchy, the English and Dutch being the only nations excluded from this unprecedented indulgence, a precaution of small consequence where the people of the country find it their interest to overlook it.

In Japan there is not the least vestige of any English commerce, all the commodities of that empire with which our company is supplied, being furnished by means of their commerce with the Chinese and Dutch.

The following account of this traffic from a person who is far from being prejudiced in favour of the company, may possibly convey a juster idea of the nature and extent of the company's commerce than any thing hitherto said in this essay. The errors found in it will I hope be imputed to the true author, who has not thought proper to oblige the world with his name, or rather to the nature of the thing, in itself sufficiently dark and intricate, and besides most carefully hid from the eyes of the vulgar. His authorities however seem to be sufficiently solid; being chiefly the public accounts of the company's sales and other transactions, at least so far as regards his own plan, which was to represent this corporation as an institution highly prejudicial to the trade and commerce of Great Britain.

This traffic, says my author, employs yearly seventeen sail of fine capital ships, each of the burden of five hundred tons, by the company's account, mounting thirty guns, and manned with one hundred mariners. He then proceeds to give his readers the

Account or Invoice of the Exports to India.

| | |
|--|-------------|
| 1442 tons iron at 15 l. | £ 21630 0 0 |
| 610 . . ordnance and wrought iron at 50 l. . . . | 30300 0 0 |
| 450 . . steel at 50 l. . . . | 22500 0 0 |
| 180 . . nails at 25 l. . . . | 4500 0 0 |
| 895 . . lead at 17 l. . . . | 15215 0 0 |
| 800 . . cordage at 40 l. . . . | 32000 0 0 |
| 550 . . stores at | 305000 0 0 |
| 260 . . brass, copper, pewter at 100 l. . . . | 26000 0 0 |
| 100 . . gunpowder at 80 l. . . . | 8000 0 0 |
| 32 . . quicksilver at 300 l. . . . | 9600 0 0 |
| 18175 woollen cloths at | 110000 0 0 |
| 23220 stuffs at | 50000 0 0 |
| 37469 perpets at | 40000 0 0 |
| 3000 doz. hose at | 3000 0 0 |
| 11076 oz. gold in coin or bullion at 3 l. 18 s. per oz. | 43196 8 0 |

Note, the quantity of gold exported next year, viz. 1754, amounted to 38092 oz. in coin, and 2977 oz. in bullion.

2991251 oz. silver at 5s. 3d. per oz. 785203 7 9

The quantity exported the year following, 1754, was 2,327,329 oz. in coin and bullion.

Tot. amount of cargoes outwards 1,503344 15 9

Note, there were no more than fourteen ships cleared

the EAST-INDIES. 505

cleared outwards this year, and that the above quantity of gold and silver bullion is exclusive of what is carried out by private traders, both in foreign and British coin, whereof it is impossible to fix or ascertain the value.

Follows the account or invoice of goods imported from India, with the value sold for at the public sales.

Piece-goods of the Ships

| | | |
|--|----------|----|
| Wager, Prince of Wales, and Exeter, sold at | £ 250000 | 00 |
| Scarborough | 225000 | 00 |
| Houghton, exclusive of tea and silks | 10000 | 00 |
| Admiral Vernon | 175000 | 00 |
| Edgcote, besides tea | 10000 | 00 |
| Drake and Rhoda, besides weigh- able goods | 15000 | 00 |
| Prince George and Streatham, do. | 9000 | 00 |
| Chesterfield | 240000 | 00 |
| Pelham | 85000 | 00 |
| Bombay-Castle | 215000 | 00 |
| Oxford | 195000 | 00 |
| Hector, besides 500 tons pepper | 50000 | 00 |
| Dorrington | 194000 | 00 |
| <hr/> | | |
| Seventeen ships, whose cargoes in piece-goods amount to | 1,673000 | 00 |
| <hr/> | | |

Brought

506 A NEW HISTORY of

| | | |
|--|------------------|-----------|
| Brought over | 1,673,000 | 00 |
| These ships do also bring home, 325,390 lb. tea, which at 4s. per lb. gross price at the sales | 642,475 | 00 |
| 2,000,000 lb. pepper at 1s ditto | 1,000,000 | 00 |
| 114,100 lb. coffee at 1s. 6d. | 85,575 | 00 |
| 203,850 lb. raw silk at 20s. do. | 2,038,500 | 00 |
| 900 tons salt-petre at 70l. per ton, ditto | 63,000 | 00 |
| 250 tons red-wood at 30l. ditto | 7,500 | 00 |
| 600 chests china ware and drugs, ditto | 99,600 | 00 |
| Total inwards £. | 2,875,000 | 00 |

From which take off custom, charges, and discount, viz.

Custom,

| | Value | pay | percent. | |
|--------------------|------------------|------------------|----------|----------------|
| | £. | | | £. |
| Callicoes . . . | 1,250,000 | 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 478,125 |
| Prohibited goods | 400,000 | 2 | | 8,000 |
| Tea | 650,000 | 19 | | 123,500 |
| Pepper | 100,000 | 4 | | 4,000 |
| Silk raw | 200,000 | 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | 25,000 |
| | <u>2,600,000</u> | | | <u>638,625</u> |
| | | | | By o. & ht |

the EAST-INDIES.

307

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|-------------|--------|
| Brought over | 2,600,000 | | 638625 |
| Coffee | 85,000 | 22½ | 29500 |
| Salt-petre | 60,000 | 10 | 6000 |
| Red-wood | 5,000 | 10 | 500 |
| China ware and drugs | 100,000 | 30 | 30000 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| Valuation | 2,850,000 | tot. duties | 695625 |
| | | | <hr/> |

Charges.

| | | |
|--|----|---------|
| | | £. |
| Freight on 8500 tons shipping, at 10l. | | 85,000 |
| Wages and provisions for 1700 men, at 5l. per month | | 204,000 |
| Interest on bonds, 2 years, at 3l. per cent. | | 90,000 |
| Directors, clerks, &c. 10,000l. per annum | | 20,000 |
| Warehouses, cost 100,000l. at 8 per cent. | | 16,000 |
| Shipping and landing of 8500 tons | | 8,500 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Total of charges | £. | 423,500 |
| | | <hr/> |

Discount.

| | | |
|---|----|-----------|
| On 2,875,000l. at 6½ per cent. | | 186,875 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Total of custom, charges, and discount to be taken off | | 1,306,000 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Net proceeds do not exceed | £. | 1,569,000 |
| | | <hr/> |

My

My author takes notice, that the cargoes of seventeen ships are here allowed to be returned; whereas no more than fourteen were actually loaded outwards; he had before observed, that the manufactures in brass, copper, iron, pewter, and other materials, did not exceed the value of 300,000*l*. He likewise omits to charge any thing for insurance. There is moreover 5 per cent. allowed over the real prices at the candle, amounting as he says (by way of irony probably) to the small sum of 140,000*l*. All which particulars he says, will serve to answer all objections against his system. He then states the account of profit and loss on a voyage to India, thus,

Account of profit and loss on a voyage to India.

| | | |
|-------|---|--|
| | Dr. | |
| 1753. | To the cost of 17 cargoes bought in England, as per invoices | £. 1,503,344 15 9 |
| 1754. | To profit and loss for advance | 65,655 4 3 |
| | | <hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/> |
| | | £. 1,569,000 0 0 |
| | | <hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/> |
| | Cr. | |
| 1754. | By net proceeds of 17 cargoes sold in England as per account of sales . . | £. 1,569,000 0 0 |
| | | <hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/> |
| | | Then |

Then follows capital stock account.

Dr.

| | |
|--|---------------|
| To fundry accounts for two years dividends due on 3,200,000l. at 8 per cent. per ann. . . . | £. 512000 0 0 |
| | <hr/> |

Cr.

| | |
|--|---------------|
| By voyage to India gain- ed thereby | £. 65655 4 3 |
| By government securities for two years interest on 3,200,000l. lent them at 3 per cent. . . . | 192000 0 0 |
| By profit and loss, for loss on capital | 254344 15 9 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £. 512000 0 0 |
| | <hr/> |

Follows

Follows the account of Indian goods sold to, and paid for by foreigners.

578400 calicoes at 13s. 4d. being one third above the custom-house valuation, which at 10s. only, the utmost price on board . . . £. 395600 0 0

Prohibited goods.

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 50 allejars | 2650 nillaes |
| 3800 bandannoes | 300 niccanees |
| 500 brawls | 50 neganepauts |
| 550 byrampauts | 1500 photees |
| 850 blue long cloths | 100 paduasfoys |
| 7000 chints | 100 poisees |
| 2000 chelloes | 100 palampores |
| 1400 carridaries | 41000 romals |
| 400 cherconnees | 10500 sooseys |
| 650 chilae | 200 sekterfoy romals |
| 55 callawapores | 1000 taffeties |
| 200 gorgoroons | 1200 sastracundies, |
| 900 Guinea stuffs | and others |
| | valued at £. 72750 0 0 |

Weighable goods.

| | |
|---|----------------------|
| 1850000 lb. pepper at 1s. | £. 92500 0 0 |
| 700000 lb coffee at 1s. 3d. | 43750 0 0 |
| All other goods, as cowries, ar- rangoes, shell-lack, turmeric, cardamoms, &c. &c. at . . . | 45400 0 0 |
| Total val. at price free on board | £. 650000 0 0 |

Note,

Note, the above goods all of them bought up at ready money by English private merchants, to be by them exported, are over-rated (according to my author) near 100000l.

This detail is closed by stating the national account of a voyage to India.

| Dr. | |
|--|------------------|
| To the export of wool- len manufactures . . . | £. 200000 0 0 |
| To ditto of copper, brass, and iron ditto | 100000 0 0 |
| To ditto of lead, iron and stores | 374945 0 0 |
| To ditto of silver and gold bullion | 828399 15 9 |
| To two years interest on 1,500000l. | 90000 0 0 |
| | £. 1,593344 15 9 |

| Cr. | |
|---|------------------|
| By commodities re-ex- ported | £. 650000 0 0 |
| By useful imports | 283344 15 9 |
| By national loss for bul- lion exported without one valuable return | 660000 0 0 |
| | £. 1,593344 15 9 |

My

My author then tells us, that in the several matters here before us, it is not alledged that they are drawn up with that accuracy which books of accounts could furnish materials for, but that from those which are, and must necessarily be, made known in the carrying on this public trust, the accomptant has with the utmost care, from these rambling papers (printed papers of the sales, &c. of the company) extracted an impartial and just balance (equitably considered) of the real state of this branch of trade, both in regard to the nation, their stock and bond-creditors; but yet not giving up the claim and right of mercantile accounts, that of errors being always excepted.

We are now arrived at that long agitated controversy with respect to this commerce to the East-Indies, viz. whether this trade is not in general a destructive trade to the nation, and whether the present method of carrying it on by an exclusive company is not in itself unjust, and contrary to the known interest of these kingdoms? I am very far from being willing to engage in a dispute for which I am of all men the least qualified; I shall therefore content myself with adducing the reasons commonly urged on both sides, by those who have had greater opportunities than myself, and who having more concern in the event, must of consequence be supposed to have made it more their study. At the same time, I shall make free with the reflections of an author to whom I have all along lain under obligations in this work, and which I have already taken notice of more than once.

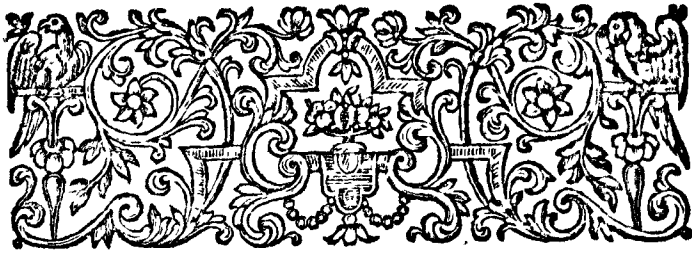
The arguments commonly alledged by those who do not favour the monopoly are, that this commerce, as it causes a prodigious exportation of silver, the common measure of commerce, and indeed of all things, and the nerves of the state, has therefore a natural tendency to impoverish and exhaust the vitals of the land; that the returns made from thence are in general articles of luxury, whereof we not only have no manner of need, but which manifestly contribute to take the employment from our own poor to give it to the Asiatics, viz. Persians, Indians, and Chinese, and thus at last compel them to remove elsewhere for bread, than which a greater evil cannot befall a state; it is further pretended, that this trade is rather a grave than a nursery for sailors, scarce one third of the crews ever returning, the rest generally dying of sickness contracted by the unwholesomeness of the climate, or the fatigues of so long a voyage. Besides, this commerce differing from other branches of trade requires no great number of shipping, employs few sailors, and therefore is of little consequence to the maritime power of this nation. Even the exportation of India goods so much vaunted of by the partisans of the company, is one of the most pernicious circumstances that can attend any branch of trade whatever. For by this practice, the consumption of our own manufactures in those countries supplied with Indian stuffs, is entirely destroyed, and Great Britain loses the advantages that arise from the employment of her own poor in the improvement of her manufactures, the

most solid source of wealth and power to a nation. But if, to prevent the immense quantities of India goods laid up in Holland and France from being poured in upon us, and to shut this door to destruction, by giving our specie away to those powers who are eternally watchful to destroy us, and who are the most likely of all others, if ever Great Britain should lose her maritime strength, to crush and oppress us; if to remedy or prevent these dreadful and impending dangers, there is a necessity to continue this impoverishing traffic to the Indies, can it be carried on by no other methods than by giving away the birth-right of every free-born Briton, to a set of men, who fatten on the spoils of their country, and who have no other title to the singular protection they enjoy, than the superior weight of their purses, and their readiness to serve any ministerial turn? Cannot those free merchants who carry on the other parts of this vast machine of commerce in this nation, by which life, vigour, and motion are conveyed to all the parts of the state, cannot this illustrious body likewise support the charge, or superintend the management of this one branch, which a few directors conduct at their ease in their elbow chairs? Cannot all the traders of Great Britain fit out seventeen ships, support the charge of a few factories with pensions for the few necessary servants, or furnish stock sufficient for pursuing a branch of traffic which the poorest states in Christendom find means to carry on? Where is the advantage of buying all the goods of those
remote

remote parts, which the free merchants of Great Britain, the only exporters of such goods, may have occasion for, at one warehouse, and at the sales of one company? These are the arguments of those who pretend that the laying open this traffic is the only possible way to render it truly beneficial to this nation. Those who support the pretensions of the company, answer, by representing the advantages which all nations engaged in this commerce have drawn from it; with what eagerness and assiduity it has been cultivated by the Hebrews, Tyrians, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, whose footsteps have been pursued by the same avidity, by the Venetians, Genoese, Portuguese, Dutch, and by the present unanimous practice of all other European states. Thus, say they, scarce any other argument is needful to prove the advantage of the India trade; for what greater proof can there be of its importance than the universal consent of the wisest states and nations in all ages? But not to reason from authority and example only, the most weighty and powerful of all others, what can more contribute to the increasing our naval power than this commerce? What a number of shipping and mariners are employed in it, not only in carrying to and from those distant parts, the valuable commodities which they produce, but also in amassing and distributing them all over Asia and Europe? What can contribute more to the improvement of the art of navigation than this voyage to the Indies, along so many shores, cross so many seas, and in so many climates? Besides, what a flood of wealth

does it bring in? What numbers of people does it keep constantly employed at home and abroad? What numbers after enriching themselves in the Indies, return with all that additional wealth to increase the common stock of Great Britain? What branch of trade is there of all the various kinds of traffic carried on by the merchants of Great Britain, that is not either in some part dependent upon or connected with that of the East-Indies? Those who object against this commerce seem entirely to overlook the vast quantities of English manufactures the company are bound to export in terms of their charter, and what vast quantities of unmanufactured commodities are imported from the Indies (such as cotton, silk, &c.) which are afterwards wrought up in this kingdom, whence they are again exported to different countries. Will any man say, that a commerce attended with so many circumstances so highly advantageous to the nation (the nation is thought to gain cent. per cent. upon the stock of the company) is not to be carried on? But it has been said, that the carrying on this traffic by an exclusive company is not only in itself unjust, but also greatly prejudicial to any country where such monopolies are suffered. Besides the conduct of all other nations, ever a strong proof of the use and necessity of it, there is an absolute impossibility (say the patrons of the monopoly) to know exactly the real condition and state of this traffic, nor could the necessary regulations and instructions ever be put in execution by any other possible method, precautions without which
this

this commerce must inevitably fall to the ground. Experience convinces us of the inconveniencies that follow upon the settlements and colonies and forts of any trading company being in the possession of the crown, who were so much persuaded of the force of this argument, that the island of Bombay, which became their property by the marriage of Charles the second with the infant of Portugal, has (as well as St. Helena) been granted to the company on this very account, the public utility. If two companies only could not possibly subsist, which we have seen was actually the case, how is it reconcileable to reason, that a multiplicity of companies, whose interests must eternally clash with each other, should flourish, or indeed produce any thing but repeated losses, and at last occasion the entire ruin of the trade to the nation? Wherefore there is no other possible expedient left, but either to abandon the India trade altogether, or else continue to pursue it in the method we now enjoy in common with all other nations in Europe, that of an exclusive company.



THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
C O M M E R C E
OF THE
E A S T - I N D I E S .
B O O K I V .

*The History of the other Companies formed
for the Commerce of the East-Indies.*

C H A P . I .

*The History of the Imperial Company of the Indies,
formerly established at Ostend.*

SOON after the treaty of Rastadt had translated the sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands from the Spanish monarchy to the emperor Charles VI, the rich merchants of those provinces began to consider of the means of extending their trade

trade under the protection and auspices of their new master. Nothing seemed so conducive to this end as the trade to the East-Indies, which they saw pursued by other nations with so much profit and success. Besides, the situation of their country appeared every way as happy for this traffic as either of their neighbours, Great Britain or the Dutch provinces. It was therefore resolved to make an attempt of this sort, for which end a private company was formed, which, tho' destitute of the common advantages of a charter or licence from court, was however believed not to have been done without their consent or knowledge. Their first steps in this new commerce were sufficiently unfortunate; for one of their ships with a cargo immensely rich fell into the hands of the Dutch, as she pursued her voyage along the African coast. This accident happened on the eighth day of December, in the year 1718.

The emperor resolving to maintain the interests of this company, and in order to revive their courage which this affair had considerably sunk, not only empowered them to open books for subscriptions, but also gave them a promise of letters patent, with assurances of restitution for their late damages. Accordingly a person was dispatched to the Hague, to demand satisfaction of the States General for this insult done to a ship which carried the Imperial flag, and which was also provided with his passport. This complaint was scarce heard, when new matter of discord arose, the Dutch having made capture of another

of the Flemish company's ships, and refusing, or at least declining to make restitution of what they had already taken. The merchants of Ostend, seeing that nothing was to be done in the way of remonstrance, resolved to make reprisals, for which purpose they applied to the Imperial court for commissions to enable them to act in a hostile manner, in case of future insults. They had no difficulty in obtaining their request, commissions were granted, and armed ships fitted out for the protection of their trade. These preparations were not matters of ostentation only. A Dutch ship was made prize of in their turn, and brought into the port of Ostend. The States had small reason of complaint, from an act which their own conduct had justified, by giving a precedent first. Notwithstanding the weakness of their pretensions, loud complaints were made to the governor general of the Austrian Netherlands of the violence of the company of Ostend. All the answer they received was, that the conduct of the Flemish merchants was justifiable on several accounts, that the commission of the emperor was their sanction for their proceeding in a hostile manner, which was also allowed of by the law of nations, as well by as the example of the Dutch themselves, who were the aggressors.

This resolution and vigour in the company, with the favourable sentiments of the court with respect to their interest, increased their credit in a wonderful manner. In the year 1720, five large ships were fitted out for the Indies. They were followed

followed by six more the following year, one for Mocha, another for Surat and the coast of Malabar, one for Bengal, and three for the empire of China. The jealousy of the Dutch was now raised to the highest pitch, and they proceeded to act with all their vigour against their rivals, giving orders to seize all ships belonging to the Austrian Netherlands wherever they should be found. The Imperial ministers at the Hague interposed with all their authority, but to no purpose, and the cargo was exposed to public sale. What contributed to increase these misfortunes, was the loss of another Ostend ship of prodigious value, on her return from the Indies, by an English privateer. This cast such a damp upon the company's spirits, that a new ship just fitted out was order'd to be laid up.

These losses were amply made up by the arrival of two ships from the Indies (in the months of May and June 1722) whose cargoes were sold at an immense profit. They were now enabled to carry on their trade with greater advantages and appearance of success than ever. Nothing was wanting but an establishment strengthened with the sanction of law, the protection of the Imperial court being hitherto given them in an indirect manner, in order to avoid all grounds of dispute with the maritime powers. Wherefore the company resolving to improve a conjuncture when their friends at the emperor's court were able and inclined to serve them, dispatched thither some of their directors to solicit this business, furnished with proper credentials, and what was perhaps

perhaps every whit as effectual, with large sums of money. These agents discharged their commission with so much prudence and address, as to obtain the ends of their application, and returned with the plan of a charter as extensive as they could desire, and with assurances of its being expedited with all possible expedition. Its substance, which was contained in several separate articles, was first, that the directors should be fixed to the number of eight, to be chosen from amongst the most reputable, opulent, and experienced merchants in the Low Countries; that their yearly salary should be four thousand florins; that no directors should continue in office beyond the term of six years, or be capable of being chosen a second time, 'till after he should be a full year out of office. The second article ordered, that a general court of the proprietors should meet annually to choose the company's directors, the emperor being to choose the eight persons who were to compose this body, out of twenty-four candidates named by the general court of proprietors. The third article fixed the seat of the court of directors, the treasury, and books of accounts, at Antwerp for the first three years, and for the succeeding three, at Ghent or Bruges. In the fourth place, the company's capital was determined to consist of a fund of ten millions of florins, to be divided into ten thousand actions, that is to say, that the value of each action should amount to a thousand florins. In the fifth article the company were entitled to all prizes taken by their ships, which were to be sold and disposed of for their proper account and benefit. By the sixth the company were exempted

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ed from paying any manner of duties or impositions on ammunition, artillery, provisions, or naval stores, destined for the use of their forts and settlements, whether in passing through the dominions of his Imperial majesty, or the territories of any of the secular or ecclesiastical princes of the Low Countries. In the seventh, the duties upon goods exported to parts beyond seas, or imported into any part of the Imperial dominions, were rated at four per cent. and no more, but that after the month of September, in the year 1724, they should pay at the rate of six per cent. at which standard they should remain for ever. The emperor likewise promised to send a person vested with the character of Imperial ambassador to the court of the Great Mogul, to thank that potentate in his name for his goodness in granting his subjects, the company, permission to erect a factory, and also to secure themselves by a fortress, in order to enjoy the advantages of the commerce they carried on in his dominions; and at the same time to settle an alliance, whereby all those advantages might be continued to this company. The advantages which the emperor hoped for from this establishment in the Low Countries to his influence as a maritime power, and otherwise by the vast increase of his revenues, which must infallibly attend it, determined him to encourage and advance it by all the means in his power. He caused them to be informed, that he would not only take off all manner of public taxes and impositions from the trade of his India company, but would also give them three hundred thousand florins

florins out of the Imperial treasury, in order to enable them to support their commerce, notwithstanding the losses which commonly attend all establishments in their infancy.

These advantages raised an universal spirit of trade in the inhabitants of the Imperial Low Countries. Even the nobility and gentry possessed of estates in those parts, contended with the merchants in contributing money for the carrying on the India trade, the success whereof seemed now beyond all question; and it is observable, that this growing trade was not only supported and encouraged by the subjects of the emperor in Germany and the Netherlands, the English, French and Dutch, with other nations, contending in zeal for the success of this foreign establishment, whether in furnishing part of the funds, in managing and directing their affairs, or in providing shipping, however noxious and detrimental such proceedings were to the prosperity of their native country, in which the East-India trade had long flourished with uncommon advantages to the persons concerned.

The prejudice of this new establishment to the other nations of Europe engaged in the Indian commerce, occasioned an universal clamour and a general opposition: so much so, that the friends and allies of the Imperial court were only distinguished from the other powers by their remarkable obstinacy in this opposition. Notwithstanding the common rights of sovereigns, which entitles every monarch to promote the weal and prosperity of his people by all lawful means, however
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inconsistent these might be to the interests of other potentates engaged in the same just and laudable courses; the maritime powers caused it to be intimated to the emperor, that they absolutely insisted that he should interdict all his subjects whatsoever from this trade. As this transaction was of the highest importance with respect to mercantile affairs, and yet recent in the memory of all Europe, it may be worth while to lay before the reader the substance of the Dutch remonstrances, who as they held themselves the most aggrieved, made the first and most importunate complaints. They said, that they the States General, being honoured with the friendship of his Imperial majesty, and being willing above all things that the same harmony and good understanding which had at all times subsisted between them should still remain and continue, beheld, with extreme concern, these their pious wishes frustrated by the proceedings of the inhabitants of the Imperial dominions in the Low Countries, intirely and in their own nature absolutely subversive of the peace and amity heretofore so much cherished by both nations; proceedings of the utmost prejudice to the interest of their state, and expressly contrary to the treaties then subsisting between them, and for the true and faithful observation whereof his Imperial majesty had engaged the public faith, and bound himself by the religion of an oath. The States have the greater cause of complaint for this reason, that all their former remonstrances, so often and calmly reiterated, had not only been fruitless and unable to procure the redress of their grievances,

grievances, but that on the contrary, the evils they complained of increased daily, the company having since greatly extended their enterprizes, in which unlawful and unwarrantable practices they, the subjects of his Imperial majesty, have been encouraged and protected by licences from the Imperial court, to carry on the trade to the Indies from the port of Ostend, as their High Mightinesses have been informed. Wherefore they (the States General) being desirous to avoid the dangerous consequences of his Imperial majesty's continuing, in a manner so evidently contrary to right and equity, to the just expectations of their High Mightinesses, and to the faith and religion of treaties, his protection to his subjects of the Imperial dominions in the Low Countries; and being equally desirous to prevent the evils which might ensue, if their High Mightinesses were compelled to have recourse to more violent means of recovering those rights they were entitled to by the treaties presently in force, did therefore lay before his Imperial majesty, that by the treaty concluded at Munster, in the year 1648, between the king of Spain then reigning, and his successors, on the one part, and their High Mightinesses on the other part, at which time the trade and navigation to the East and West-Indies were restricted to the bounds and limits they were then actually in possession of; the subjects of the Spanish crown should have no power to enlarge the bounds of their navigation, and especially to trade to places to which the subjects of this state did then carry on trade or navigate. That this right thus acquired

quired has always in time past been strictly understood and kept in force, the inhabitants of the Austrian provinces having never been permitted to carry on any manner of traffic to the East-Indies. Nor can it be imagined that the inhabitants of those provinces have acquired any new right or privilege, since they have fallen under the dominion of his Imperial majesty ; or that the lords, the States General of the United Provinces, after so many and signal efforts to recover those provinces, with other parts of the dominions of the Spanish monarchy, to his present Imperial majesty, should so much forget the dignity of their characters as to abandon the right acquired by the treaty of Munster already mentioned ; and much less could they apprehend, that after an acquisition to which the republic of the United Provinces had so much contributed, his Imperial majesty should at the same time entertain the remotest views of turning it to the disadvantage and prejudice of their state, contrary to that very point which formed the basis and foundation of all the negotiations at Munster, and of the treaty that was the consequence of them. And by the Barrier treaty it is further expressly stipulated, that commerce with every thing relative to it, should absolutely remain upon the same foundation, and in the same manner as had been already stipulated and settled by the treaty of Munster. Thus it appears, that at this very time when his Imperial majesty was already in the actual possession of the Spanish Netherlands, the treaty of Munster was renewed and confirmed by that of the Barrier, as
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it also was by the guarantee of his majesty the king of Great Britain. Therefore from the above reasons, and from the common rights of states and of sovereigns, as well as from the justice and truth for which his Imperial majesty is so justly celebrated, and lastly from the religion and sanctity of treaties, whereof he has always been deemed a most scrupulous observer, their High Mightinesses hope for redress of those evils they so justly complain of, and that his Imperial majesty will not only cease to succour and protect his subjects, or any others, in the unlawful and unwarrantable traffic to the East-Indies, but also require from his friendship, upon which they have always set so high a value, that he will withdraw the letters patent, said to have been granted them for carrying on that commerce from any part of the Austrian or Imperial provinces of the Low Countries, and so render them void and ineffectual; that all such navigation or commerce, whether with patents, or without, may for ever entirely cease; and that the treaties concluded for that effect do remain in full force and execution. This memorial, which the States General had been strongly solicited to cause to be presented in time, was delivered to the Imperial ministers by M. Bruyninx, by order of the States General, in the month of March, of the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three.

It was soon transmitted to England, where it was, by order of the East-India company of this nation, translated and printed, and afterwards, by their direction, copies were delivered to the members of the house of commons, with intent to excite

been at that time laid before that house on the same subject. This affair was referred to a committee, which, after proper enquiries into the nature and evil tendency of the promoting a new company in the Austrian Netherlands for the carrying on a trade to the East-Indies, to this nation, in which wicked design several subjects of Great Britain have been actually concerned, came to the resolution that the house should be moved for leave to bring in a bill, in order to prevent the subjects of this realm from being concerned in promoting or encouraging in any manner whatsoever an East-India company in the Austrian Netherlands, and for the securing the lawful trade of the subjects of Great Britain to and from those remote Eastern countries. This motion was unanimously agreed to, and leave was accordingly given to bring in the bill, which afterwards passed into a law, entitled, "An act for preventing his majesty's subjects from subscribing, or being concerned in, or encouraging or promoting any subscription for an East-India company in the Austrian Netherlands, and for the better securing, &c."

Notwithstanding the united efforts of the maritime powers, who held themselves bound by the same obligation, and under the same necessity of compelling the emperor to abandon this new society, and to sacrifice the interests of his subjects in the Netherlands to the friendship of his old friends and allies, he resolved, in spite of all obstacles, to maintain his East-India company, to whom he now (in 1723) actually

granted letters patent, tho' somewhat different from the ancient plan. The privileges given the Austrian company at this time were extended beyond all bounds ; for by it they were entitled for thirty years together to tradé to all parts in the East and West-Indies, and all the coasts of Africa, whether on this side the Cape of Good-Hope, or beyond that promontory, which powers he seemed to derive from his right as head of the house of Austria, as well as from that of monarch of Spain ; the titles of both which dignities filled the preamble to this grant, in which, amongst others, he assumed the title of King of the East and West-Indies.

The company's capital was however limited to six millions of florins, and the number of actions were not to exceed six thousand. Notwithstanding this restraint they might justly be looked upon as gainers on the whole, their new charter permitting them to fortify themselves in all places of the Indies whatsoever, as also to transport to their settlements in those parts, arms, artillery, and warlike stores, in what quantity they thought proper ; to build and equip ships of force, and that either in the ports of Italy, the Low Countries, or in any of the dominions of the Imperial crown, and to enter into alliance, or conclude treaties with the states and sovereign princes of the Indies, in the name of his Imperial majesty, being restricted solely in this, that they should not make war upon any state or potentate whatsoever, without the consent of the emperor, or his successors. The company, in token of gratitude

gratitude for so many favours, and such ample powers, were to pay in the way of homage a golden lion of the weight of twenty marks, holding between his paws the arms of that body. Nothing could be more encouraging than the zeal the court of Vienna discovered for the prosperity and safety of this commerce. The emperor undertook to guarantee the company against all dangers from what powers soever, and even, if necessity so required, to employ the whole force of his dominions for that effect, and to procure them ample satisfaction for all the damages they should sustain from the jealousy or unjust attacks of any nation, potentate, or state whatsoever; and that further, in all treaties, alliances, or leagues, into which the Imperial crown should enter, with what power soever, in all time to come, constant attention should be had to provide by all manner of means for the interest, success, and prosperity of the India company. In this manner this famous establishment took its rise, from which both the court of Vienna, as well as those who had engaged in it as proprietors, promised themselves the highest advantages.

Soon after the letters patent were published and registered in the sovereign courts of the Low Countries belonging to the Imperial court; the directors entered upon office, and took their seats; the company's books were opened at Antwerp (on the 11th of August) the success being such as amazed all Europe, for next day before noon the capital was all subscribed for; and by the end of

August their actions were at fifteen per cent. above par. The same prosperity attended their affairs in the Indies; factories were settled with wonderful facility in the most advantageous places; their business was conducted by men of the greatest prudence and experience, being chiefly such as had formerly given proofs of their abilities and behaviour in the service of the English and Dutch East-India companies; trade was carried on in those parts with infinite emolument, and every thing was settled with so much sagacity, and on so solid a foundation, as to put their affairs into a condition of withstanding all the attempts of those who suffered from their good fortune.

The other powers of Europe, who were apprehensive of this company, entertaining no longer any hopes of being able to suppress them by any attempts against them in the Indies, without proceeding to open hostilities, had recourse to other methods. The Dutch company were the first to remonstrate on this occasion, as they were in a particular manner interested in the opposing of a company, whose interests were so opposite to their own, and who must bring their merchandize to the same markets as they did. Therefore, without loss of time, they caused two several memorials to be presented to the States General, in which they did not hesitate to say, that the establishment of the East-India company of Ostend was directly contradictory to the express tenor of treaties actually subsisting, and that so direct a violation of all public faith gave them
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a just title to demand of the States General, that they should be permitted to do themselves that justice by arms, which all other methods had been unable to procure them. The government of the United Provinces were unwilling to break entirely with the court of Vienna, and were therefore desirous that all other means of accommodating their differences should be attempted before they made use of the last resource; for these reasons they continued in conjunction with the court of Great Britain to solicit the court of Vienna to révoke the powers lately granted to the merchants of the Imperial Low Countries, or, at least, to give orders that they should be suspended for a time limited. In the mean time nothing was neglected in Holland to discourage it, and laws were enacted, discharging and prohibiting, under severe penalties, the inhabitants of the Dutch provinces from having any concern in promoting the East-India company of Ostend, or from entering into their service. The Dutch company on their side were not remiss in their endeavours to annoy their rivals in that quarter of the world where their power is seated. Tho' they refrained from actual hostilities, yet by means of that unbounded power and influence they possess in those parts, they found means to create abundance of trouble to the Flemish company, and in a particular manner by cramping their commerce, and rendering it uncertain and precarious. The English seconded them with all their power, and the Flemish company had fallen a victim to the jealousy of her neigh-

bours, had not the foreigners employed in her service, whose ruin was involved in that of their masters, redoubled their industry, and used all their endeavours to preserve an establishment which was become their last and only resource.

These were not the only enemies the company of Ostend had to oppose. The court of France, whose jealousy was equally alarmed with the English and Dutch by an establishment so apparently prejudicial to their own East-India trade, published a declaration (August 16, 1723) forbidding all the subjects of that crown from being in any way whatsoever concerned in subscribing for the capital of the Ostend company; the contraveeners or offenders to pay a fine of three thousand livres for each offence, with confiscation of the monies subscribed for on account of that capital; and, in case of a second misdemeanour, to forfeit the same sum, with the same confiscation of the monies subscribed for, and the offender to suffer three years banishment: and that if it should so happen that the effects or stock of the subjects so offending should not be to be come at, so as to become liable to such confiscation, then, and in that case, their goods and hereditaments in France should become responsible for the like forfeitures and confiscations, until the sums so subscribed for were raised and levied, and all this in a short and summary manner, viz. by the arret or ordonnance of 1670. By the same declaration, all mariners, manufacturers, tradesmen, and in general all the subjects of France, were strictly prohibited from entering into the service
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of the said East-India company of Ostend in any manner or quality whatsoever, on pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of all their effects; and lastly, all persons of whatsoever rank, quality, or condition, were forbid to invite or enlist, or otherwise to seduce into the service of the said company any of the subjects of the most christian king in quality of officers, soldiers, seamen, or in any other quality or manner; as also to sell, buy, lend, or equip, any ship or vessel, for the use or service of the said company, on pain of being set on the pillory, for the first offence, and for the second of being condemned to the gallies, besides confiscation of all ships or vessels thus bought or sold, and a fine of three thousand livres each, for both buyer and seller.

One would imagine the company of Ostend had already too many enemies to withstand, and that fewer or weaker opponents were sufficient to procure her ruin. But these were not all. The crown of Spain believed themselves also injured by this establishment, and they presented by the ministers of the Spanish nation a memorial to the king of Great Britain (April 26, 1724) wherein they represented the injustice and unlawfulness of this new company, which was so diametrically opposite to the letter and tenor of the treaty of Munster, by which the Spaniards engaged not to disturb the navigation of the Dutch to their colonies or settlements in the East-Indies, these on the other hand engaging not to molest the navigation of the Spaniards. By virtue of these engagements, the subjects of the crown of Spain in

the Low Countries were restrained from trading to the East-Indies, and those provinces had been yielded to the elector of Bavaria under the same restrictions. They had also been transferred into the power of the house of Austria, with this express condition, that the Spanish Low Countries should remain under the same restraint and limitations under their dominion, as formerly under that of Spain. France and the republic of Holland had also both of them engaged for the observation of the same restrictive clause. The establishment of this company, even if legal, was equally detrimental to Spain and to the United Provinces, in contradiction to the tenor of so many treaties and alliances, whose only end and design was to establish and secure the general tranquillity of Europe. Finally they represented, that this company was in its own nature contrary to the known interests of all the parties concerned in those treaties, the emperor only excepted, and subversive of the interests of themselves in particular (the Spaniards) the principal contractors. These were the sentiments of the Spanish monarchy at that time. Soon after the Spaniards began to see things with other eyes. In order to explain this revolution, which occasioned a general change in the councils of Europe, it is necessary to recollect the transactions which then fell out in Europe. There happened at this time a most extraordinary reconciliation between those two princes, whom all their friends and allies on both sides could never with all their influence prevail with to endure one another.

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This sudden agreement proved to the detriment of all who had either obliged them by their endeavours for their particular interests, or who had interested themselves as mediators in their reconciliation. France in particular had strove for the space of twenty-five years together to put Philip the Vth in possession of the crown of Spain and of the Indies, in contradiction to the pretensions of the house of Austria, in whose cause almost all the other powers of Europe were engaged. In the very time that a congress was sitting in Flanders, in order to effectuate the reconciliation of Charles the VIth, the emperor and head of the Austrian family, with Philip, they of themselves entered into an alliance (at Vienna in May 1725) and at the same time concluded a treaty of commerce, in which Philip sacrificed the interests of that nation to whom he owed his diadem, as did the emperor those of all his allies, to whom he lay under infinite obligations. One of the chief intentions of this treaty was the establishment of the Ostend company, notwithstanding it was so directly contrary to the interest of Philip, even by his own representation laid before the king of Great Britain but the year before. By this treaty the company of Ostend appeared to be beyond the power of their enemies, and a general war was the only apparent resource the maritime powers had now left them, an expedient they had the utmost aversion to, since it must occasion the total ruin of the Austrian family, the only bulwark against the growing power of France, and which they themselves had erected at the expence
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of an ocean of bloodshed, and an infinity of treasure. On the other hand, they beheld with extreme affliction, the emperor employing that power which he owed to their benevolence only, against his benefactors.

The Dutch company in particular were so much alarmed at the advantages which their Flemish rivals must reap from the late treaty, that they caused another memorial conceived in the strongest terms to be presented to the States General, in which they set forth, that having observed a gradual decline in their commerce, from the time that a new company had been erected in the Spanish Low Countries, which provinces have since fallen to the house of Austria, for carrying on a trade to the East-Indies, in consequence whereof the directors have at different times caused several memorials to be presented to their High Mightinesses, shewing that by the treaties now actually in force, the inhabitants of the said Austrian Netherlands have no manner of right or title to this navigation and commerce; that as this title is what they never could make claim of under the dominion of the crown of Spain, it follows of consequence that they can form no sort of pretensions to that traffic, by virtue of the said treaties, or those concluded with his Imperial majesty, or his predecessor Leopold of glorious memory; those especially, because the chief intention and view of the said treaties and negociations was, that in the countries and dominions which his Imperial majesty might acquire by virtue of his alliance with the crown of Great Britain, and with this State, nothing should

should ever be attempted, which might affect the interests of either of these two nations, other than in case said countries had remained subject to the crown of Spain. It had therefore been stipulated with great wisdom by the Barrier treaty, that the possession of the Spanish Netherlands should remain to his Imperial and Catholic majesty, in such manner as his predecessors kings of Spain had formerly possessed them, and that what regarded commerce should subsist upon the foundation established by the treaty of Munster. That the directors had flattered themselves that the justice of his Imperial majesty in forbearing to carry on that commerce contrary to treaty, and to their prejudice, would have prevented all cause of complaint; they have notwithstanding been compelled by fresh injuries to trouble their High Mightinesses by new memorials.

They have with great affliction seen the illegal and unwarrantable private navigation set on foot at Ostend some years since, now erected into a formal company and body incorporate, and authorized by an ample patent to carry on a trade to and from the East-Indies; they have also observed that no means requisite to the improvement and preservation of this company by engagements with other powers, have been omitted, to the certain prejudice of those privileges which the East-India company of the United Provinces have justly obtained, as evidently appears to the said memorialists from the treaty of commerce lately concluded between his Imperial majesty and the king of Spain, the

first and third articles whereof expressly bear, " That the ships of war and merchantmen belonging to their said majesties, or to their subjects, shall be freely admitted to all the ports, coasts, countries, and provinces on either side, without previously demanding any permission, which liberty does also in special manner extend to their respective settlements in the East-Indies, where they are entitled to demand every thing necessary for navigation, with this only restriction in regard to the East-Indies, that neither side shall be permitted to carry on any manner of traffic in the dominions of the other, and that, in those parts especially, the men of war shall so behave themselves, as not to give to the Spaniards any cause of fear or suspicion whatsoever." Moreover it is expressly said, in the thirty-sixth article of the said treaty, " That the subjects and ships of his Imperial and Catholic majesty, shall be allowed to import into, and vend in all the dominions of the crown of Spain, all sorts of fruits, and all manner of effects and merchandizes brought by them from the East-Indies, provided it shall appear from the affidavits of the deputies of the East-India company of the Austrian Netherlands, that the same did actually come from the conquered places, colonies, or factories of the said company; in which case they are to enjoy the same privileges granted to the subjects of the United Provinces by the treaty of Munster in 1648, both with respect to the Indies, and any other matter applicable to the said treaty, and which shall not be contrary to it, any more than to the present engagement." Which
privileges

privileges are further extended by the seventh or last article of the said treaty, "To all that the government of Great Britain has stipulated in their favour by virtue of the treaties of 1667, 1670, 1713, and last of all by a certain treaty and convention, the date whereof is not mentioned, for as much as it may be applicable to the subjects of his Imperial majesty: and moreover to whatsoever has been granted to the subjects of the States General of the United Provinces, not only by the treaties of 1648, but also by the treaty of Marine in 1650, and the treaty of peace of 1714." With this addition, "That all these treaties shall serve as a rule in doubtful cases, or in such cases as are omitted, or not plainly expressed in the present treaties between their said majesties.

From these doubtful cases which are passed by in silence, it may be pretended and concluded in the first place, that his Catholic majesty has intended to grant to the subjects of his Imperial majesty, free access to all the countries, sea-ports, and places of his dominions, since neither in that article, nor in any other part of the treaty, any exclusion or restrictive clauses are to be found, such as are inserted in all other treaties of that nature whatsoever. Such as,

That this is only to be understood of those countries and places which the king possesses in Europe, or where other nations have always enjoyed a free and unrestrained commerce, as appears from the fourth article of the treaty of truce, concluded between this State and the crown of Spain, in which are these words,
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“ Which the said lord the king understands to be restrained and limited to the kingdoms, countries, dominions, and lordships, which he holds and possesses in Europe, and other places and ports where the subjects of the kings and princes his allies do trade.” Moreover in the fifth article of the treaty of Munster it is said, “ That the directors and commissioners of the East and West-India companies, shall have free access and commerce in all the countries within the king’s dominions in Europe, but all the subjects of the States are not to frequent the places in the East-Indies belonging to the kingdom of Castile.” And lastly, by the thirty-fourth article of the treaty concluded at Utrecht in 1714, between his present Catholic majesty and this State, wherein it is expressly said, “ Tho’ it be mentioned in several of the foregoing articles, that the subjects on either side may freely come to frequent, stay, sail to, and trade in the countries, lands, cities, ports, places and rivers, belonging to the abovesaid contracting parties; yet it is to be understood, that the said subjects are only allowed that liberty in their reciprocal dominions in Europe, since it is expressly agreed, that as to the Spanish West-Indies, it shall not be allowed to sail to, or trade there, but pursuant to the thirty-first article of the said treaty.” On the other hand, the same unlimited terms are again to be met with in the thirty-sixth article of the abovementioned treaty between their said majesties, wherein it is stipulated, “ That the subjects of his Imperial majesty shall be allowed to import into all the countries and dominions be-
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longing to the king of Spain, without distinction, all manner of effects, fruits, and merchandizes, from their colonies and conquered places in the East-Indies, provided they have the necessary affidavits as required by the said article ; in which case they shall enjoy all the privileges granted to the subjects of this State by the king of Spain's letters patent in 1663.

Notwithstanding that the directors of the East-India company are absolutely ignorant of any other privilege, but that by which they are permitted to import the produce and merchandizes of the Indies, into the dominions of the king of Spain lying in Europe, or into such places to which all other nations are permitted to carry on a free trade, and even that by certain letters patent, signed by the said king of Spain in the year 1663, it was enjoined, that at the entering of such produce and merchandizes into such of his majesty's dominions, where the importation thereof has always been allowed, affidavits should be produced to make it appear that they are brought from the countries, colonies, and conquered places belonging to our East-India company, to the end they might be distinguished from the merchandizes brought from the Portugueze Indies, Spain being then at war with that nation ; yet their High Mightinesses minister, then residing at Madrid, strenuously opposed it, in the name of this State, and having represented to his Catholic Majesty the impossibility of complying with this demand, it was dropped in all appearance, since they never heard that such affidavits have since been required

quired in Spain, for such produces and merchandizes as were brought from the East-Indies.

But as these things have in all appearance been explained according to ancient practice, or otherwise that they might at least be capable of being so explained from former treaties, the directors do only mention them to shew, that they are absolutely at a loss to conceive the implicit sense and intention of these articles, at least that it is not equally clear as what is determined by the above-mentioned article, wherein the said access and resort to all his Catholic majesty's ports and places is positively and expressly extended to the East-Indies: a particular which the directors cannot conceive to have been granted in such manner to any nation whatsoever, and a privilege expressly forbid to the subjects of this State, as is evident from the fifth article of the treaty of Munster so often cited, wherein it is declared, "That the subjects of this State shall forbear to frequent the Castilian places in the East-Indies." That this has been invariably observed by the Spaniards ever since, is evident from a particular case which the directors had the honour to lay before their High Mightinesses, in their memorial of the year 1720, setting forth, "That in the year 1687, a ship belonging to the East-India company of the United Provinces, having on board two friars who had been shipwreck'd on the coast of China, and having at their earnest request carried them to the Philippine islands, the captain of that ship only demanded, on this occasion, a small provision of water, which had run short, by reason of his having come so far

out of the way; but so far from granting him this or any other favour, he was instantly ordered to retire."

Hence it is manifest how far it was from being the intention of the king of Spain, that his sea-ports and places in the East-Indies, which extended no farther than the Philippine islands, otherwise called Manillas, should serve for staples or places of refreshment to the East-India ships of this State, as very well knowing what the consequence might be. But the directors think they have a more particular reason to complain of the said thirty-six articles, seeing that thereby the king of Spain grants to the subjects of his Imperial and Catholic majesty, not only whatever has been granted to the inhabitants of this State, but moreover whatsoever has been yielded to them by the treaty of Munster, both in what regards the Indies and otherwise, which they apprehend to be a direct violation of the fifth article of the said treaty of Munster, by which it is stipulated, "that the Spaniards shall continue to navigate within the same limits as at the time of that treaty, without extending them any farther in the East-Indies." As on the other hand, it was stipulated by the treaty of Utrecht in 1714, between his Spanish majesty and this State, "that the navigation and trade in the East and West-Indies, belonging to the lords the States General, shall be carried on in the same manner as had hitherto been practised." Which evidently proves, that no change, with respect to this navigation, ought to have been made on either side, whether

by their own subjects, or those of any other power, not comprehended in the fifth article of the treaty of Munster, seeing the tenth article of the treaty of Munster says moreover, " that the privileges and prerogatives relating to the navigation and commerce of the East-Indies, expressed in the fifth article of the treaty of Munster, shall only concern the two chief contracting powers, that is to say, the crown of Spain and this State, and no others whatsoever."

So that the true meaning and intention of these words are manifest from the report of the plenipotentiaries at the congress of Utrecht, inserted in the verbal, and the notules, or in the resolutions of their High Mightinesses of the fourth of January of the year 1714, in the same terms : " First, upon the fifth and sixth articles of the treaty of Munster, which the said plenipotentiaries looked upon as meriting some remarks, as being applicable to others, adding, that the States and their inhabitants ought indeed to enjoy all the advantages stipulated by this treaty, but that the other nations, and in particular the Hans towns, shall not partake of the same." A convincing proof that the exclusion or non-admittance of other nations, from enjoying what has been agreed upon by the fifth article about the navigation and trade of the East-Indies, was the only true aim of that treaty, which having been thus inserted at the request and instances of the Spanish plenipotentiaries, and agreed to by both parties, it is not allowed to either of these two powers to transfer this right by treaty, or to make

make another nation partake thereof without the consent and concurrence of the other powers comprehended in the said convention. Besides, that after the king of Spain had once yielded in favour of the inhabitants of this State, that part of the Indies which the privileged East-India company possesses, with promise that the Spaniards should not extend themselves on that side, he has no right to make over a second time to other nations, what his majesty had formerly desisted from by so solemn a treaty, and which he has always left to the privileged East-India company of this State, or to such who having been formerly his majesty's subjects, are also comprehended in the article of exclusion. Neither is he entitled to tolerate publickly, that the districts yielded, and which have been peaceably enjoyed without any let from the Spanish subjects, but frequented by men of war and merchant ships, that forts, colonies, and factories for trade be set up there, and generally to do every thing that could be done, had there been no treaty, to the great prejudice and impairing, if not entire extinction of the prerogatives of this State, formerly stipulated and obtained.

And forasmuch as the directors of the East-India company in this country, are more and more confirmed in what they did long ago foresee; that in case the company of the East and West-Indies, erected in the Austrian Low Countries, do thus carry on their navigation and trade within the limits of the grant of trade to the East-India company of this country, and so di-

sturb their commerce every where in the Indies, the consequences of this affair will daily grow more important; and seeing besides, that this navigation and commerce, with the grant relating thereto, is now of late confirmed on the part of the king of Spain by an important treaty, and highly prejudicial to the commerce of the East-India company of this country; and that in some respects the Austrian company is favoured more than the inhabitants of this State, they could not forbear representing at this juncture their grievances, most humbly beseeching their High Mightinesses to take them into their serious consideration, and that they would be pleased, according to the importance of this affair, to use the most effectual means, as well at the court of Vienna, as at that of Madrid, and elsewhere where it might be of service, to have the said grievances redressed, and that navigation entirely put down, hoping withal that it will not be taken amiss, that, seeing they cannot acquiesce to the new grant and treaty, they stick close to the ancient treaty, and apply the same as a rule, not only in cases that are doubtful, or omitted, but also in all other cases whatsoever.

In this manner did the memorialists set forth in terms the most expressive possible, these particulars of the treaty of commerce concluded at Vienna, which the maritime powers complained of as prejudicial to their interests, as also the grounds they had to look for redress. The States General were so fully sensible of the evil tendency of this treaty to their own East-India company

company, as well as to those of other nations for whose interest their zeal could be nothing more than pretext, that they determined to use all their influence at the courts of Vienna and Madrid, in order to have it dissolved. The courts of London and Paris, equally interested in behalf of their own companies, seconded their application with infinite importunity: and that the emperor and king of Spain might see they were not to be amused with tedious negotiations, and much less damped by big words, they resolved to try some more cogent-expedient. The present dispositions of the king of Prussia furnished them the opportunity they desired. This prince saw with uneasiness the exorbitant and, as he apprehended, anticonstitutional power of the emperor in Germany, whereof he dreaded the consequences to the independency of the other princes of Germany as well as himself. He therefore wished above all things to bridle the power of that house, which was now effected by a treaty concluded at Hanover in September 1725 with the courts of France and England, and to which the States General were invited to accede. By virtue of this treaty, the contracting powers, without any mention or seeming to take notice of the company of Ostend, engage, not only to guaranty the dominions, countries, and cities of each other, as well in Europe as in other parts, but also all manner their rights, privileges, and advantages, particularly those relating to trade, with which last the privileges of that company were generally thought to be altogether inconsistent.

This alliance was no sooner consummated, than it was imparted to the States General at the Hague, and they were at the same time solicited to come into it, as the only effectual means to bring about what they were above all others interested to procure, that is to say, the abolition of the company of Ostend. The reasons were abundantly evident, as it was impossible to conceive that the Dutch alone should be able to bring the emperor and the king of Spain to break an establishment, from which the first especially expected so many advantages, in their favours. And that chiefly as that company was settled on a foundation so solid as must have enabled it in a few years to support itself against any power whatsoever. And indeed never did any company run into such an extensive traffic, as this of the Austrian Low Countries, for the time in which it subsisted.

The Dutch, however they might relish an alliance, which flattered them with so high an advantage, did not immediately accede to it, preferring the former method of negotiation, which was the more likely to take place on account of the late proceedings at Hanover. Possibly they choosed rather to owe their success to their own application, than to the interest and influence of foreign powers. However it was, Mr. Vander Meer their ambassador at the court of Madrid was ordered to lay before them, the injustice done to the East-India company of the Seven United Provinces, by the late treaty with the emperor. His arguments, which contained the grounds of
jealousy

jealousy and dissatisfaction given to Great Britain, as well as their own grievances, and which were probably adduced to give weight to his remonstrances, were as follows.

Since the union and mutual good understanding of nations and potentates do absolutely and entirely depend upon treaties, it therefore follows, that each party should not only preserve those solemn engagements inviolate, and forbear from the open infraction of them, but also particularly to take care that their ministers be cautioned against having recourse to prevarications or subterfuges in order to wrest their tenour and articles from their natural and original sense, such as was intended at the time when those mutual engagements and conventions have been made. In these sentiments, and with this desire to maintain the public faith, their High Mightinesses have always in the most religious manner observed and executed their engagements, without violating in the least point or article what they had thus solemnly stipulated; making it moreover a constant and invariable maxim, not only to redress any abuse but also upon complaint or demand made, to cause satisfaction to be made, and exemplary and condign punishment to be done upon such of their subjects as have in any wise presumed to deviate from the literal observation of their orders. And so far have their High Mightinesses, the States General of the United Provinces been from entering into any engagements whatsoever to the prejudice of their allies, as your majesty well knows from the indisputable marks of their perfect attach-

ment to all your interests, that on the contrary, they have always and in general refused to enter into such treaties, whatever solicitations might have been used towards them, or however great the advantages they might hope to derive from them might possibly be, whereof their late denial to accede to the quadruple alliance is an incontestable proof.

After so many real and singular regards, my masters did flatter themselves with the hopes of finding in the person of your majesty, not only the friendship and fidelity of an ally, but also a certain protection against all who should attempt any thing contrary to their interests. Nevertheless, they have the mortification to find that your majesty, so far from supporting and espousing the interests and just and undoubted rights of their High Mightinesses, in relation to their trade and commerce to the Indies, has on the contrary become the protector and guarantee of a company, whose commerce cannot subsist without the entire ruin and subversion of that of the subjects and people of their High Mightinesses. Though notwithstanding the insinuations and evasions of your majesty's ministers, in pretending that nothing has been granted to his Imperial majesty but what is in conformity to all the ancient treaties, yet it is certain and perfectly easy to be demonstrated, that this reasoning is the consequence of a violent and strained construction, and in contradiction to the genuine and simple sense of their articles. For if they are taken in the literal sense, or according to their
true

true intention at the time of their being penned, there is no person so blind as not to discern the immense distance there is between this treaty of commerce, and the aim and intention of those, who after so many cruel wars, and so much blood shed for the preservation of the just rights of the Republic, with respect to their navigation and commerce in general, and in especial manner with respect to that of the Indies, did at length settle all by the treaties of Munster and of Utrecht.

I come, Sire, to these demonstrations. By the second and third articles of the treaty of Vienna, all men of war, or merchant ships, belonging to his Imperial majesty, or to his subjects, are permitted to enter all places, and ports of the dominions of Spain, those of East-India included, there to take in refreshments, provisions, and generally whatever they may want for continuing their voyage, with this sole restriction, that they shall not trade nor traffic there. In the thirty-sixth article of the same treaty, it is said, that the subjects of his Imperial majesty may import and vend in the territories and dominions of Spain, all goods, merchandizes, and products, which they shall bring from the East-Indies, provided they shall produce a certificate from the East-India company of the Austrian Netherlands, that those merchandizes and products are of the growth of their colonies and conquests; further granting to the said subjects of his Imperial majesty, all that was yielded to the Dutch by the treaty of Munster in 1648, and afterwards
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by particular grants in 1663, and by the treaty of Utrecht in 1714.

The forty-seventh article of the said treaty of Vienna also grants to the subjects of his Imperial majesty, all the privileges and advantages obtained by the English nation in 1667, 1670, 1713, and lastly, by a certain treaty or convention, the date whereof is not specified, with this additional clause, that in such cases as might seem doubtful, or not sufficiently clear and explicit, those treaties should serve for a basis and rule. Nor is it explained, whether the permission of the subjects of his Imperial majesty to enter into the ports, places, and harbours of your majesty, be restricted solely to your majesty's dominions in Europe, or whether it is not also permitted the said subjects of his Imperial majesty to enter in manner as aforesaid, the ports and places of your majesty's dominions in the Indies, notwithstanding that this restriction is specified in the treaties made with my masters their High Mightinesses, in terms the most express imaginable.

It is therefore evident, that under this pretext, the subjects of his Imperial majesty may pretend to advantages much superior to those which any other nation does enjoy, no person whatsoever being suffered under any manner of pretext, to enter your majesty's ports and places in the Indies. And to demonstrate that this has always been put in execution with extreme rigour on the part of Spain, it may suffice to relate, what happened to one of the ships of the East-India company of the United Provinces in 1687,
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who had taken on board two monks shipwrecked on the coast of China, and having carried them to the Philippine islands at their entreaty, notwithstanding his voluntary humanity had carried him so far out of his course, was refused permission to take in a supply of water, whereof he was in extreme want, and was, by an unexampled piece of inhumanity and ingratitude in the governor, ordered instantly to retire; an evident proof that they have never been permitted by Spain, to trade to, or enter any of her ports or cities in the East-Indies. From whence it follows, that the above article granted to ships carrying the Imperial flag, is manifestly contrary to the treaty of Munster, as is also the thirty-eighth article of the said treaty of Vienna, by which (besides what has been already alledged above) your majesty gives to the subjects of his Imperial majesty, all that has been granted or yielded by the treaty of Munster to the subjects of this Republic, as well with respect to the Indies as otherwise, which is moreover directly contrary to the sixth article of the treaty of Munster, wherein it is expressly stipulated, that the Spaniards should limit their navigation to the bounds to which it extended at the time of the treaty, as well in the Indies as elsewhere, which particular was confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht, concluded in the year 1714.

These articles do therefore evidently prove, that no change ought to be made in that navigation on either side, whether by the subjects of either contracting party, or by those of any other power,

power, not comprehended in the fifth article of the treaty of Munster; and that especially because by the tenth article of the treaty of Utrecht it is declared, that the prerogatives with respect to the navigation and commerce of the East-Indies, comprehended in the above fifth article of the treaty of Munster, shall only have place in what regards the two high contracting powers, that is to say, Spain and this Republic, and their subjects, and no others. And accordingly the genuine sense and intention of these words do clearly appear from the report of the plenipotentiaries at the said congress of Utrecht inserted in the journal, which is among the acts of the negotiations, where it is said concerning the fifth and sixth articles of the treaty of Munster, that the intention of your majesty's plenipotentiaries was, that the States General of the United Provinces, and their inhabitants, ought of right to enjoy the advantages stipulated by that treaty, but that other nations, and in particular the Hans towns, ought not to enjoy them; an undoubted proof that the exclusion, or non-admission of other nations, to the enjoyment of what is settled by the fifth article with respect to the navigation and commerce to the East-Indies, was the sole aim and intention of that treaty, And seeing those stipulations were inserted at the desire of persons invested with full powers by your majesty, and were agreed to on the one part, as well as on the other; neither of the two contracting powers ought to transfer his right by a separate treaty, or to permit any other nation to share therein, without

without the consent and concurrence of the other power, who is so principally concerned in the said convention. And further, since the crown of Spain has ceded to the United Provinces, that part of the Indies which they now possess, obliging themselves at the same time not to extend their trade or navigation on that side; that nation can have no power to give away to another power, what it had alienated by so solemn a treaty in favour of the Dutch.

Can it then be possible, Sir, that your majesty's ministers should be guilty of so gross a violation of those articles, by bestowing privileges on the Austrian Netherlands, which could never have been granted had that part of the Low Countries remained still in the possession of the Spanish monarchy. Nay, when the said trade to the Indies was actually in the possession of Spain, the subjects of that crown living in their dominions in the Low Countries, were excluded as much as all others then were from the navigation to the East-Indies; for it was by the treaty of Munster, and by that alone, that the inhabitants of the United Provinces did obtain those privileges they do now enjoy, with these reciprocal conditions, that the limits of the Indies being once determined, the two parties should religiously abstain from trading or navigating within each other's boundaries.

The consequence whereof is, that the Dutch republic having engaged to refrain from navigating in the Spanish Indies at that very individual

point of time, did acquire the power and right of excluding all the subjects of Spain, and by consequence the inhabitants of the Spanish Netherlands amongst the rest, from navigating within the limits of their own dominions in the Indies. And since his Imperial majesty is confessedly allowed and known to have acquired the Spanish provinces in the Low Countries on condition his majesty should enjoy them in the same manner as the kings of Spain ; it is evident, that in right of that succession the emperor could not possibly acquire any rights which might be prejudicial to the Republic, or contrary to the treaties then actually subsisting.

Further, your majesty promises and engages in the thirty-first article of the treaty of Utrecht, not to suffer, under any pretext, and for what cause soever, any foreign nation to navigate to, or to trade in the Spanish Indies ; but that, on the contrary, every thing should remain on the same foundation as in the reign of Charles the second, agreeable to the fundamental laws of Spain, which absolutely inhibit all foreign nations from entering or trading to those Indies, in which the States General had stipulated to maintain and support your majesty against all who should have attempted the contrary. So that whether you consider the subjects of the Austrian Netherlands, as the ancient subjects of the crown of Spain, or look upon them absolutely as foreigners, nothing can justify or authorize the granting to them privileges in direct contradiction

tion to the tenor of all the treaties which subsist between your majesty and my masters the States General.

All these considerations, Sir, may be reduced to four principal points. The first is, that your majesty's permission to the subjects of his Imperial majesty to trade in the Indies, which is granted them in this treaty, is directly contrary to the intention and aim of the treaty of Munster, as well as to that of Utrecht. The second is, that the subjects of his said majesty are also suffered by the same treaty of commerce to enter into and frequent your majesty's towns and ports in the Indies, under pretext of seeking refreshments, &c. an indulgence always denied to the ships of the United Provinces, and which, for that reason, by the treaties now in force, ought not to have been granted to any other nation. In the third place, your majesty, in authorizing and protecting any East-India company in any country formerly part of your dominions, acts in direct violation of those treaties still in force, wherein your majesty engages to prohibit all nations, that of Spain only excepted, to trade to the East-Indies, and to support the Republic in all their just rights in that respect. And lastly, since it is notorious, that your majesty and their High Mightinesses, mutually and reciprocally, did engage and stipulate to assist each other, in hindering all other nations from trading in the Indies; it is therefore as certain and indisputable, that neither of the two contracting powers could have any manner of power or title to alter, or recede from those engagements,

gements, without the consent and participation of the other party concerned.

From these particulars, Sir, it is evident, that their High Mightinesses my masters, have undoubted grounds of complaint; and they are filled with astonishment to find that your majesty's ministers, without reflecting on the manifest inconsistency and opposition there is between the treaty of Vienna, and those of Munster and Utrecht, should presume to give away so many and so considerable advantages to the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands to the prejudice of their High Mightinesses, and, if I may venture to say so, Sir, in prejudice of your majesty, and of your people, who are by that treaty deprived of the advantages of their own commerce by that very company, which the Spanish nation so warmly espouses and protects. I do therefore, at the desire of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, most earnestly entreat that your majesty will be pleased seriously, and with that regard which the importance of this affair calls for, to consider and weigh the present remonstrances, and to ponder how far these violations of such solemn engagements may in time come to affect the peace and tranquillity of Europe.

Their High Mightinesses do therefore flatter themselves, and are persuaded, that your majesty will be pleased to cause the articles of the treaty of Vienna, which are contrary to those of Munster and Utrecht, to be reformed, and that your majesty will also take care, that the company of
Ostend

Ostend do not in any wise navigate to, or in the Indies, to the end that their High Mightinesses may have wherewithal to calm the minds of their people, who are alarmed at this treaty of Vienna, which they look upon as entirely subversive of the unpoubted rights and prerogatives of their commerce, at the same time loudly calling for the ratifying and strict execution of the treaties of Munster and of Utrecht."

These remonstrances were far from having the intended effect. For notwithstanding the apparent danger from this treaty to the trade of Spain, their Catholic majesties were so sanguine in their favourite project of recovering Gibraltar from Great Britain by the assistance of the emperor, that they continued deaf to all the reasons, however evident, of the Dutch minister; and what was still a greater motive, was the hopes of obtaining in marriage for Don Carlos, the queen of Spain's eldest son, the present king of the two Sicilies, the heiress of the house of Austria, the present empress queen. So that nothing seemed difficult which had the appearance of contributing to this grand design, and they were ready to comply with every demand whatever of the Imperial court, and even by their dispositions seemed ready to engage in a war with the powers concerned in the Hanover alliance. The emperor had greater cause for the inflexibility shewn on his part, as the treaty of Vienna was altogether advantageous to his interest, more especially the establishment of the

company of Ostend, in support whereof his honour and interest were equally concerned. For this cause he laboured to bring the northern crowns to support his projects, and at first with abundance of success; tho' the face of affairs was afterwards changed by measures which we are now going to enter upon.

The States General, whether it were they already began to feel the inconveniencies arising to their commerce from the new company, or that they despaired of success in the way of remonstrance, or whether it were, that they only had recourse to those means, to justify the resolutions they had already come to of acceding to the treaty of Hanover, they at last did consent to accede to it, in spite of all that the courts of Vienna and Madrid could do to prevent it; so that by this loss they saw that there was an absolute impossibility for them to prosecute their designs without coming immediately to an open rupture. The court of Spain resolving to hazard all rather than yield, began hostilities against Great Britain. But the emperor being unable to comply with his engagements in supporting a war, if necessary, and that for want of supplies of money, which Spain at that juncture was not in a condition to afford, these proceedings had but small consequences. These circumstances, and the steadiness of France in her engagements to prosecute the war with Spain, in conjunction with the maritime powers, made Spain apprehensive for the issue, and to wish seriously for a peace, upon conditions which she might
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with honour accept. The court of Vienna was very soon in the same dispositions, not only because she saw that Spain began to listen to the persuasions of her own interests, but because she wanted to elude the promises of an alliance which she never much coveted, and also because her returning to her old allies was not without it's advantages.

In this posture were things, when the preliminaries of a treaty were set on foot, one article whereof was calculated solely for removing all matter of apprehension from such establishment for the future. These preliminaries were signed and ratified at Paris on the twentieth of May, 1727, the first article whereof imported: "That his Imperial majesty, having no other views than to contribute to the public tranquillity of Europe, and finding that the commerce of the company at Ostend has given grounds of jealousy and uneasiness, consents that there shall be a suspension of the charter of the company of Ostend, and of all traffic whatsoever between the Austrian Low Countries and the Indies during the term of seven years." By the fifth article of the same preliminaries it was agreed, that the ships which sailed from Ostend, previous to this convention, the names whereof to be given in a list on the part of his Imperial majesty, should be permitted to return home in safety, or in case any of them should be taken, that they should be restored, bona fide, together with their cargoes.

Thus was this company of Ostend demolished

by this suspension, and the maritime powers obtained the end they aimed at. It is notwithstanding true, that some sales were afterwards made, and that with considerable advantage to the proprietors; they lost however the power of trading any more to the East-Indies, which was the very essence of their establishment. The emperor by consequence was prevented from engaging Europe in a general war, and from becoming from so small a beginning as the company of Ostend, a very considerable maritime power. There cannot be a stronger and more satisfying proof of the importance of the commerce of the Indies, than to see almost all the princes of Europe ready to take arms for it, tho' they had scarce recovered of the wounds they had received in the last subject of contention which had so lately set Europe in a flame. There are not wanting writers who assert, that the company of Ostend would not only, in all probability, have engrossed the whole East-India trade to that port, but might even have drawn the greatest part of all other branches of European traffic after it. The reasons they adduce for this assertion are, first of all, the Austrian Low Countries are not only more fertile than the Dutch provinces, but also infinitely better situated for trade. Then their sales of East-India commodities must have brought immense sums of ready money into those provinces, which of consequence must have revived and restored those manufactures which formerly flourished here beyond any other parts of Europe, and thus by a certain

certain consequence render them masters of the trade to Germany, and by degrees of that of the rest of the northern countries. In such circumstances what should have hindered their attempting and acquiring the fisheries, and by opening the ports of Trieste and Fiume on the Adriatic, what could have prevented their engrossing the Italian trade? If it be said, that these are no more than suppositions; let it be remembered that it was these suppositions which determined the late emperor to establish this company, in spite of all those difficulties that lay in the way of that undertaking. And what was it besides these very suppositions, which caused the Dutch to struggle so hard against that establishment? or would they ever have made such efforts against a thing which they believed chimerical or impracticable? All which taken together, form an argument (say they) not to be overthrown, that the trade of the East-Indies is in itself the basis of all commerce and maritime power, to such nations at least as know how to manage it, and have the power to manage it as they would, which was the point to be proved. It may seem strange, that the emperor, or rather his subjects in the Netherlands, should be able in so short a space of time, and with no better port than that of Ostend, to carry on at once such an extensive and lucrative commerce to the Indies, as alarmed and astonished the maritime powers, above what France could do in a much longer time, and with the utmost advantages which the power of that opulent nation, under the direction

of the ablest ministers, could possibly give. But the wonder will cease when we consider, that the Austrian Low Countries are better situated for trade, and the people not only inclined to traffic, but also sober, frugal, and industrious, their country rich and fertile, their towns great and populous, many of them still have what all of them once enjoyed, that is, noble and flourishing manufactories; and tho' the Flemings had lost much of their ancient freedom, as well as commerce, they did still retain more of it than the French. It is easy to imagine, that trade might easily be revived in a country with so many natural advantages, and which for ages together had been the center of all the traffic of Europe.

The contentions of the several powers of Europe about the existence of the company of Ostend, caused people to pry into the nature of this trade, which so many nations looked upon as the source of wealth, commerce, and naval power. So many advantages made other potentates desirous of settling an India commerce in their dominions, which the downfall of the Ostend company did not at all abate. On the contrary, the surprizing progress which had attended the first successes of that body, was a strong inducement to set about so useful an undertaking; and there were numbers of persons proper for putting such a project into execution that had been formed in the service of the Flemish company. Besides, the treaties subsisting between those powers, who had established or opposed the company of
Ostend,

Ostend, did not extend to other princes, who had for that reason less cause to apprehend the same inconveniencies. Such were the considerations which moved the Danes and Swedes to set up those establishments, which form the subject of the ensuing sections.

C H A P. IV.

The history of the East-India company of Denmark.

THE Danes have always been famous for their power at sea, witness their descents in Naples, in France, and in England, under the appellation of Normans. Since the time of those naval armaments, which were rather intended for foreign conquests than for establishing trade, they have ever preserved the same maritime spirit, and have made frequent attempts towards discoveries in the northern parts of the world, to establish colonies, and carry on fisheries, with a view of extending their commerce, the success whereof seems to have been retarded more by the form of their constitution, than by any want of a mercantile disposition in the people, or want of capacity in those who were the contrivers of these salutary schemes. And they have still retained so much of what they could not altogether engross, as will enable them to make as considerable a figure in mercantile affairs, as their ancestors did by their military virtues, should an opportunity arise from a happy change of their constitution, or from other causes.

The first attempt of the Danish nation towards an East-India trade, was very early in the last century, when a company was formed for that effect, under the protection of king Christiern the fourth of that name. This establishment was projected and fixed at Copenhagen about the year 1612. The capital consisted of two hundred and fifty actions or shares, each whereof was of the value of one thousand rixdollars. About four years after the company was formed, four ships were equipped, and set sail for the Indies. This first debarkment had met with so much success, that they established themselves on the coast of Coromandel, nigh to the French settlement at Pondicherry. This Danish factory, which is called Tranquebar, stands fifteen miles north of Negapatan, and is a place of considerable traffic. The Danes have here a regular fort, of such strength as to be deemed one of the most impregnable places in all the Indies. The walls of it are faced with stone, and it is also surrounded with a ditch of great depth and wideness. The town, which is two miles in circumference, is also enclosed within a strong wall faced with stone, and flanked with bastions of a great size and at proper distances, which are well provided with cannon. The houses of the Danes, and other Europeans, are abundantly commodious, tho' all on one floor, and are built of brick or stone; those of the native Indians on the contrary are very poor cottages, with walls of clay, and thatched roofs, as are the houses in most towns all over India. The streets are strait and wide,
and

and at the sides next the buildings they are paved with brick. The garrison is by no means proportionable to so large a place, consisting of no more than one hundred and fifty Europeans, or thereabouts, and some Indians, on whom they can never rely, except only against such troops as their own countrymen. As the Danes have long been settled on this spot, they have by the mildness of their government, and the prudence of those they employ, drawn together a considerable number of Indians, who relish the sweets of the liberty they enjoy under so gentle an administration; and what attaches them still more than all other methods to their Danish masters, is the converting them to the Lutheran religion, a work in which they have had extraordinary success. Many of these converts have enriched themselves in Tranquebar, so that this colony, which has for some time been very considerable, grows still more so every day, insomuch as to be able to support itself in this flourishing condition, and, at the same time, to pay ten thousand rix-dollars, by way of yearly tribute, to the Danish company.

The commerce of the Danes has been differently affected at different periods by the various revolutions that happened in the affairs of those Indian states with whom they have had connections, as also by those accidents which have befallen their establishment in Europe. The most flourishing period of the Danish commerce to the East-Indies seems to have been in the time of the civil wars of England, that is to say,
about

about twenty-four years after their first establishment, at which time it was by a certain writer compared to ours, and then possibly with a great deal of justice, our East-India company being then involved in great difficulties, as we took notice in it's place. Notwithstanding, this commerce of Denmark was at that time rather profitable to the persons employed in the service, such as the governor of Tranquebar and the principal merchants, than to the public, the company seldom sending out supplies, and as seldom receiving cargoes of India commodities, so that their India establishment subsisted almost entirely by their commerce in Asia, and particularly in the Chinese empire, to which they traded with considerable advantage.

The Danes in India have been embroiled with the neighbouring states from the very birth of their settlement; and they generally had no better an understanding with the other European factories, who envied an establishment, which at the same time they affected to despise. And indeed the situation of the Danish fortrefs might seem sufficient to shelter them from contempt, as it might prove of much greater consequence in other hands, and with respect to it's situation for the diamond trade, it yields to none of the European factories whatsoever, if it is not preferable to all of them in respect of that precious commodity. The principal and most interesting war which this company has ever been engaged in, broke out in the close of the last century, which not only endangered their establishment, but
also

also plunged them into debt, and brought their affairs into the most calamitous condition they had ever been in heretofore. The ground of this rupture was as follows.

The Dutch, a nation devoted to commerce, which they strive by any means to engross to their nation, sought means to destroy this infant colony. Wherefore they used all their interest with the rajah of Tanjour, an Indian prince on the frontiers of whose territories the Danish settlement lay, to destroy and root them out, promising them a tun of gold for the fortress, how soon they should be put in possession of it. The Indian prince agreed to their proposal, and undertook the business. He was esteemed not only a man of great personal intrepidity, but also a good officer, who knew how to profit of every advantage. He accordingly set about it with a great deal of prudence, and with a power equal to the undertaking. His plan being settled, he collected the whole force of his dominions, and invested Tranquebar without delay. As there was no cause to endanger the lives of his people, he opened the trenches above a mile from the place, and the siege was carried on by two several attacks. The earth, which was of a dry sand, was not over favourable to their approaches. This inconvenience was remedied by supporting the earth whereof the trenches were composed, with cocoa-trees driven into the ground, both on the inside and outside of the works, and the space between was filled up with the soil, so that the trenches, which looked like the wall of some strong

strong city both for height and thickness, sheltered them excellently from the fire of the besieged. Their works were now in the space of five months brought within pistol shot of the place, having employed incredible labour and patience, and besides thirty thousand men, in that business. They had also almost entirely ruined one of the bastions with their cannon, and the Danes, who expected a general assault from the besiegers, were already preparing to move their effects into the citadel, and to abandon the town. The garrison consisted of no more than two hundred Europeans, an equal number of Indian Portuguese, and about a thousand blacks, a very inconsiderable number for the defence of a place which was above a mile and a half in circumference, without reckoning the fortress. Thus they were in no condition to annoy the besiegers much in their approaches, wherefore they contented themselves with plying their artillery and small arms to prevent the enemy from scaling the walls, and in planting the tops of the ramparts with pallisadoes.

Things were in this posture, and the Danes had but small hopes of defending themselves, when the succours sent by the humanity of Mr. Pit the English governor of Fort St. George came to their relief. This unexpected assistance revived their drooping spirits, and two days afterwards a sally was made. Early in the morning, about sunrise, a detachment of blacks marched from a bastion, supported by a body of English. The first, as soon as they were out at the gates,
opened

opened to the right and left for the English, who were to assault the works. At the same time a body of the besiegers marched from the trenches to oppose them, advancing in good order, and determined to engage sword in hand, in the plain which lay between the walls of the place and the besiegers works. They were all armed with broad swords and shields, and clothed in white vests and turbans, so as to make at the same time a gallant and dreadful appearance; nor did they discharge one arrow or fire a single piece all the time they kept moving on. The English officers could not help being in pain for the event, at seeing so much good order and conduct in an enemy from whom they expected so little of either, especially when they reflected that their own troops were generally new levies, and besides intermixed with Portugueze on whom they had very little reliance. They were already pretty near, when the artillery began to play from the walls. The execution it had, put the Indian troops immediately into confusion, and they fled to their trenches, and the English pursuing them drove likewise from their works, so that if the intolerable heat of the day had not obliged them to retire without compleating the advantages they had acquired, they might have ruined all the works which the Indian army had been raising with incredible labour in so long a time. But as this success was more than they had looked for, they had made no preparations for such an enterprize as the razing the trenches, and so both parties retired, the English to the place, and the
Indians

Indians to their trenches, without any considerable loss on either side.

A few days after a general sally was resolved upon, in consequence whereof the greatest part of the garrison marched out through the great gate, which faced the enemy's principal attack, the blacks retiring as usual under the walls, to make room for the Europeans. The enemy drew up a considerable body of musqueteers and pikemen, on that space that stood betwen the two attacks, at the same time keeping a constant fire from their trenches. The English marched against the body that was drawn up in the open field. Tho' they lost their commander in their first advances, they still kept on towards the enemy, and drove them from their post, but thro' too much eagerness, and expecting to have been supported by the Danes, they pursued their victory so far, that they were intercepted by a body of Moorish cavalry. The English finding their retreat cut off by way of the plain, threw themselves into the trenches, driving the enemy quite to that end of them, which was nearest to the town, where they were again intercepted by the Moorish horse. These they repulsed a second time, by a general fire which did prodigious execution, and thus gallantly fighting, they opened themselves a passage to the town thro' so many obstacles and dangers, and with the loss of one half their number killed or wounded in this bold enterprize. One soldier received no fewer than fourteen wounds in this action, and was brought alive to Tranquebar, where he afterwards recovered.

covered, And thus the Danish company owed the preservation of their chief settlement in India to the humanity and courage of the natives of Great Britain: for the rajah of Tanjour became soon afterwards weary of the siege of a city which he saw defended by such uncommon valour, and finding that the war had no other consequences, besides the loss of his subjects, retired into his own country, leaving the Danes in full possession of their traffic as before.

The Danish company have ever since enjoyed the advantages of their Indian commerce without let or molestation. Besides Tranquebar, and the fortress of Danebourg, a regular citadel with four strong bastions, they have also a small territory which depends on the former, and whereof the inhabitants are their subjects. These consist of Moors and Indians, whose children are educated in a public school endowed for that purpose, where the sciences and all other parts of useful learning are taught them. The Danish missionaries also employ themselves in preaching to the natives in the Malabar tongue, which they are perfect masters of, and that with sufficient success, making many converts to christianity. The Danes have formerly built very good ships here, which they employ partly in their own commerce and partly let out on freight, and this was one considerable advantage to their colony. Their neighbours of the other European settlements in the Indies have insinuated a particular of the most shocking nature imaginable, and that is, that they had given leave to their ships to
cruise,

cruise upon christians and pagans indiscriminately, an accusation of so black a nature, as must incline every candid person to suspect the truth of it, without the most convincing and undeniable proofs. And more especially as it is certain, that those who have given rise to this report, were interested in it's being believed. In short, they have all along received extremely gross ill usage from all the other European factories, so that their being in debt is no longer a miracle, we ought rather to wonder how so small a colony have been able to preserve and maintain themselves against so many enemies, on every quarter.

It is now time to return to the proceedings in Denmark with respect to this company. Joshua Van Asperen, a merchant of the Low Countries, who had been concerned in the Flemish East-India company, seeing that society at an end, as has been already related, set out for Copenhagen in hopes of engaging Frederick the fourth, king of Denmark, a prince of extraordinary virtues, in his schemes, which was to augment the capital of the East-India company of that nation, and for that purpose to open a new subscription. He represented to the king, that almost universal eagerness amongst all nations to acquire a share in the East-India trade, that it was an easy matter to engage the most expert persons in that service, so many having been reduced by the fall of the company of Ostend, the causes whereof were peculiar to those provinces, and could not particularly affect Denmark in the remotest manner,

ner, which had already been in possession of an East-India trade for more than a century; the vast profits and success of the Ostend company for the time it was permitted to subsist; and lastly, he endeavoured to convince the king, that nothing was wanting to render the Indian commerce of the Danes equal to that of England, or of Holland, but the augmentation of their capital, which was what he did humbly propose to his majesty.

The king yielded to the power of so many and so flattering arguments; subscriptions were opened upon terms more advantageous than formerly, and the seat of the company transferred from Copenhagen to Altena, a town belonging to Denmark in the neighbourhood of Hamburg so famous for its universal traffic; and lastly, in order to induce foreigners to concern themselves in this undertaking, a new charter was granted the company dated in April 1728, for promoting their commerce to China, Bengal, and the Indies, the principal articles of which were as follows.

The new subscribers shall be entitled to an equal share and right with the old members, in all concessions, octroys, and privileges, granted to the said company by his present majesty, or his august predecessors; as also in all the forts, settlements, revenues, houses, magazines, ships, effects, and in general, in whatever the company stands possessed of at this present, or may acquire in time to come.

The old actions, in number two hundred and fifty, and of one thousand rixdollars each in value, shall remain as they now are, with the same rights and profits as the new.

The directors shall declare and affirm, upon their honour, that all the debts of the company do not exceed one hundred and sixty thousand rixdollars in specie.

The united company shall oblige themselves to pay and discharge the said sum of one hundred and sixty thousand rixdollars, upon condition that the old shares shall have no dividends until the year 1733.

That if the debts of the company shall appear to exceed the sum above specified, the old shares shall be answerable for the overplus, and the new subscribers shall not be in any manner engaged for the payment of such excess.

Each action, or share, in the new subscription shall be of the value of one thousand rixdollars banco, or in specie, whereof twenty per cent. shall be paid upon the account of Mr. Alexander Bruquier banker at Hamburgh, or in the manner prescribed in the project published by the company at Copenhagen, December the 16th, 1727.

Should there be occasion to make a further call in the course of the present year 1727, the same shall not exceed five, or ten per cent. at the farthest.

What remains unpaid of the subscription shall not be called for without an act of a general court of the company, for that purpose.

If the entire sum of one thousand rixdollars, that is to say, the full price of the new actions, should not be paid up within the year 1738, in that case the proprietors of the ancient actions shall be entitled to an interest of five per cent. for the sums they may have paid, over and above what has been paid by the new subscribers.

There are to be no other actions, except shares of one thousand rixdollars, and half shares of five hundred rixdollars each.

Every subscriber shall be allowed to take shares for the bearer, signed by the company, and which, if they so choose, may be also registered in the company's books:

The expence of each transfer to be two rixdollars to the company, and half a rixdollar to the poor.

The creditors of the company may take shares for their respective debts, provided they discount thirty per cent. for the present year, for each share, and twenty-five per cent for that next ensuing, on the sums due to them: which shares shall entitle them to the same dividends with other actions of the new subscription.

The shares or actions of the company shall not be liable to any seizure or stoppage, upon any account whatsoever, as is set forth in his majesty's octroy.

The directors shall transmit yearly to the proprietors, an exact and particular account of the affairs of the company, and the dividends shall be regulated by such account, in a general court, by the majority of voices.

The directors shall not carry on any sort of

traffic, excepting that to the East-Indies only, on account of the company, without the consent of the proprietors; nor shall be permitted to lend the company's monies to any person whatsoever, and shall be answerable, in their own persons and estates, for all the monies of the company in solido. They shall take an oath for the exact observance of this article, and for the faithful discharge of the trust reposed in them for the interest and advantage of their constituents.

All merchandizes which shall be sold in any other place besides Copenhagen, shall be paid for in bank at Hamburgh, to one or more substantial traders, for the company's account, which merchants shall be chosen in a general court, by the majority of voices, and in no other manner whatsoever.

The said merchants, who are the cashiers of the company, shall pay no monies, without an order signed by three of the directors at least.

Such monies as shall be payable in the course of the running year, shall be in the disposal and management of the present directors, till such time as the new directors to be added to their number are chosen.

The monies arising from the new subscriptions, shall be expended in sending out ships to China, Bengal, and Tranquebar, and to no other intent or purpose whatsoever: and no more money shall be kept in cash, besides what is absolutely necessary for such equipments as above.

A general court of the proprietors shall assemble with all convenient speed, to proceed in the
choice

choice of four additional directors, out of the number of the new subscribers, which additional directors may be all of them foreigners."

This new company caused a general alarm in the Seven Provinces, the Dutch looking upon all their labour in destroying the company of Ostend as absolutely lost, since they saw a new establishment rise out of it's ashes, every way as prejudicial to their interest as that which had given them such cause of apprehension. All manner of artifice was employed to destroy the credit of the Danish company at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and in all the great cities of the United Provinces. A process was raised against Van Asperen, the promoter of it, and he was condemned and executed in effigy. Amongst many stratagems employed to discredit the Danish establishment, the following was one. Van Asperen had wrote in very pressing terms to his friends, whether in Holland, or in Great Britain, to induce them to subscribe in the stocks of the new company at Altena. The Dutch caused answers to be framed to these sollicitations, which were published in all the English and Dutch news-papers, in which the pretended correspondents of Van Asperen insinuated, that the old East-India company of Denmark was actually become bankrupt, and that there was very far from being any solid security in confiding to them in matters of such consequence. They objected, the arbitrariness of the government of Denmark, where every thing is exposed to the rapine of the prince, or his ministers, to which they opposed the great

security there is in entrusting sums of money in the funds of free governments, where property of every sort is secured by the established and fundamental laws of the land. They are of opinion, that the word and honour of two directors is but a slender security for the debts of the old company, one of whom from a bankrupt for upwards of six millions of florins, for which he had been pursued thro' several countries, was now raised to the first honours. Will any man, said they, risk his monies, to make a job for such a person? They took notice, that the company were oppressed with debts in the Indies, and particularly in the bay of Bengal, for a ship they had formerly seized with her cargo on her voyage to Surat, for which action they had been driven from Tranquebar by the Moors, where they had never appeared since. That before they can ever hope to be permitted to trade in that port, this debt, which seven years ago amounted to three hundred rixdollars, with accumulated interest at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum, as is the custom of the country, must first be paid off, the truth of which fact, say the writers of these pretended answers, is attested by several persons, both here and in England, who were actually upon the spot when this affair passed. That let the profits of this trade be ever so great, they can never hold any proportion to that infinity of hazards that those concerned must necessarily run. Thus, say they, addressing themselves to Van Asperen, we have given you the opinion of all we have conversed with

with upon this point, which is also exactly agreeable to our own sentiments, and cannot help advising a person, whom we still consider as our ancient friend, to think of a timely retreat, and to endeavour to obtain a pardon for the injuries done your native country, in open defiance of the laws. For nothing can be more evident, that this new scheme of stock-jobbing is contrived with no other view than to draw all the ready money of Europe into Denmark at all events, and that as the principal and profits must of necessity belong to foreigners, we leave yourself to judge what security there can be for the observance of the public faith when there is occasion for these monies at home. The memory of what passed in the affair of the Mississippi, should serve as an example of what merchants may expect from a government like that of Denmark on a like occasion.

These objections had no manner of effect upon the subscriptions of this company, which went on with great spirit, whatever was published in England, France, or Holland to their disadvantage. The maritime powers were therefore reduced to their dernier ressort, which was to use all their joint influence with his Danish majesty to deprive them of their sole support, that is to say, their charter. Orders were therefore instantly sent to the ministers of Great Britain and Holland, at the court of Denmark, to use their utmost industry to procure a repeal of the powers granted to this company, in consequence whereof those ministers represented to the king,

that his majesty of Great Britain, and their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, foreseeing the prejudice which the transferring the East-India company from Copenhagen to Altena, will do to the commerce of their people; and perceiving with concern, that almost at the very instant that they are making so great efforts to stop the progress of the company of Ostend, the king of Denmark, their good friend, and ancient ally, is setting up another equally prejudicial to their subjects, have ordered them to make this most humble representation to his majesty of Denmark, hoping from his friendship, that, as soon as he shall be informed of the uneasiness this novelty gives them, he will withdraw the privileges lately granted to that company, and leave it on the ancient foot as it has always subsisted at Copenhagen.

This representation was not at all relished by the king, or by his council. Their answer was, that it never was the king's intention to erect a new company, or to transfer that which had now subsisted above a hundred and ten years at Copenhagen to Altena. That this was evident from the very project of incorporation, in which no new or additional powers had been granted to the company, but the old ones simply confirmed. That those voyages which were now proposed for China, were no more contrary to treaties, than those formerly made by the company's ships from Tranquebar. And further, that his Danish majesty was not restrained by any treaty whatever from supporting the traffic of his subjects

jects to the Indies, whether from their settlements in that part of the world, or from Copenhagen directly. That it was not only his undoubted right by the laws of nature and of nations, to promote the welfare of his subjects, and to extend their commerce by all the means in his power, but that it was also his duty as their protector and sovereign. That finally it was far from being his intention to do the smallest prejudice to the East-India companies of England and Holland, but that what he now did was solely with a view to promote the happiness of his own subjects, a proceeding which he was confident never could expose him to the resentment of any power whatsoever.

The maritime powers were far from being satisfied with this answer, how just and judicious soever; therefore fresh representations were made by the ministers of those powers in the year 1728, since which time no farther applications have been made on that subject, and the Danish company have been allowed to pursue their East-India trade, according to the tenor of their charter. The maritime powers were obliged to be contented with discharging their subjects from being concerned in that society, which considerably reduced the number of their subscribers, so that they have not been able to reach that height of prosperity which the scheme of Van Asperen had at first promised. They were not however incapacitated from extending their commerce, or from carrying on a trade directly from Copenhagen to the Indies and China. By this new establishment, and the protection

tection of Christian the sixth, their affairs are in so promising a situation, that there no longer remains any doubt of their being able to prosecute that traffic with still greater advantages, both to the proprietors and to the Danish nation in general. Their funds are now considerable, their credit extensive, their warehouses, magazines, yards, and docks at Copenhagen in the compleatest order, and their sales both large and frequent. They are said to send two or three ships annually to the Indies, and to receive as many in return, all of them loaded with rich cargoes. There is therefore great reason to believe, that the affairs of this company are in a prosperous and growing condition, and that they will soon make a considerable figure in the East-India trade.

C H A P. V.

The history of the Swedish East-India company.

THE first attempt of the Swedish nation towards the trade to the East-Indies, was in the reign of the great Gustavus Adolfus. This prince, who was the glory of his age and country, and whose ruling passion (which ought to be that of every king) was the happiness of his people, formed the project of an East-India company, by letters patent under his great seal, dated at Stockholm the 14th of June, 1626, to which he invited his subjects. The war of Germany prevented this scheme from being carried in to execution, which seems to have died with

with that great personage who was the author of it.

Altho' Christina his daughter, a princess of a great and exalted mind, shewed the same inclination to promote the trade, and consequently the naval power of Sweden, and actually settled a colony in the West-Indies, there was however very few attempts made by the Swedes with regard to commerce, till about twenty-five years ago, the wars in which that nation had been always engaged during this period, having probably drawn their attention from commerce, which can only flourish in peaceable times.

All Europe was therefore amazed at the news of a Swedish East-India company, the rise of which was owing to the ruin of that of Ostend, Henry Koning, a wealthy merchant, and a person perfectly well skilled in every thing relating to the East-India trade, was the author of this project. He represented to the Swedish ministry, that there were yet a great many places in Africa and the Indies unsettled, or rather altogether unknown to the other nations of Europe, who had constantly followed each other in the beaten tract, without daring to deviate from those who had gone before them. He also took notice of the opportunity which this conjuncture of the dissolution of the Ostend society presented, the great number of persons out of employ by that event, who were the most proper of all others to set such a project in motion; and in general every

every thing which Van Asperen had represented, to engage the Danes to come into his schemes.

The proposals of Koning were listened to, and he was empowered to associate such persons with himself as should be willing to promote the affair, by a charter dated June the 14th, 1731, with these privileges, viz.

The king grants leave to Henry Koning, and his associates, to navigate and trade to the East-Indies for the space of fifteen years, in all places from the Cape of Good Hope, as far as the islands of Japon, excepting that they are not to trade in any port belonging to any prince or state in Europe, without their previous consent. All ships trading to the Indies from Sweden, shall take in their cargoes at Copenhagen, to which port they shall also return with the cargoes loaden on board in the Indies, which cargoes shall also be sold at Copenhagen as soon as conveniently may be. The said Henry Koning, and his associates, shall pay to the crown of Sweden, one hundred dollars per last, for each ship by them employed or freighted, within six months after the return of such ships from the Indies, and two dollars per last for the town duties. The company may equip and arm as many vessels as they shall see fit, provided such ships or vessels are built in Sweden, and also provided whatever is necessary for such equipment be bought in that kingdom. If such ships or necessaries cannot be had in Sweden, in that case the company may provide themselves elsewhere, on condition that the
preference

preference be always given to ships of the built of Sweden, as also to it's produce and manufactures. Such ships shall carry the flag of Sweden, and be provided with passports from the king, as also from the republic of Algiers. The company have leave to raise any sums or monies, whether by subscription or otherwise, and subscribers shall pay in their quotas within the time prescribed, otherwise to forfeit the sums so subscribed for. They may also transport what ordnance or small arms they shall see proper, as also silver coined and uncoined, Swedish money excepted; they may also import from the Indies all sorts of goods whatsoever without exception, nor shall their ships be liable to be stopped upon any pretence or grounds whatsoever, or hindered at their return from entering into the ports of their destination. The company may also transport their goods and merchandize from place to place within Sweden, without payment of further duties, besides the preceding, they being always in such cases provided with proper passports. Captains of the company's ships shall have the same powers for the maintaining of discipline, as captains of the king's ships, and in matters of trade they shall pay absolute obedience to the instructions of the company, provided such instructions contain nothing contrary to the tenor of this charter. Seamen and soldiers entered on board the company's ships, may not be impressed into the king's, or any other service, nor shall the company admit into their service any who shall have deserted from the service of the

crown. Such deserters from the company's ships may be apprehended and detained, according to the usual forms of law, by the proper officers. The merchandize landed from the ships of the company returning from the Indies, shall be duty free, excepting a small acknowledgement at their removal. The company shall constantly choose out of their number three directors at the least, all of them persons of known probity and distinguished abilities, and of which three Henry Koning shall be one. In case of his demise, the company shall proceed to choose another in his stead, provided that such directors are natives of Sweden, or naturalized Swedes, and protestants residing within the king's dominions, unless necessarily absent on the affairs of the company, in which case, the proprietors may substitute another in his place. The said society may make such regulations and by-laws, for the advancement or management of their concerns, as they shall see proper, provided that such regulations are not contrary to this charter. The directors shall give a true and particular account to the proprietors of the capital profits or losses of the company, but shall not be obliged to discover the names of the subscribers, or the sums subscribed for, nor to produce, or suffer their books to be inspected on any pretence whatsoever. Directors who betray the secrets of the company's affairs, or who are guilty of any fraud or misdemeanor, upon complaint made, and proof thereof before the board of trade, may be suspended from their office, or degraded, and another chosen

chosen in his room. The proprietors finding any breach of trust, fraud, or misdemeanour, in the said Henry Koning, and the other directors, may obtain redress upon the same application. The company may employ any number of supercargoes, officers, mariners, or soldiers, whether Swedes or foreigners, and persons so employed shall enjoy the same privileges as if natives of Sweden. Monies employed in the stock of this company, whether belonging to Swedes or foreigners, shall not be liable to arrest, stoppage, or seizure on any pretence. Persons concerned, or employed in the company, shall be naturalized, and preserve their respective ranks and qualities, upon application made to the king for that effect. The company, and such as are by them authorized and employed, if molested or disturbed in their commerce, by any persons, and in any part of the world whatever, shall have full power from his majesty to obtain ample justice and satisfaction by all convenient methods, and shall be free to employ open force, and to treat such disturbers as pirates and enemies to the public peace. These powers shall be granted by his majesty, especially in the commissions given to captains, and if notwithstanding they are still attacked, his majesty will grant them his high protection, and endeavour to procure speedy and ample satisfaction, whether by way of reprisal, or otherwise. The other subjects of Sweden may not interfere in this commerce, under pain of his majesty's high displeasure, and confiscation of the vessels and effects so employed. The king engages

gives his royal promise to alter or augment these privileges, upon application of the company, as often, and in such a manner as shall be found necessary to promote the advantage of the company in their East-India commerce. The above charter was granted by the king in the senate, and has been admired and applauded as one of the compleatest and best contrived pieces of it's kind. Their powers are augmented to a very great degree in what regards their foreign commerce, at the same time that the superior authority of the college of commerce restrains their domestic authority within proper bounds. So many privileges, joined to the security which property receives from the nature of the Swedish government, raised infinite expectations, which were still heightened by their being unmolested by the other powers of Europe, who were the less alarmed at a society which was restricted from interfering with their commerce by the very charter upon which it was founded. Nor was it a small argument of the prudence of the managers, that they went on with very slow steps in their first setting out, being a considerable time in completing their subscriptions, and in fitting out ships for the Indies, all which served to amuse the other powers of Europe, and to lighten their apprehensions of a scheme that was carried on with so little spirit. Amidst all this seeming inactivity, Koning and his associates were preparing every thing that might be wanted to carry on their design with success. Two large and strong ships were fitted out, equally fit for trade or action. These were
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the Frederic, so called after the king, and the Ulrica, so named from the queen. Nor were they less circumspect in the choice of persons who were to be entrusted with the first concerns, which are always the most important, of the new company.

They were particularly careful to put aboard of them supercargoes of the greatest integrity and abilities, and who were perfectly well versed in the business in which they were to be employed. The same caution was observed in the choice of officers and mariners. And the compleatness of their ships, and the excellent order in every thing aboard them, amply made up for the two years employed in these preparations. So that it has been said with a great deal of justice, that no company has ever excelled that of the East-India company of Sweden, either in the prudence and wisdom of it's first establishment, or in the management of their affairs ever since.

Their first attempts, tho' not extremely lucrative, were however indifferently successful. A factory was settled on the river of Canton in China, with the consent of the natives, who appear perfectly well satisfied with the new adventurers, and are very ready in granting them whatever may be of use to favour or promote their traffic. They met however with some difficulties at home. The great number of foreigners they were of necessity obliged to employ in their service at first, occasioned a prodigious clamour amongst the Swedes, a nation naturally exceeding jealous of strangers. This uproar was

quelled by an act, which ordained, that for the future, two thirds of the mariners employed in the service of the Swedish company, should be native Swedes. This complaint was followed by another, some time after, which is far from being peculiar to the Swedes, against the trade to the East-Indies. Notwithstanding the regularity and value of the returns from India, and the quantity of money brought into Sweden by the sale of East-India commodities, the Swedes, accustomed to receive a balance in money from every nation with whom they have dealings, could not bear the thoughts of that prodigious quantity of silver which it was necessary to export, in order to carry on their East-India traffic. This occasioned a report, which has however had no consequences, as if the privileges of the company were to have been suffered to expire in a short time, a thought than which nothing can be imagined more extravagant, this company carrying on a very profitable and extensive trade all over the North, by means of their East-India commodities. 'Tis certain however, that the company omitted nothing in their power to ward off this blow, and to procure the renewal of their charter for fifteen years more, alledging as reasons for their obtaining their request, the jealousy of all the other powers of Europe with respect to this commerce, besides that with regard to their own company, few or none of their returns have ever been disposed of in Sweden, and that what is gained to the proprietors must infallibly be gained to the nation,

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the cash whereof is increased in proportion to the emoluments of this company.

Thus I have at last come to the end of this essay, in which I have endeavoured to lay before the reader, all I could find worthy his notice with respect to the East-India trade, as it is at this day carried on by the several nations of Europe. I am sensible of it's defects in point of language, and perhaps in other very essential particulars, for all which I have no excuse to offer but what is itself a very great fault, the shortness of the time employed in it, (and I might add that of several embarrassments which the author is only interested to know), besides the desire I had to have done better.

F I N I S.

