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VOYAGES

TO THE

EAST-INDIES;

BY THE LATE

JOHN SPLINTER STAVORINUS, ESQ.

REAR ADMIRAL IN THE SERVICE OF THE

STATES-GENERAL.

Tranſlated from the original Dutch,

By SAMUEL HULL WILCOCKE.

WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The Whole compriſing a full and accurate Account of all the preſent and late Poſſeſſions of the Dutch in India, and at the Cape of Good Hope.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING

A VOYAGE TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, BATAVIA, BANTAM, AND BENGAL, WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THOSE PARTS, &c. IN THE YEARS 1768-1771.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATER-NOSTER-ROW.

1798.

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PREFACE.

THE original of the work now offered to the public, has met with much approbation in Holland. It conſtituted, originally, two different works; the account of the voyage to Batavia, Bantam, and Bengal, having been firſt publiſhed; and afterwards, ſeparately, that of the voyage to Samarang, Macaſſer, Amboyna, &c. Hence proceeds the different forms in which the two voyages are moulded; and hence ſome repetitions occur in the ſecond, of what had been noticed in the firſt.

Mr. Stavorinus was poſt-captain in the naval ſervice of the States General; but a long period of peace, and the little employ-

ment that occurred in the Dutch navy for men of enterprize and abilities, prompted him to requeſt permiſſion to go a voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, as captain in the employ of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, retaining, however, his rank of captain in the navy. The accounts of his two voyages, in that capacity, are here given; and his readers will find him, throughout, a man of obſervation and intelligence. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, which he held at the time of his death.

Acquainted with the family, though not with the perſon, of the author, during a reſidence at Middleburgh, in Zealand, the tranſlator has endeavoured to do all poſſible juſtice to his work, in the dreſs in which he now preſents it to the public. A regard for truth, however, obliges him to declare, that he has had to ſtruggle with much difficulty in correcting paſſages, which, in the Dutch original, are extremely faulty, from the negligence

ligence of the editor; the original abounds in typographical errors, and in miſtakes in numerical characters, ſome of which the tranſlator has rectified from their obviouſneſs, and a certain knowledge of the true reading, others from conjecture, and others, though as few in number as poſſible, he has been obliged to let remain as he found them.

With reſpect to the notes and additions which he has made, they are collected from every authentic ſource within his reach; from the accounts of other travellers, from other Dutch writers, from authentic documents, manuſcripts, and ſtatements, and, in a few inſtances, from oral information: the work, together with the additions, he flatters himſelf will be found to contain much new information reſpecting the actual and late poſſeſſions of the Dutch in India, which, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, cannot fail of being extremely intereſting. He had,

for

for ſome time previous to the publication of theſe voyages, collected the materials whence his additions have been made, with an idea of forming them into a general account of the Dutch Indian ſettlements; but meeting with theſe voyages, and thinking an Engliſh verſion of them could not fail of being acceptable, he conceived himſelf more adequate to the taſk of giving a tranſlation, with the additional information required, to render the whole as complete an account of the Dutch ſettlements as his materials would admit of, in notes, than to that of compoſing an original work himſelf upon the ſubject.

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VOYAGE

TO

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, BATAVIA, BANTAM, AND BENGAL;

IN THE YEARS 1768-1771.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from ZEALAND.—*The* SHINGLES.—SOUTHAMPTON.—PORTSMOUTH.—GOSPORT.—*Departure from* SPITHEAD.—*The* NEEDLES.—*Iſlands of* PORTO SANTO *and* MADEIRA.—*Flying-fiſh.*—*Iſlands of* SAL *and* BONA VISTA.—*Dorados.*—*Dolphins.*—*Albicores.*—*Bonitos.*—*Sharks.*—*Pilot-fiſh.*—*Cape* ST. AUGUSTINE.—*The* ABROLHOS.—*Signs of Land.*—*Variation of the Compaſs.*—*Anchorage in* TABLE BAY, *at the* CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

ON the 10th of June, 1768, the Eaſt-India Company's ſhip the *Snoek* (the *Pike*), under my command, received her final diſpatches; and upon muſtering the crew, for the laſt time, we found that the number of men on board amounted to two hundred and

twenty-five; conſiſting of one hundred and forty-ſeven ſeamen, ſeventy-ſeven ſoldiers, and a paſſenger, who was a mechanic. We were fitted out, as uſual, for nine months, and were bound to *Batavia*, by the way of the *Cape of Good Hope*. On the 13th, the wind coming round to the eaſtward, we ſlipped our cables, in the road of *Rammekens*, and ſet ſail; but on reaching *Fluſhing* roads, the tide failing, and the wind veering to the ſouth, we were obliged to come to an anchor. We remained here, windbound, till the 24th, when we again weighed anchor, and put to ſea with a freſh gale from the eaſt, and fine weather, ſaluting the town of *Fluſhing* with fifteen guns. We were clear of the land at nine o'clock A.M. and returning the farewel-ſalute of the pilotboat that had accompanied us, we ſteered for the Straits of *Dover*, and loſt ſight of the iſland of *Walcheren* about noon. At ſunriſe, the next day, we ſaw the oppoſite coaſts of England and France; of the former, the North and South Forelands, and of the latter, the high land in the neighbourhood of *Calais*. At noon we found ourſelves abreaſt of *Dover*, which is the firſt place on the Engliſh coaſt

that

that appears on entering the Channel; here the eaſterly wind failed us again, and it began to blow a ſtiff gale at s.w. which made us reſolve, the next day, to run in behind the *Shingles*, and there wait for a more favourable opportunity of proceeding on our voyage. Beſides ſeveral other ſhips, we found lying at anchor here, our States' frigate, the *Young Prince of Orange*, commanded by Count BYLAND, ſent out to cruiſe for the homewardbound Eaſt-India fleet, and which had ſailed from *Campvere* the ſame day we left *Fluſhing*.

The *Shingles* is the name given to a large ſand, that ſtretches out full a league and a half from the Engliſh coaſt, ſomewhat to the weſtward of *Folkſtone*. It appears above water, but is very low, and would be very dangerous, eſpecially in the night, were there not a lighthouſe at its extreme point, whereby ſhips are enabled to perceive and avoid the danger. Veſſels lie in ſafety here, protected from the s.w. and weſt winds; but being open to the s.s.w. and ſouth, when the wind veers a point lower, they muſt of neceſſity immediately put to ſea.

On the 29th of June, we ſaw two homeward-

wardbound Eaſt-Indiamen ſtanding towards us; upon which the States' frigate, the *Young Prince of Orange*, weighed anchor, and ſet ſail, in order to convoy them to Holland. In the night we had an eclipſe of the moon; the beginning of which, by my obſervation, gave a difference of 7′ 31″ in time between *Paris* and our ſituation at anchor, or 1° 52′ 45″ weſt longitude from the meridian of *Paris*.

The following day, being the 30th of June, the wind came round in the evening to the eaſtward; whereupon we left the *Shingles* a ſhort time before midnight, and held our courſe farther down the Channel. But on the next day, having ſcarcely reached as far as the Iſle of *Wight*, the ſky began to aſſume a black and menacing aſpect towards the weſt, while the eaſt wind now wholly failed us. Apprehenſive of the coming ſtorm, we handed all our ſails, and it ſoon burſt upon us with the greateſt vehemence: it was accompanied with the moſt tremendous thunder and lightning, and ſeemed to threaten inevitable deſtruction. On ſhore, as I afterwards was informed, it cauſed great devaſtation: on the road from

London to *Portſmouth*, many trees were ſtruck by the lightning, and torn up by the roots; while much damage was done in all the farms and gardens thereabouts. This thunderſtorm continued about three hours, from ſeven till ten o'clock at night, without however doing our ſhip any material damage. The wind then veered to the s.w. where it remained ſtationary, and blew moſtly in heavy gales, without intermiſſion, from that quarter, till the 7th of July, when it increaſed to a violent ſtorm. This induced us, the next day, to determine upon putting into *Portſmouth*, that we might not be driven farther back up the Channel; and that the crew might not be unneceſſarily haraſſed, without our being able to advance on our voyage, ſince our men were daily falling ſick, and thirty of them were already unfit for duty. We accordingly reached *Spithead*, and caſt anchor there the following day, being the 8th of July.

While we lay here, I made an excurſion to *Southampton*, which is ſixteen Engliſh miles, or about ſix hours' walk from *Goſport*, a kind of ſuburb to *Portſmouth*, lying on the oppoſite ſide of the harbour. The

road to that place, leads through a hilly, unpromiſing, and barren country, but which affords food for ſheep, ſeveral flocks of which we met with on our way. Here and there were ſmall running ſtreams, that flowed down from the hills, into the vallies. We ſtopped halfway at a village called *Titchfield*, being two long ſtreets of tolerably goodlooking houſes.

Southampton is a town, ſituated on a river, which runs into the ſea oppoſite to *Newport*, in the Iſle of *Wight*, navigable above the town, for veſſels of a moderate burden, and called *Southampton-water*. When the Danes were in poſſeſſion of England, *Southampton* was the ſeat of their kings. It is naturally ſtrong, being almoſt ſurrounded by two branches of the river; it is beſides encircled by a wall of hewn ſtone, which bears ſtrong marks of antiquity. From the riverſide, runs a long and broad ſtreet, which is adorned on both ſides by very handſome houſes, reaching as far as the landgate, which opens to the London road. Over the gateway, is the ſtatue of Queen *ANNE*, as large as life. This long ſtreet is the principal, and, indeed, may be

ſaid

ſaid to be the only one, the others being of hardly any conſequence *. The town is much frequented in the ſummer ſeaſon by the Engliſh nobility and gentry, on account of its agreeable ſituation; and every kind of diverſion, balls, concerts, plays, &c. are then to be met with, as was the caſe when I viſited the place.

Portſmouth is at preſent a well-fortified town, and the works which ſurround it, particularly on the landſide, are very conſiderable. Cloſe to the town, on the northſide, are the King's building and dock-yards, his magazines and arſenals. The immenſe quantities of naval and military ſtores, that are kept here, are incredible. Moſt of the Engliſh ſhips of war are laid up here, in time of peace, but they are always kept afloat. The largeſt ſhips of their navy are to be ſeen here: I was on board of one, a three-decker, which meaſured on the lower deck, one hundred and ninety-ſeven feet Engliſh, being equal to one hun-

* The additions and improvements which have been made in later years, ſince the time Mr. STAVORINUS viſited *Southampton*, 1768, make the town aſſume a different appearance from what is here deſcribed. *T.*

dred and ninety-five and a quarter feet Amſterdam, and which carried one hundred and twenty guns *.

Oppoſite to *Portſmouth*, lies the town of *Goſport*. The inlet between both, which is very wide, is uſed for a harbour; its entrance is defended by ſeveral conſiderable batteries. *Goſport* has many ſtreets, and is crouded with ſhops, which in time of war, and when there are many ſhips here, are much frequented, and very flouriſhing.

On a point of land, which is called *Spithead*, whence the ſame appellation is given to the road before it, where the King's ſhips ride, there is a large and ſtately hoſpital for the ſeamen of the navy, which is kept exceedingly clean and neat, and in which the ſick are treated with the greateſt care and attention.

The 24th of July, the wind becoming favourable, we weighed anchor in the morning, and endeavoured to put to ſea, round the weſt-end of the Iſle of *Wight*, or paſt

* The largeſt ſhips in the Dutch navy, are of 74 and 80 guns; their harbours will ſcarcely admit of ſhips of greater force. *T.*

the

the Needles; but in the afternoon, we were obliged, by a change of wind, to let drop our anchor before *Cowes*, a town in the Iſle of *Wight*, whence a great trade is carried on to America; and on the 26th, as it began to blow hard, and the road of *Cowes* was not very ſafe, we returned again to *Spithead*. The next day, on the wind again coming round to the eaſt, we left *Spithead*, for the ſecond time, but we ſtill could not paſs the Needles; for coming near them, we found the tide againſt us, and the wind too ſcanty to ſail out; and we were therefore obliged to turn back again, and anchored before *Yarmouth*, which is a ſmall place in the Iſle of *Wight*.

The Needles are high ſharp rocks, like pyramids, ſituated at the weſtern end of the Iſle of *Wight*, and cloſe to which ſhips muſt ſail. On the other ſide of the channel, lie the *Shingles*, a ſand which is dangerous to be approached too near.

On the 28th of July, however, we were fortunate enough to clear the land; but it was only on the 4th of Auguſt, that we left the Channel, and ſteered our courſe, in order to run in ſight of the iſland *Porto Santo*.

Between

Between ten and eleven o'clock on the morning of the 6th, we obſerved a remarkably ſtrong aurora borealis, ſtretching from W. N. W. to N. N. E. The ſky appeared, in that quarter, perfectly in flames; the rays, which ſhot forth in a ſerpentine direction, from the horizon to the zenith, were inceſſant; and that whole ſide of the heavens ſeemed to be agitated, and in combuſtion; the horizon was clouded, and the wind northerly, blowing a light gale; the greateſt heat that day was 67° by Fahrenheit's thermometer; and at noon our latitude was 48° 1′ north. For ſome days following we had a ſteady north wind, with freſh gales, ſo that on the 16th of Auguſt we ran in ſight of the iſlands *Porto Santo* and *Madeira*. We here found ourſelves 3° 6′, or 39 leagues, more to the eaſtward than our eſtimated longitude, ſince we had taken our laſt obſervation, on leaving the *Lizard* Point. Many veſſels make an eaſterly miſreckoning in theſe ſeas; and it may, with great probability, be attributed to the indraught of the currents, in the bend between Cape *Cantin*, and Cape *St. Vincent*, towards the Straits of *Gibraltar*.

Much

Much care ought therefore to be taken in theſe latitudes, eſpecially in the night. The weather is here likewiſe often very cloudy, which was the reaſon, that we did not ſee *Porto Santo* in the morning, till we were within three or four leagues of it: whereas it is viſible in clear weather, at the diſtance of eight or nine leagues off.

Porto Santo appears in the W.N.W. with four high hills, the northernmoſt of which ſeems as if it were ſeparated from the others, but it loſes that appearance, on ſailing two or three points farther. We ran along the iſland at the diſtance of a ſhort league, in order to take an accurate view of it. It is moſtly hilly, and had alſo, through good glaſſes, an arid and barren appearance. It has a ſteep rocky ſhore all round, except on the ſoutheaſt ſide, where there is a low inlet or bay, along which ſome houſes are built. There is a great rock on its north-ſide, lying detached from the iſland, which, when it bears W.S.W. perfectly reſembles a church with a ſteeple, the latter riſing from its ſouthern extremity. There are, beſides this, ſeveral other rocks,

as

as well under water as above, lying all round the iſland.

Madeira lies s.w. about ſix or ſeven leagues from *Porto Santo*. It is much larger, and has ſome very high mountains. When abreaſt of *Porto Santo*, you firſt perceive a great hazineſs, very like a thick ſmoke, to the s.w. nearly ten degrees above the horizon, which on a nearer approach is diſſipated, and the high land of *Madeira* riſes to view, yet ſtill enveloped with clouds halfway downwards from the ſummits of the hills. To the s.E. of it, lie three ſmall iſlands, which are very high, but barren and uninhabited; they are called the *Ilhas Deſertas*, and corruptly by our ſeamen, the *Serſteros*, and are ſeen at a great diſtance. The ſea is not diſcoloured round any of theſe iſlands, as is the caſe round many others, which muſt chiefly be aſcribed, to there being no ground, but very cloſe to the ſhore, whereby the water retains its azure limpidneſs. We found that the variation of the compaſs was here 17° N.W. and the greateſt heat of the day was at the ſame time, on board our ſhip, 78°.

The

The number of ſick began now greatly to increaſe. About ſixty or ſeventy of the crew were already confined to their births, and four had died. The prevailing diſtempers were bilious fevers and ſpaſmodic colics; although we had but little rain, and no exceſſive heat, the thermometer ſeldom riſing above 78°. I therefore now would not ſuffer the men to drink beer, but I had it mixed with their barley-porridge in the morning, and only allowed them water to drink. The conſequences of this regulation were very ſalutary; for very few fell ſick afterwards, and thoſe that were ill recovered, though gradually, ſo that on approaching the line, we had but few on the ſicklиſt.

We now began to ſee many flying fiſh *, and we frequently made a good breakfaſt, upon ſuch as had fallen upon the ſhip, during the night, as they frequently do, without being able to raiſe themſelves again, and which we found lying on the deck in the morning. They are commonly of the ſize, and much of the

* *Exocœtus volitans.*

ſhape,

ſhape, of herrings, though they are, in general, rather ſmaller than larger; the head is ſomewhat obtuſe, the back blackiſh, and the belly white; they are the beſt bait that can be put to a hook, for catching of dorados and albicores: they are moſtly to be met with between the tropics, though they are ſometimes ſeen as far as the thirty-ſecond and thirty-third degrees of latitude; yet at this diſtance they are but rarely found, and never wander into higher latitudes.

The day after we had loſt ſight of the iſlands *Porto Santo* and *Madeira*, we met with the ſettled north-eaſterly tradewind, with which we ſteered to the weſtward of the iſland *Palma* (the moſt weſterly of the *Canary* iſlands), and paſſed the tropic of cancer on the 22d of Auguſt, five days after we had left *Porto Santo* and *Madeira*. The greateſt heat on the day we paſſed the tropic was 78½°.

On the 27th, at about three o'clock in the morning, we came in ſight of the *Iſle de Sal*, one of the *Cape Verde* iſlands. We had for three days been accompanied by a number of landbirds, among which were many ſwallows; and theſe kept cloſe to us

till

till we came in ſight of land, and then they left us.

The iſland *Sal* is not very high, except on the north-ſide, where it is diſtinguiſhable by three hills, the northernmoſt of which is the higheſt. The land to the ſouthward of theſe eminences is middling low, and ſlopes into the ſea, at the S.E. point. The latitude of this point was, by obſervation, 16° 34′ north; and the variation of the compaſs $10\frac{1}{4}$ degrees N.W. The thermometer on board ſtood that day, at two o'clock P.M. between 83° and 84°. The iſland appeared to be about three or four leagues in length, and full half as broad. There is a very dangerous reef, that extends out from its north-ſide, but it ſeemed elſewhere to be tolerably bold and ſafe.

About ſix or ſeven leagues nearly ſouth of *Iſle de Sal*, lies the iſland *Bona Viſta*, which is almoſt one-third larger, and rather lower, than the former: it has two eminences of a middling height, that appear diſtinctly upon it. There are two reefs, one at the north-ſide, and one at the ſouth-ſide, which ſtretch out to the eaſtward, and which are both very dangerous. The Eaſt-India Company's

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ſhip *Leimuiden*, was wrecked on one of them in the year 1769. Both theſe iſlands appeared very barren; and *Bona Viſta* ſeemed ſandy, being here and there interſperſed with low ſandhills.

We found ourſelves, by obſervation, at theſe iſlands, 12¼ leagues more to the weſtward, than our eſtimation, ſince our laſt obſervation of the longitude off *Madeira*. The light winds and high-running ſea, prevented us from paſſing to the eaſtward of the iſland *Bona Viſta*; and we were at laſt obliged, in order to avoid the danger of touching upon the reefs, to run between that iſland and *Sal*, after we had ſpent four-and-twenty hours in vain attempts to weather *Bona Viſta*. On the 28th, in the evening, we loſt ſight of theſe iſlands, and directed our courſe towards the line.

The northeaſt tradewind failed us two days afterwards, and changed to ſouth and s. s. w. which was exactly in our teeth. We were then in 13½° of north latitude. Theſe variable winds were frequently accompanied by violent thunderſtorms and heavy ſhowers of rain, of which we availed, in order to fill our empty watercaſks, ſo that this

this neceſſary element could be more liberally diſtributed to the crew; and which was of great benefit to them, on account of the encreaſing heat of the weather. Yet we had not much calm, till we again came into the courſe of the ſettled ſoutheaſt tradewind, and we had hardly any ſick on board. We were moſtly encountered by thunderſtorms, about the time of the riſing and ſetting of the moon, which ſeems to have more influence on the weather, within the tropics, than without them. The inſtructions which are put on board of our Eaſt-India Company's ſhips ſay, that in theſe ſeas, the wind veers to the northward, at the new and full moons: this, however, we never experienced; but, on the contrary, we met, at thoſe times, with hard gales from the s.w. which were ſometimes accompanied by a lowering ſky, and violent ſqualls. The nearer we approached to the line, the more fiſh we had about the ſhip, of which we caught large quantities; dorados, albicores, and likewiſe bonitos, ſharks, and others; which afforded a moſt welcome and agreeable refreſhment to the ſeamen.

The dorado, or john-doree*, is one of the moſt delicious ſeafiſh that is caught. It is long and flat, and covered with very ſmall ſcales. It is from four to eight feet in length; but I ſeldom ſaw any caught that exceeded ſix feet, and ten or twelve pounds in weight. The head is obtuſe and round, and immediately behind it is the broadeſt part of the fiſh, while the body is thin and narrow, tapering until it reaches the tail. When this fiſh appears near the ſurface of the water, it ſhines with a moſt lively mixture of various colours, blue, green, ſilver, and gold. It ſwims with great velocity, and darting at its prey, the flyingfiſh, it is ſometimes ſeen to leap ſeveral feet out of the water. Although the dorado is the fineſt fiſh that is caught at ſea, it is yet ſomewhat dry eating. The tail roaſted is very good, and taſtes much like a roaſted cod's-tail.

The dolphin †, which I ſuppoſed to be the male of the dorado, has the ſame ſhape and taſte, but is not adorned with ſuch magnificent colours.

* *Faber*, a ſpecies of *zeus*. † *Coryphæna hippurus*.

The

The albicore * is a bulky fiſh, with a ſharp head, thick belly, and thin tail. The back is of a dark-brown hue, and the belly is white. Its fleſh is firmer than that of the dorado, but it is drier, and has not ſo fine a flavour: it is nevertheleſs very taſteful food for a ſailor. We caught ſeveral albicores that weighed upwards of ſixty and ſeventy pounds, and which we had ſome difficulty to drag on board by the line. They never ſwim alone, but always a number together. They are caught by a hook, or are ſtruck with a harpoon. They do not only prey on the flyingfiſh, but likewiſe on all other ſmall fiſhes. We one day had a diverting ſight of their manner of purſuing their prey:—we ſaw, at ſome diſtance, a large number of albicores, that ſwam, as it were, in a circle, and beat the water with their tails with great force, while in the middle, we perceived a great quantity of ſmall fiſh; on approaching nearer, we found that they leſſened the circle gradually, and all the little fearful fiſhes were thus preſſed cloſe together, till in the end they fell a prey to their enemies. Theſe

* A ſpecies of *ſcomber*.

ſmall fiſhes, which were ſhaped like ſmelts, were often in ſuch quantities near the ſhip, and eſpecially at the ſtern, that the men took whole baſkets' full; and after letting them lie two or three days in ſalt, they eat them like anchovies. Whenever we ſaw them, we were ſure likewiſe to obſerve their followers, the dorados and albicores.

The bonito * appears, both with reſpect to ſhape and taſte, to be the ſame fiſh as the albicore, the only difference being that the former is much leſs. I believe that the ſame fiſh, which when young is called a bonito, when it grows older and larger, acquires the name of albicore; at leaſt, I could not perceive that they differed in any thing but in ſize.

When the weather was fine and calm, we now and then caught a ſhark, but more for the ſake of the ſport than for culinary purpoſes, to which this fiſh is very little adapted; yet the tail ſometimes affords a meal to the ſailor; but it muſt always be firſt trodden upon, or otherwiſe bruiſed, till a light foam exudes from it. The ſhark is a voracious and carnivorous animal, and

* *Scomber pelamys.*

catches

catches at, and devours every thing within its reach. It is highly dangerous, for thoſe who may have the miſchance to fall overboard, and for ſuch as bathe or ſwim in places where it inhabits. Its prey would never eſcape, were it not for the difficulty which the ſhark has to catch it, from the ſituation of its mouth: this opens, as it were, under the throat, the ſnout protruding eight or ten inches farther; ſo that, when the ſhark approaches its prey, it ſwims directly under it, and is obliged to turn on its back, and then ſuddenly ſnaps at it, and ſwallows it whole. The mouth is very wide and broad, and is furniſhed with a triple row of teeth, which all fit into each other, and cut every thing in two that comes between them. I have ſeen an iron crow, which had been thruſt into the mouth of one of theſe animals, and in which the marks of the teeth were plainly to be ſeen. Its greateſt force is in its tail. When caught, it beats the water with its tail, and makes it foam; and when hauled on deck, it would break, by its means, the limbs of any one who might venture to approach too near. Its ſkin is very hard and rough, eſpecially when dried.

It appears on the back and ſides of a dirty green colour. It is commonly caught by a large hook, faſtened to a double or triple braſſwire of four or five feet in length, for cordage of any kind would be immediately bitten aſunder; this braſſwire is attached to a long and ſtrong cord, which is made faſt on board; about ſix feet above the hook, a piece of wood is fixed to the line, which ſerves to keep the hook ſteady, and this is baited with a piece of pork or beef. As ſoon as the ſhark has taken the hook, it muſt have free play with the line, particularly if it be a large one, which is eaſily perceived, the water of the ocean being very clear and tranſparent; after which the line muſt be ſoftly drawn in again, and ſucceſſively veered out, whenever the ſhark begins to pull, till in the end its forces be exhauſted; it muſt then be hoiſted on board by ropes round its body, and killed, or ſtunned, by repeated blows on the head with handſpikes or iron crows, when the tail can be cut off without any danger. The ſhark has generally five, ſix, or more, ſuckingfiſh * hanging to it, which will not let go their

* *Echeneis remora.*

hold,

hold, and which require a degree of force to pull them off.

Beſides the ſuckingfiſh, there is another fiſh that accompanies the ſhark; it is called the pilotfiſh *, becauſe it is ſuppoſed to conduct, or pilot, the ſhark to its prey. This fiſh is much leſs eaſy to be caught than the ſhark itſelf; yet we were fortunate enough to ſtrike one with an eelſpear, for they never bite at a hook. It was eight inches in length, and ſtriped tranſverſely with dark-blue and white lines, of about an inch broad, running round its body like fillets. It weighed about two pounds, and was very nice eating, and not ſo dry as other ſeafiſh.

After much diſagreeable delay, we at laſt got into the S.E. tradewind, on the 17th of September, in the north latitude of three degrees and a half; and on the 22d, in the evening, we paſſed the equator, on the ſame day and hour that the ſun entered the ſouthern ſigns; the heat of the weather by the thermometer was 77°, and our longitude, by eſtimation, ſix degrees and a half weſt of *Teneriffe*.

* *Gaſteroſteus ductor.*

On the 30th, we were in the latitude of Cape *St. Auguſtine*, and on the 6th of October, we had paſſed the *Abrolhos*. The former is the eaſtern extremity of *Brazil*. If once one falls below, or to the weſtward of this cape, it is not an eaſy matter to double it, without again croſſing the line, to endeavour to get into the track of the weſterly winds, in the thirty-fourth or thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, and then running with them ſo far to the eaſt, as to get into the proper courſe for paſſing the line again; caſes of this kind are not unfrequent. The *Abrolhos* are an aſſemblage of ſands and rocks, ſome of which are above water, and ſome under; they lie in about eighteen degrees ſouth latitude, and extend out to ſea full twenty leagues from the land. Ships coming upon them are in great danger of being loſt, or at leaſt of loſing their voyage; wherefore the Eaſt-India Company direct their commanders, on having paſſed theſe dangerous ſhoals, to perform a thankſgiving-ſervice, and to diſtribute a quart of wine per man to the crew.

The variation of the compaſs, in the latitude of Cape *St. Auguſtine*, was two degrees

N.W. and in that of the *Abrolhos* half a degree N.E.

In 22° ſouth latitude, we loſt the eaſterly tradewind, and had variable winds, though moſtly from the eaſtward, and ſometimes from the north, as far as 30° or 31°, where the wind became weſterly. Whenever it blew the leaſt to the ſouthward of weſt, we experienced a conſiderable degree of cold, and the thermometer did not riſe higher than 53° or 54° in the warmeſt part of the day; while it was much warmer when we had northerly, or northweſterly gales.

The ſcurvy began now to make its appearance on board, and in a ſhort time many of the crew became unfit for duty, and ſeveral of them died. But the ravages of the diſeaſe were not ſo great as we might have expected, from the length of the voyage, it being now three months ſince we had left England.

On the 10th of November, we ſaw for the firſt time *trumpets*, or ſea-bamboo *, floating on the ocean; this is a thick reed, with large pointed leaves, and a calyx, reſem-

* *Fucus buccinalis.*

bling

bling the mouth of a trumpet, whence it has its name. We likewiſe ſaw petrels *, and pintados †; which, although both ſea-birds, never go far from land. The firſt, are about the ſize of a common fowl, and are quite black; they are very lumpiſh, and fly heavily, and cloſe to the water. The others may, for ſize, be compared to a ſmall gooſe; they are always met with in pairs: there is another kind that fly ſingly, and go much farther from land; they are white, with black ſpots. From theſe ſigns, but eſpecially from the variation of the compaſs, having encreaſed to 18° N.W. and thus to within two degrees of the variation in *Table* Bay, at the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, we concluded that we were not far from that famous promontory. The variation of the compaſs is the eaſieſt, and almoſt the ſureſt, rule that is obſerved by our navigators, to arrive at the Cape, and to determine the longitude they are in; for neither ſolar nor lunar eclipſes occur frequently enough for the purpoſe, and it is ſcarcely poſſible to take an obſervation by the ſatellites of Ju-

* *Procellaria æquinoctialis.* † *Procellaria capenſis.*

piter from on board of a ſhip, on account of its continual motion. If the inſtrument be correct, and the obſervation accurate, the variation of the compaſs may be depended upon; for inſtance, in the latitude of Cape *St. Auguſtine*, on the coaſt of *Brazil*, when the northeaſterly variation is no longer obſervable, that is, when the needle ſhews the true north, or before it begins to take a weſterly variation, you may then be aſſured that you can double that cape; and in the ſame manner in the latitude of the *Abrolhos*; where there is no danger as long as the variation is 2° or 3° N.E. Thence to the eaſtward or ſoutheaſtward, the variation encreaſes, and the needle progreſſively turns more to the weſt, as far as the longitude of *Madagaſcar*, where, in 39° or 40° ſouth latitude, it at preſent, points 27° to the weſtward of the true north; and again, from that part, it decreaſes in paſſing to the ſtraits of *Sunda*, more and more, till in 12° or 13°, it again ſhews the true north. At the *Cape of Good Hope*, the variation was this year full 20½° N.W. The weſterly variation augments every year, and it has for ſome time been found, that

at

at *Paris*, its annual increaſe amounts to 10½ minutes or one-ſixth of a degree, according to the *Connoiſſance des Temps pour l'Année* 1771.

At laſt, on the 17th of November, about three o'clock, P.M. to our great joy, we diſcovered the land of *Africa*, near the *Cape of Good Hope*, the *Table* Mountain bearing eaſt, about twelve or thirteen leagues off; but it being too late in the day, to attempt reaching the road, we thought it adviſable to ply off and on, during the night, and not to try to enter the bay, till the next day.

We now found that our longitude was 1° 45′, or 22 leagues, more to the weſtward than by the ſhip's reckoning, ſince our laſt obſervation at the iſland *Bona Viſta*, on the 27th of Auguſt; ſo that we had but a ſmall miſreckoning for ſuch a length of paſſage. The number of dead ſince our departure from *Fluſhing* was thirty; and we had fifty-eight on the ſickliſt, moſtly down with the ſcurvy.

The next day, early in the morning, we carried a preſs of ſail, and ſteered towards *Table* Bay, between the *Walviſch*,

or

or *Whale* Rock, and the *Lion's-tail*; but owing to its falling calm, it was not till four o'clock, P.M. that we reached the anchorage in the inner road, and ſaluted the fort with thirteen guns. We found lying at anchor here the Eaſt-India Company's Hoy, the *Snelheid* (the *Speed*), and a French ſhip, bound to the iſland *Bourbon*. On entering the road, the land has no very agreeable aſpect, appearing only to be ſteep and rocky mountains, nearly deſtitute of verdure, while the fort and town of the Cape are not ſeen, till very near the anchoring-ground. But of the ſeveral particulars relative to the Cape, I ſhall ſpeak more at large in my obſervations, at the cloſe of my journal.

CHAP-

CHAPTER II.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—*Journey up the* TABLE *Mountain.*—*Fine Proſpect from its Summit.*—*Arrival of the* SWALLOW, *Captain* CARTERET, *at the Cape, from the South Seas.*—*Departure from* TABLE *Bay.*—*The Iſland* ST. PAUL.—AMSTERDAM *Iſland.*—*Singular Noiſe coming up out of the Sea.*—*Violent Storms.*—ENGANO.—REEF *Iſland.*—*The high Land of* SUMATRA.—*Entrance into the Straits of* SUNDA.—*Iſlands of* KRAKETAU, DWARS IN DEN WEG, WAPENS VAN HOORN, ONRUST.—*Anchorage before* BATAVIA.

NOT long after our arrival at the *Cape of Good Hope*, I had the curioſity to aſcend the *Table* Mountain, the difficulty of which, I was aſſured, would be well compenſated by the pleaſure, the jaunt would afford me. Accompanied by three other gentlemen, who were actuated by the ſame motives, and provided with ſome proviſions and a guide, I ſet off upon this excurſion, about half paſt two in the morning, from *Cape-town*, which is ſituated at the foot of the mountain. The road thither, led along ſome gardens,

gardens, which the inhabitants of the town had laid out here and there, as a kind of rural retreats. For ſomething leſs than half an hour's walk beyond theſe, the way was eaſy, and the acclivity little; farther on it began to be more ſteep, running along a narrow ridge of the mountain, which ended about halfway up abruptly, againſt the ſide of a precipice. This place, the inhabitants of the Cape call the *Krants*, or Wreath. We arrived there at ſunriſe, being about half paſt four, and made a reſting place of it. This ridge was formed, on either ſide, by correſponding ſteep and profound hollows. On the right hand, murmuring over the pebbles, which abounded in the hollow, ran a rivulet, whoſe ſource was at the ſummit of the mountain, and which ſupplies the town with water. The ridge itſelf was nearly overgrown with underwood, which was formerly the reſort of wild beaſts, although none at preſent inhabit it; at leaſt we neither ſaw nor heard any thing of them.

Hitherto the aſcent was not very difficult, but the path now began to be very precipitous, and ſo narrow, that it was ſometimes

times not above two feet broad. There were ſeveral places, which we had to clamber up, which deviated little from a perpendicular line. On our left, we had a wall of ſteep rocks, heaped, as it were, in maſſes upon each other; and on the other ſide, a deep chaſm, into which it was both tremendous and dangerous, to venture a look. In climbing up, we had to hold ourſelves faſt by the ſhrubs, which grew up from between the interſtices of the rocks; and the labour and fatigue of the aſcent, generally obliged us to take breath, whenever we came to a place that allowed us leiſure. The higher we came, the more difficult we found the path, ſo that we had in the end, much to do to hold faſt by the ſhrubs, to prevent our falling down from the dreadful height, and being daſhed to pieces. Sometimes, when we met with large ſtones, and had room to look about us, we rolled them downwards, and following them with our eyes, perceived them in their fall, ſucceſſively looſening many others, and heard them together clattering with a horrid noiſe down the ſteep ſides of the chaſm. We ſometimes likewiſe met with large maſſes

of

of ſtone, of full twenty feet ſquare, which had been torn from the mountain, and lay diſperſed in different ſituations down its ſide. The ground on which we trod, conſiſted in nothing but looſe ſtones, heaped upon each other; the ſharp ſides and angular irregularities of which, greatly added both to the danger, and to the difficulty of the aſcent. If one of theſe was looſened, many others followed it, and rolling away from under the foot, threatened to hurry the unwary traveller down the abyſs along with them, unleſs, with a firm hand, he could graſp the friendly ſecurity of ſome neighbouring deeprooted ſhrub.

It was half paſt ſeven when we got to the top of the *Table* Mountain, and found ourſelves on the level ſummit, which is peculiarly called the *Table*; and from the flat appearance of which, ſeen from below, the whole maſs has its name.

We here enjoyed the fineſt proſpect that imagination can conceive. Both wind and weather were favourable. The ſky was unencumbered with clouds, and the ſunbeams were uninterrupted. Our view on one ſide was bounded by the mountains of

Hottentot Holland. To the ſouthward, we beheld the breakers foaming along *Falſe* Bay, as far as its eaſtern point, and againſt *Roomans* Rock * which lies in it. Between this extenſive inlet, and the Table Mountains, appeared the vineyards of *Conſtantia.* A little farther was *Hout*, or *Wood* Bay; and turning more to the weſtward, the *Lion's* Mountain, of which that part called the head, although of a great height, appeared to us like a hillock, on account of the much greater altitude of our ſituation: it ſeemed to lie almoſt under our feet, notwithſtanding it is near ten thouſand feet from the Table Mountain; the *Lion's-tail*, which is more than one thouſand feet high, was ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable from the plain. The fineſt ſight was that of Table Bay. *Robben*, or *Seal* Iſland †, which lies in the middle of the bay, though it is three miles in circumference, ſcarce ſeemed as many feet. The maſts of the ſhips which were in the bay, could with difficulty be diſcerned;

* *Roomans* Rock, ſo called, from a kind of red fiſh, named *roômans* or *red men*, by the inhabitants of the Cape, which abound in *Falſe* Bay. They are excellent eating, and ſeem to be a ſpecies of mullet. *T.*

† This is called Penguin Iſland, in our maps. *T.*

while

while their yards and tackling were in no-wiſe diſtinguiſhable. The ſmaller veſſels and boats appeared like ſpecks; yet *Daſſen*, or *Badger* Iſland*, was perfectly viſible. Cape-town, upon which we looked directly down, appeared a ſmall ſquare, in which we could diſtinguiſh the diviſions into ſtreets, but none of the houſes or buildings, the church excepted; which, however, was alſo hardly diſcernible; and the fort, which lies at a little diſtance from the town. It is difficult to deſcribe in how ſmall a ſpace the whole of the above, and the circumjacent country ſeemed to be compreſſed. The view down that ſide which we had aſcended, was in the higheſt degree frightful; appearing like an overhanging precipice. The proſpect of deſcending again that way, was by no means alluring, yet there was no other practicable path.

The air, at this height, was very cool and rarefied, notwithſtanding the ſun ſhone very bright, and it was in the ſummer-ſeaſon

* This is improperly called Coney Iſland, in our maps: it has its name from the quantities of a ſpecies of Guinea-rat, or the *cavia capenſis*, with which it abounds, and which are wrongfully called *daſſen* or *badgers*, by the people of the Cape. *T.*

in this country. At Cape-town it was a warm day, for the thermometer then ſtood at 80°. We cauſed the ſlaves, whom we had brought with us, to collect ſome bruſhwood, and lighting a good fire, we ſat round it, and had a comfortable dinner.

Having thus reſted for ſome time, we afterwards walked over part of the Table, which took us an hour and a half. Its ſurface is not perfectly level; for there are here and there rocky irregularities, though ſeldom exceeding a man's height above the plain. This conſiſts in many places of bare rock, lying in ſtrata, and undulated like the waves of the ſea. On the N.E. and S.E. ſides the interſtices of the rock are filled with a ſtony kind of earth, and produce various kinds of flowers, with which we were unacquainted; ſome of them affording a grateful odour, and others ſmelling very diſagreeably *. We were ſome time ſearching for the fiſhponds, which we had been told were formerly found on the ſum-

* Dr. THUNBERG mentions, as growing on the ſummit of the mountain, the following rare and beautiful flowers, *orchis grandiflora*, *ſerapias tubularis*, *ſerapias melaleuca*, and the blue *diſa longicornis*; the firſt and laſt of which he never could meet with any where elſe. T.

mit

mit of the mountain, but met with nothing of the kind. In the chinks and hollow places of the rock, however, we found ſome very ſweet freſh water, which had a yellowiſh appearance, and which probably had been lodged there by the denſe clouds which cover the Table when the wind blows from the S.E. This water refreſhed us greatly, for we had not taken any with us from the town, and were extremelythirſty.

Several ſpots, where a little earth had been collected, produced a kind of reedy graſs, with ſharp points, and growing tolerably high, interſperſed likewiſe with flowers, as beforementioned. To the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt, the Table has a ſenſible ſlope, but it is alſo on thoſe ſides bounded by a precipitous deſcent of ſeveral hundred feet, with over-hanging rocks, and black protuberant maſſes, ſo that it is here utterly impoſſible to be ſcaled.

Having remained for the ſpace of full four hours on the ſummit of the mountain, we began our deſcent a little before noon; having proceeded downwards for about half an hour, we arrived at a cavity in the rock, which we had overlooked on our aſcent, and which being ſhaded by a part which jutted

out a good way, formed a pleaſant grotto. The ground was covered with ſhort graſs. A limpid jet of ſweet water, of about an inch in breadth, ſprang from the rock at the back of the grotto. We reſted upon the ſoft verdure for about half an hour, and, conſuming our remaining proviſions, again ſet forward on our return.

The danger and difficulty we found in deſcending, were even greater than when aſcending the mountain. Obliged to look carefully around us, where to ſet our feet, we could not avoid beholding at the ſame time the dreadful abyſs before us, which was ſufficient to make the ſteadieſt head giddy. The leaſt falſe ſtep was much more dangerous than before; for while we were clambering upwards, we could ſecure ourſelves by holding by the ſhrubs, but now we could not do ſo, without going backwards, which, indeed, we were ſometimes obliged to do. As for ſliding down over the looſe and ſharp ſtones, that ſeemed to us, not only more dangerous, but alſo impracticable. At half paſt two o'clock, however, we reached the flat rock, as it is called, in ſafety. This is a long and level

ſpace

ſpace of rock, about two-thirds up the mountain, over which the rivulet which riſes at the top of the chaſm guſhes downwards.

We reſted here again for a ſhort time, and refreſhed ourſelves with a draught of the clear fountain-water. We then, proceeding farther, entered an eaſier path than that we had purſued in the morning, on our aſcent, and returned to Cape-town about four o'clock in the afternoon. The whole of the next day we could ſcarcely move either arms or legs, in conſequence of the ſtiffneſs of our joints, contracted by the fatigue we had undergone; and for a week afterwards, we felt great pain in our thighs, whenever we attempted to walk, even along a level ground.

Shortly after this, there arrived at the *Cape of Good Hope*, an Engliſh veſſel, the *Swallow* ſloop, commanded by Captain CARTERET, who had ſailed round the world, having left *Spithead* in the month of Auguſt, 1766, and paſſing through the ſtraits of *Magellan*, had traverſed the Pacific Ocean; and after having ſtopped ſome time at *Macaſſer*, had touched at *Batavia*,

and now made the Cape, on his way home. Only fifteen of the crew had died during the whole voyage, and the moſt part of theſe met their fate between *Batavia* and the Cape.

They kept the object of their voyage a profound ſecret. All I could diſcover reſpecting them was, as I thought, that their longeſt ſtay had been at the iſland of *Juan Fernandez* *.

Having received back our ſick, who were but half recovered, from the hoſpital, and the ſtrength of the reſt of the crew being recruited, by a daily refreſhment of good beef, greens, and bread, we left Table Bay on the 12th of December, with two hundred and eighteen hands, to proceed on our voyage to *Batavia*, the chief ſettlement of the Dutch in India. The ſoutheaſterly wind, with which we had left the bay, veered to the ſouthweſt as ſoon as we were

* Captain CARTERET ſtayed about a week at *Maſſafuero*, a ſmaller iſland, and near that of *Juan Fernandez*, having unexpectedly found the latter inhabited and fortified by the Spaniards. If we except the time he remained at *Macaſſer*, repairing his ſhip, and refreſhing his crew, which was upwards of five months, his longeſt ſtay was at *New Britain*, and the other iſlands to the eaſt of *New Guinea*. *T.*

out

out at ſea. We were, in conſequence, three days tacking about, in vain, before we could double the Cape. The 15th, however, the wind came round to the N.W. and we ſteered to the ſouth, and afterwards in an eaſterly direction, in order to double the Cape of *Anguillas*, and to paſs the reef of the ſame name. We found, however, that our ſhip was very leaky, and we were obliged to keep the pumps almoſt continually a-going, eſpecially when we carried any more ſail than uſual.

On the 20th, we ſaw a lunar rainbow, which was very clear and light, but had no diſtinct colours. On the 24th, we met with a violent ſtorm from the S.W. which continued to the next day, with a tremendous highrunning ſea; ſo that we were obliged to lie by, as we made much water, and we could no longer ſtem the force of the mountain-waves. The wind was accompanied by hail, and ſome hail-ſtones fell upon the ſhip, which were as large as a pigeon's egg. While lying by, the mizen-topſail, which was the only piece of canvaſs ſtanding, in order to keep the ſhip's head ſteady, was torn out of the braces;

braces; and we were obliged to ſet a reeved mizenſail, though we were every moment afraid to ſee the maſt come by the board, as it was very unſound: yet it fortunately ſtood out the gale. At the ſame time the water gained upon our leaks very faſt, by the ſevere ſtraining of the veſſel againſt the waves, ſo that we were forced to pump almoſt inceſſantly.

On the 25th, the weather became calmer, and the ſea ſmoother. We then again put before the wind, and purſued our voyage towards the eaſt.

When the ſtorm was over, we found that all our ſpare ſails were ſoaked, and a great part of our bread ſpoiled by the ſeawater; the principal ſeams were likewiſe, almoſt every where, wrenched ſo far open, that in ſome places they would admit a man's hand: this, however, we repaired as well as we could.

On the 10th of January, 1769, we ſaw a great number of gulls, and in the evening ſeveral ſeals, ſhearwaters, and black land-birds. Hence we concluded, that we were not far from the iſland *St. Paul*; though, according to our computation, it lay 80 leagues

leagues farther. For two days we had not been able to obſerve the variation of the compaſs, on account of the cloudy weather, by which the ſun was wholly obſcured. We however, at noon, obſerved our latitude, and found that it was exactly that of the abovenamed iſland. The ſky was, in the afternoon and evening, very thick, by a continual rain; and having, therefore, ſo little light, I directed our courſe to be altered two points from the eaſt, to E.S.E. in order to run down out of the latitude of the iſland, which proved the means of our preſervation; for at half paſt ten at night, we had a glimpſe of the land, cloſe upon our ſide, ſo that it even ſeemed to hang over us; but having got to windward of the iſland, we were enabled to run off ſhore before the wind, in a ſoutherly direction, which we did, till we were at the diſtance of two leagues from the iſland, and we then ſet our courſe again towards the eaſt.

This iſland, and that of *Amſterdam*, which lies fifteen leagues to the northward, are the only known iſlands in the ſouthern Indian Ocean

Ocean below the tropic of capricorn *. They are not large, but pretty high, particularly *St. Paul*, which is viſible, in a clear day, at the diſtance of nine or ten leagues.

The Eaſt-India Company ſent two ſhips to theſe iſlands in the year 1726. They were uninhabited. There was freſh water on both, and on that of *St. Paul* a hot ſpring of mineral water. There was good anchoring-ground on the north ſides of both, and the ſea around them abounded in fiſh. I did not find that any veſſels had viſited them ſince that time; they lie at 400 or 500 leagues diſtance from the continent †.

I directed little ſail to be made during the

* In the ſubſequent voyages of M. DE KERGUELEN, M. M. MARIOT and CROZET, and Captain COOK, thoſe navigators diſcovered other iſlands in this tract of the ocean, conſiſting in a large iſland, called *Kerguelen's-land*, in about 48° ſouth latitude, and 64° 20′ eaſt longitude from Greenwich, and ſome ſmall iſlands, in three different places, about the latitude of 46½° and 47½°, and longitudes 37°, 46½°, and 48½° eaſt from Greenwich. *T.*

† The moſt recent, as well as the moſt accurate, account of theſe iſlands, is to be found in Sir GEORGE STAUNTON's Account of Lord MACARTNEY's Embaſſy to China, whoſe ſquadron touched there. *T.*

night,

night, intending in the morning to ſteer again for the iſland, in order to have a near view of it; but finding at ſunriſe that, as the ſky remained overcaſt, and the heavy rain continued, there would be ſome danger in doing this, for want of a ſufficiently clear view, I deſiſted from the attempt, in order not to expoſe the ſhip unneceſſarily.

Shortly afterwards, about ſix o'clock, there aroſe a ſound juſt like the groaning of a man out of the ſea, near the ſhip's ſide. When I firſt heard it, I thought that ſome one of the crew had been hurt between the decks, and I ſent the officer of the watch down to ſee what was the matter. The men, however, who were on deck, told me that they had heard this noiſe ariſing, as it were, from out of the water ſeveral times before; and I then perceived it to be as they ſaid; for going on the outſide of the mainchains, I plainly heard it ten or twelve times repeated. It ſeemed to recede proportionably as the ſhip advanced, and leſſening by degrees, died away at the ſtern. I ſuppoſe that it was perhaps occaſioned by a ſealion, that might be near the ſhip, as many of theſe animals were ſaid to have been

been ſeen on the iſland *St. Paul*, although we perceived nothing like any animal. About ſeven o'clock, the gunner, who came to make a report of ſome matters of his department to me, informed me, that on one of his India voyages, he had met with the ſame occurrence, and that a dreadful ſtorm had ſucceeded, which forced them to hand all their ſails, and drive at the mercy of the winds and waves for four-and-twenty hours. When he told me this, there was not the leaſt appearance of any ſtorm; yet before four o'clock in the afternoon, we lay under our bare poles, ſcudding before the wind, in a violent tempeſt. The ſea ran ſo high on all ſides, that at nine o'clock in the evening, all the cabin windows and hatches were ſtove in, and the water ruſhed quite into the ſtateroom. To provide, however, as much as poſſible againſt this, we ſpread a ſail over the ſtern, on which the ſea could break, and which proved of great ſervice to us. This blowing weather continued till the next day, the 12th of January, when the violence of the ſtorm abating a little, we were enabled to ſet our ſails again. Fortunately, no material damage was done to our

maſts or yards, but the bread and ſail rooms were again very leaky.

At the ſame time we ſaw a good deal of floating ſeaweed, which is generally met with to the eaſtward of the iſlands *St. Paul* and *Amſterdam.* The meeting with ſeaweed may ſerve as an indication to navigators (beſides the variation of the compaſs, which here decreaſes below 19°) that they have paſſed thoſe iſlands, and are to the eaſtward of them.

On the 14th, having been kept back by ſtorms and contrary winds, we again came in ſight of the iſland *St. Paul,* bearing N.W. about eight or nine leagues off. The wind then coming round to the weſt, we ſteered a northeaſterly courſe, and on the 27th of January we paſſed the tropic of capricorn.

In 34° and 35° ſouth latitude, we found our compaſſes quite unſettled, the needles varying four and five points backwards and forwards, although there was but little motion in the ſhip, and we were ſailing but at a moderate rate.

In 30° ſouth latitude, we met with the S.E. monſoon, or tradewind, with which we ſteered N.N.E. in order to make the land to the

the weſtward of the ſtraits of *Sunda*, expecting to meet there with the weſterly winds.

On the laſt day of the month, we had the ſun vertically over us, and the higheſt riſe of the thermometer that day was to 81°, though on the following days it ſtood at 83° or 84°.

In 11° ſouth latitude, the S.E. tradewind left us, and changed to weſt, with which, on the 12th of February, we ran in ſight of the iſland *Engano*. We here found ourſelves 10¾ leagues more to the eaſt, than by the ſhip's reckoning.

This iſland lies in 5¼° ſouth latitude, about 25 leagues E.S.E. from *Prince's Iſland*, in the ſtraits of *Sunda*. Ships that paſs the ſtraits, in the weſterly monſoon, generally run in ſight of *Engano*. It is ſix or ſeven leagues in length, and not quite half as broad. It is not high, and can only be diſcerned at five leagues' diſtance. It always appears green, by the trees with which it is covered. We ſaw ſome breakers on the weſt ſide, but none any where elſe. There are no ſoundings round it, except on that ſide, where, according to the Indian Pilot, there

there is an anchorage: ſome fiſhermen inhabit it, but they are very ſhy of ſtrangers.

Immediately on coming in ſight of this iſland, we were overtaken by a violent thunderſtorm, which was followed by a continual calm for ſome days, ſo that we were not only prevented from advancing, but were driven by the currents, which ſet ſtrongly to the weſtward, more and more the contrary way; and on the 16th of February, we loſt ſight of *Engano*.

This calm weather ſtill continued, and if we ſometimes had a breeze, it came from the S.E. the very point towards which our courſe ſhould have been directed. Loitering here againſt our inclination, we diſcovered on the 21ſt, juſt before ſunſet, a low and ſmall iſlet, at ſcarcely three leagues' diſtance, which we found by our latitude to be the iſland *Met het rif*, or *Reef* Iſland; likewiſe called *Droevig*, or *Diſaſtrous* Iſland, on account of ſhips having formerly been wrecked upon it, by reaſon of its ſmallneſs. It was fortunate for us, that we ſaw it before dark; for we ſhould otherwiſe have run much danger of falling upon it during the night, ſince we could not think that

the currents could have ſet us ſo far to the weſtward, which in five days, ſince our laſt obſervation at the iſland *Engano*, we found to be full thirty leagues.

Having a ſoutheaſterly breeze, we immediately ran ſtraight off from the iſland, to the E.N.E. but at daybreak the next morning, we again found ourſelves cloſe to it; ſo that had it remained dark a little longer, we ſhould have been in the greateſt danger, by the ſtrong currents which ſet towards it. We were therefore obliged, in order to avoid the diſaſters with which theſe continual calms and violent currents threatened us, to fall below it, out of our courſe, in order to have ſearoom enough.

This place is, as has already been mentioned, both very ſmall and very low. At two leagues' diſtance, it has the appearance of a grove of evergreens, of about half a league in length, floating upon the water. Its ſouth latitude is 3° 45′, by my own obſervation. The Indian Pilot deſcribes it as having two reefs, one at the ſouth, and one at the north, ſtretching out to ſea, a league and a half: but ſailing round its north end, about a league from the ſhore, and ſounding with

with a line of 150 fathoms, we found no bottom; ſo that, in this inſtance, that book is not accurate; yet we ſaw breakers on the north ſide, as we computed, about a quarter of a league from the ſhore.

Our ill fortune was not yet at an end. We daily experienced calms, and contrary winds, together with heavy thunderſtorms; and in theſe, the lightning was ſo inceſſant, that the whole horizon appeared as if on fire. We had likewiſe violent guſts of wind, that ſeldom were above an hour in duration; during which, however, it was impoſſible to carry any ſail; and when we ſometimes attempted to make ſome progreſs by them, our ſails were either blown away, or we were in great danger of loſing our yards and maſts. When theſe ſudden ſqualls ſubſided, they were commonly ſucceeded by dead calms, and the heat was then nearly intolerable, the thermometer being often at 88°, without the leaſt refreſhing breeze, to mitigate the fervency of the weather. All this, added to the heavy and violent rains, which fell every day, occaſioned much ſickneſs among the ſeamen; ſome of whom, in a ſhort time, paid the debt to nature.

Among the dead, was my ſecond lieutenant. I experienced myſelf the greateſt torture, from a violent colic, for ten or twelve days, and the whole duty devolved thus on the firſt lieutenant, who was obliged to be on deck both night and day, as neither of the two officers next in rank, were fit for ſerving in the capacities they held, and were even hardly acquainted with the compaſs.

It was not till the 15th of March, that we got ſight of land. At eight o'clock, A.M. on that day, we diſcovered the high land of *Sumatra's* weſt coaſt *, and at noon made the *Keizers Piek*, or *Pike of the Emperor*, being a lofty, ſpiry mountain ſo called. Taking a good obſervation here, we found that the currents had driven us 60 leagues to the weſtward, ſince the 16th of February, though they otherwiſe, in this time of the year, moſtly ſet to the eaſt.

On the 16th of March, at noon, we entered the ſtraits of *Sunda*, having the *Flat*

* The part of *Sumatra* here meant, though, in fact, the ſoutheaſt end of the iſland, is denominated by the Dutch, as above, *Sumatra's* weſt coaſt, on account of its relative weſterly ſituation, with reſpect to their chief ſettlements at the eaſt end of *Java*. *T.*

point

point of *Sumatra* on the one hand, and *Printes* Iſland on the other. I ſhall ſpeak more at large of both places, in the obſervations which I have already mentioned.

Towards the evening, we found ourſelves not far from the iſland *Kraketau*. The wind now gathering into a ſtorm from the weſtward, and the rain rendering the ſky very hazy, we reſolved to lie by during the night, not having ſufficient light to proceed. Making ſail again at daybreak, we came at noon abreaſt of the iſland *Dwars in den Weg*, or *Middle* Iſle. The guard ſtationed at *Anjer*, in behalf of the Company, came on board of us here, and I diſpatched a letter by him, to the governor general at *Batavia*, and one to the commandant at *Bantam*, requeſting to have ſome refreſhments ſent on board for my people. About eleven o'clock at night, we anchored abreaſt of the point of *Bantam*, near the iſland *Panjang*.

We received, the next morning, the refreſhments we had aſked for: they conſiſted in an old buffalo, the fleſh of which was ſo tough, that no boiling would ſoften it, ſome very indifferent vegetables, and forty fowls.

For this ſcanty proviſion, the Eaſt-India Company were charged one hundred gilders *.

In the afternoon, the wind being weſterly, we weighed anchor, and at ſunſet, came to an anchor again, near the iſlands called *De Wapens van Hoorn*, or *The Arms of Horn*; for it is very dangerous to ſail in the night-time along this coaſt, becauſe of the ſhoals and rocks, which are ſcattered all the way, under the ſurface of the ſea.

At ſunriſe, on the 19th of March, we again got under weigh, and paſſing, a little after noon, the iſland *Onruſt*, we caſt anchor about four o'clock, P.M. in the road of *Batavia*. The admiral, or flagſhip, returned our ſalute, of thirteen guns, with five, and I immediately went on ſhore, to wait upon the governor general, in order to inform him of my arrival, and give him an account of my voyage. His excellency, however, was at his country-ſeat, called *Wel te Vreeden* (Well-contented), and I accordingly went thither, to pay my reſpects to him.

* About nine pounds ſterling. *T.*

CHAPTER III.

Paſſage from BATAVIA *to* BANTAM.—*Situation of* BANTAM.—*Deſcription of the city.—The Paſcébaan.—The Moſque.—The King's Palace, and Fort* DIAMOND.—*Religion.—Fort* SPEELWYK.—*Company's Officers.—Dependencies of the Commandery at* BANTAM.—*Pepper taken on board.—Weights.—Viſit to ſome remarkable Places without the City.—Viſit to the King of* BANTAM.—*Account of his Court, and our Entertainment there.—The King's Proceſſion to the Moſque.—Cargo completed. Departure from* BANTAM.—*Anchorage at the Iſland* ONRUST.

HAVING diſcharged the cargo of the ſhip, and taken in ballaſt, I received orders from the governor general, to go to *Bantam*, to take a cargo of pepper on board. My departure was fixed for the 10th of May, and I was likewiſe directed to hoiſt an enſign at the maintop, as ſoon as we were out of ſight of the road of *Batavia*, becauſe Mr. VAN TEST, ſenior merchant, and ex-commiſſary of inland affairs, together with Mr. DE MEYER, counſeller of juſtice, and ſome

more company, both ladies and gentlemen, were on board, and were to go the voyage to *Bantam* with me; although this mark of diſtinction was not properly due to any one of them, unleſs they had been on commiſſion in behalf of the Company's government, which was not the caſe.

We accordingly ſailed on the appointed day, the 10th of May, having on board eight cheſts of money, containing fifty thouſand Spaniſh dollars, which were to be given in payment for pepper, to the king of *Bantam*.

At two o'clock, P.M. we anchored abreaſt of the iſland *Onruſt*, as the ſeabreeze began to blow pretty ſtrong againſt us.

We ſailed again the next day, at daybreak, and in the evening, caſt anchor abreaſt of the iſland called *De Groote Combuis*, or the *Great Furnace*, whence we ſet ſail again, on the 12th, in the morning, and anchored at three o'clock, P.M. before the city of *Bantam*, cloſe to a ſmall iſland called *Het Hollandſch Kerkhof*, or *the Dutch churchyard*.

We ſaluted the Eaſt-India Company's commandery here, with thirteen guns, and had

had our ſalute returned, with the ſame number. Before we reached the road, Mr. REINOUTS, the commandant at *Bantam*, came on board, to welcome the company who were with me; and they all went on ſhore together, at four o'clock. I ſoon followed them, and Mr. REINOUTS very politely offered me the uſe of his houſe and table, while I remained at *Bantam*, which I thankfully accepted.

The gulph or bay of *Bantam*, bounded by the point of the ſame name, and that of *Pontang*, forms a commodious retreat for ſhips, large numbers of which may anchor in it in ſafety. Many ſmall iſlands lie ſcattered up and down in it; and they afford an agreeable proſpect to the ſhips in the road. Theſe iſlands are all uninhabited, except *Pulo Panjang*, or the *Long Iſland*, which is the largeſt, and on which ſome fiſhermen reſide. There is a great plenty of fine fiſh here, among which the inhabitants of *Bantam* prefer one called the *kaalkop*, or *bald-head*, which has ſome reſemblance to cod. It is at the bottom of the bay that the city of *Bantam* is ſituated, full a quarter of an hour's

hour's walk from the ſeaſide. It lies between two branches of a river, which deſcends from the mountains. The diſtance from *Batavia* is about thirteen Dutch miles*, or leagues.

The communication between theſe two places by land, is very difficult, owing to the thick foreſts, and deep moraſſes, which lie between them. Theſe obſtacles render the road by land, nearly impracticable, at leaſt for Europeans: for this reaſon, people go by water, making uſe of the land and ſea winds, which ſeldom fail, and which drive the light Indian veſſels or *proas*, called *flyers*, to and fro, along the coaſt, with ſurpriſing celerity. I was told that they ſometimes took up no more than four hours in the paſſage.

The river of *Bantam* is only about 170 or 180 feet over, at its mouth. It is likewiſe very ſhallow, ſo that at low water, a common ſhip's boat does not lie afloat in it. It is beſet with wooden piles, on both ſides, as far as Fort *Speelwyk*; but they are kept in very indifferent repair, which is a pity; as they would

* A Dutch mile, which they in general call an hour, is about three miles and a half Engliſh. T.

be

be of ſervice, to prevent the ſhifting of the ſand. At high water, and in ſpring tides, it is from five to ſeven feet deep, and ſmall Indian veſſels can then enter the river.

Though this is called the river of *Bantam*, it is properly only a branch of it. The river itſelf is divided above the town, into three channels, of which this is the middle one, the two others run into the ſea, about a league and a half off, on each ſide.

Bantam lies in an extenſive plain, behind which there is a range of high and maſſy mountains, that extend far to the ſouthward. I cannot determine reſpecting its ſize, not having had an opportunity of going round it: it muſt certainly, however, be called a large city, for I have often walked ſtraight on for a whole hour, without reaching the end. I did not perceive any walls or fortifications toward the ſea, nor any on the landſide, except Fort *Diamond*, in which the king's palace ſtands; notwithſtanding ſeveral travellers talk much about them. You enter the town without perceiving it, and would rather ſuppoſe yourſelf to be in a grove of cocoanut-trees, than in a city. The houſes, if huts of this

nature, wattled up with reeds or canes, plaiſtered with clay, and covered with leaves or *attap* *, may deſerve that appellation, are ſcattered to and fro, without any order or ſymmetry of ſtreets, and round each of them is a plantation of cocoanut-trees, the whole ſurrounded by a paling of ſplit bamboo, by which every family is wholly ſeparated from its neighbours.

A quarter of a league from where the city begins, towards the mountains, is a large open field, called the *Paſcébaan*, where three roads (for ſtreets they cannot be called, having no reſemblance to ſuch), leading from different quarters of the town, unite to the weſtward of the river. This forms the eaſtern, as part of the city does the ſouthern, boundary of the *Paſcébaan*, while the royal moſque is ſituated on the north, and the king's palace on the weſt ſide of it. In the middle of this plain ſtands a large *weringa* tree †, which extends its ſpreading branches on all ſides, and affords a perpetual

* This is the name given to the leaves of the palm-tree, uſed for covering of houſes. *T.*

† *Caſuarina equiſetifolia.*

and

and agreeable ſhade. At the foot of this tree, is a grave, covered with a large blue ſtone, in which the body of one of the former kings of *Bantam* lies buried, and which the inhabitants look upon as a very holy place, and revere it greatly. A little farther off, on the other ſide, is a building, which reſts upon poſts, riſing ten or twelve feet out of the ground. The roof is ſupported by an appearance of pillars. It is uſed as a place of circumciſion, for the children of the king; and on ſuch occaſions, it is hung round, and richly decorated, with coſtly tapeſtry, and pieces of cloth.

The name of this field, the *Paſcébaan*, is that which is given throughout the eaſt, to thoſe places where their princes divert themſelves, with horſe-races and ſimilar exerciſes. All their courtiers and great men muſt then appear on horſeback, and in magnificent apparel, to contend in the races with the king or his ſons; always, however, with the proviſo, that they yield the palm of victory to their royal competitors.

The moſque or temple, mentioned above, ſtands at the end of a little pleaſant lawn: it is ſurrounded by a high wall, and is almoſt

ſquare.

ſquare. It has five roofs above each other, all decreaſing in ſize upwards, till the laſt terminates in a point; the eaves of the loweſt, jut out much beyond the walls of the temple. Cloſe by, is a high, but ſlender, ſpire, which ſerves, like the *minarets* in Turkey, to announce the hours of prayer. Neither Chriſtian nor Pagan may enter this temple, upon pain of death. Indeed there is little to be ſeen in it, as I was informed, more than a parcel of benches, and a ſort of pulpit, in which the king ſometimes performs the ſervice as prieſt; as I ſhall have occaſion to notice hereafter.

The royal palace, which ſtands on the weſt ſide of the *Paſcébaan*, is built within a fortreſs, which is called the *Diamond*. This is an oblong ſquare, eight hundred and forty feet in length, and nearly half as broad. It has regular baſtions at the four corners, and ſeveral ſemicircular places of arms on the ſides. I counted ſixty-ſix pieces of cannon in this fortification, the greateſt part braſs, and moſtly heavy artillery, but old, and few of them ſerviceable. The touch-holes of ſome were ſo worn away, that a ſmall teacup could eaſily be paſſed through them.

them. There were ſeveral with the arms of Portugal, and a few with thoſe of England; likewiſe five or ſix braſs cannon, founded by the Javaneſe. Theſe laſt had two ſtrong iron rings, round the chace, at the mouth, and two at the chambers, to ſecure the piece from burſting. They appeared to me to be twelve-pounders. The four baſtions point to the four middle points of the compaſs, N.E. S.E. S.W. and N.W. The walls are built of hard ſtone, and are fourteen or fifteen feet in height. Every expence relative to the reparation and keeping in order of the fort, and of the artillery, muſt be defrayed by the king, by whoſe predeceſſors it was erected in the latter part of the laſt century.

The Dutch Eaſt-India Company keep a garriſon in it, conſiſting of one captain, three ſubalterns, and one hundred and thirty privates. This force ſerves nominally to defend the perſon of the king from all hoſtile attempts; but, in fact, to have him always in the Company's power. None of his ſubjects, either high or low, not even his ſons, are allowed to approach his perſon, without the knowledge of the captain of the Dutch

Dutch military, who receives information reſpecting the king's viſitors, from the guard at the gate, and tranſmits it, from time to time, to the commandant at Fort *Speelwyk*. No Javaneſe or Bantammer is ever allowed to paſs the night, within the walls of the fort.

A wet ditch runs round it, but this would be a trifling obſtacle to the operations of an European enemy; for it is entirely neglected, and in many places almoſt dry. On a ſtone over the gate, is an inſcription in Dutch, by which it appears that the fortreſs was built by one HENRY LOUWRENTS, a native of *Steenwyk*, in the province of *Overyſſel*. This man, fearing the conſequences of ſome crime or other which he had committed, quitted the ſervice of the Company, and entered into that of the king of *Bantam*, who finding he had ſome knowledge of fortification, employed him in building this caſtle, after he had abjured his religion, and embraced the Mahomedan faith. Fort *Diamond* is not diſcernible until one is cloſe to it, on account of the numerous cocoanut-trees with which the city abounds, and which impede the view; we muſt, however, except that ſide of it,

it, that faces the *Pacébaan*, where it is open to the eye.

The approach to it, is over a drawbridge, that is thrown over the moat. Between this bridge and the gate of the fort, is a ſpace of ground, or eſplanade, on the right ſide of which, ſtands a large building, with a ſquare roof, open in front and at the ſides, in which the ceremony of crowning the hereditary prince is performed. On the other ſide are the king's ſtables and coach-houſes, the former well provided with horſes; the latter, which are only wooden ſheds, contain ſeveral coaches, which have at different times been preſented to the king, by the Company, or their governors, and among which there are ſome that are venerably old, and in a taſte truly antique. The king's *gomgoms*, a ſort of muſical inſtruments, of which I ſhall ſpeak more at large in another place, are likewiſe kept in thoſe ſheds.

At the gate of the fort, an officer and four and twenty men, mount guard night and day. The palace is about twenty paces from the *corps de garde*, and is called *Dal'm*, which in the Malay language ſigni-

ſies, *the inmoſt*. This is not a ſingle or regular building, but conſiſts of many dwellings united together, and covers nearly the whole ſpace of ground within the fort. In the centre appears a ſquare building, which has two roofs riſing above each other, to ſuch a height, that it is viſible three leagues off at ſea. It is moſtly built of brick, and covered with tiles, but there is no regularity obſerved, with reſpect to its architecture, or ſcite. The walls of the king's ſeraglio are raiſed higher than thoſe of the fort, to render it impervious to the eyes of the curious. The captain who commanded the garriſon here, related to me, that two inquiſitive mortals were once diſcovered, attempting to ſcale theſe walls, and were inſtantly put to death.

When the king's ſons arrive at the age of puberty, they do not any longer reſide with their father, but have each their ſeparate ſeraglio or harem. All the ſervants of the palace are women, and even the attendant guards of the king are of the female ſex; for, although, when he appears in public, he is accompanied by his Bantam life-guards, yet they are never admitted within

the gates of the fortreſs. Theſe, beſides their ordinary ſidearms, *criſſes* or long daggers, are provided with pikes, the iron heads of which are very long and broad; and the king is likewiſe attended, when he goes abroad, by a guard of Europeans from the garriſon.

The religion of the kingdom of *Bantam* is the ſame as prevails throughout Java, that of Mahomet.

In what relation this part of the iſland ſtands, with reſpect to the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, will appear in another place.

Fort *Speelwyk* is a fortreſs, which the Company cauſed to be built, during the civil wars, between Sultan AGON, king of *Bantam*, and his ſon (in 1682); and it was called *Speelwyk*, in alluſion to the name of the then governor general of India, CORNELIUS SPEELMAN. It is ſituated on the eaſt bank of the river, a very little way from its mouth. It is a ſquare, defended at three of its angles by regular baſtions, and at the fourth, by a demi-baſtion. It is mounted with forty-eight pieces of cannon, of various calibers. The north, ſouth, and weſt ſides are covered by a wet ditch, which is, how-

ever, neither broad nor deep; and which has a communication with the river that waſhes the eaſt ſide. The walls are conſtructed of a heavy and hard kind of ſtone, and are thirteen or fourteen feet in height, but in ſome places they are beginning to decay. In the interior of the fort, there is an open ſquare, planted with trees in the middle, the ſides of which, are formed by ſeveral buildings, in which part of the Company's ſervants reſide. Amongſt theſe, the houſe of the commandant is diſtinguiſhable above the reſt, having lately been handſomely rebuilt, and amply provided with roomy apartments; one of which ſerves for a chapel. The other buildings conſiſt in, barracks for the ſoldiery, warehouſes, &c. The gate is very near the riverſide, over which there is a drawbridge, and oppoſite to it is a pretty long ſtreet, in which the Company's ſervants reſide, for whom there is no room in the fort, together with a few Chineſe. The garriſon is nearly equal to that of Fort *Diamond*, but a conſiderable number are generally confined by ſickneſs; this place being conſidered as even more unhealthy than *Batavia*.

The

The chief authority, in behalf of the Company, is here veſted in a ſenior merchant, with the title of commandant, who has likewiſe the management of the trade, which chiefly conſiſts in pepper, and ſome cotton-yarn. This officer, however, is under the immediate controul of the local government at *Batavia*, whence he receives orders, and whither he ſends reports, nearly every day; for *Bantam* is only looked upon as an outpoſt or dependency of *Batavia*: whereas other Commanderies, which are ſituated at a greater diſtance from the capital, are only ſubject to the orders of the council of India. Yet the commandant here, has likewiſe a council, conſiſting of the adminiſtrator, or ſecond in command, and ſome of the ſervants of the Company following next in rank. There is alſo a fiſcal for the purpoſe of preventing the illicit or ſmuggling trade. One BAYARD, who filled this office in the preceding year, had accuſed the commandant of having himſelf engaged in theſe underhand dealings with the Engliſh; but the accuſer died in good time, and the accuſed was acquitted of the charge. The actual commandant,

J. REINOUTS, was a native of *Enkhuizen* in North Holland, and had enjoyed the appointment for ſome years. I was told at *Batavia*, that he paid great attention to the Company's pepper-trade. Whenever he goes out in ſtate, he is eſcorted by a guard, conſiſting of one non-commiſſioned officer and twelve privates. He is addreſſed by the title of *achtbaar heer*, or worſhipful ſir, and his inferiors never approach him but with the deepeſt reſpect.

To the Commandery of *Bantam* alſo belong the reſidencies, or factories which the Company poſſeſs, at *Lampong Toulan Bauwang*, and *Lampong Samanca*, both ſituated in the ſouthern part of the iſland *Sumatra*. Theſe are ſubordinate or conquered provinces of the kingdom of *Bantam*, and yield a conſiderable quantity of pepper annually. The officers of the Company who reſide there, are chiefly ſtationed, in order to keep a watchful eye upon the ſpice, that it do not fall into any other hands than their own. They have both the rank of book-keepers, and have each a few ſoldiers, and a non-commiſſioned officer with them. The reſident at *Toulan Bauwang*, had been publicly

licly beheaded at *Batavia* two or three years before; he had cauſed one of the grandees of the king of *Bantam*, and who was his deputy there, to be ſhot dead in cold blood. The governor general did all that could be done to ſave his life, but the remonſtrances of the court of *Bantam* were ſo ſtrong and preſſing, that at laſt he was obliged to be put to death. He underwent the puniſhment with the greateſt fortitude and compoſure.

There are two other outpoſts, which are likewiſe taken from the garriſon of *Bantam*, one at *Anjer*, or *Aniar*, and the other at *Jeritta*, both places in that kingdom, but each conſiſts of no more than two men. They are chiefly ſet, for the purpoſe of watching the ſhips that arrive, of which they note down the names, and the places whence they come, and immediately give information of them, to the commandant at *Bantam*, who, in his turn, tranſmits it to the governor general at *Batavia*. This is done with reſpect to Dutch, as well as to foreign veſſels.

The day after our arrival, the cheſts of money were taken from on board, and car-

ried on ſhore; part of the ballaſt was diſcharged, and every thing made ready to ſhip the pepper. This was begun to be effected on the 15th of May, and on that day we took on board, about 70,000 pounds weight. The delivery of the pepper was made out of the king's warehouſes, ſituated near the river, after having been weighed by one of his ſervants, by weights of 250 pounds each, in the preſence of eight or nine of his *inghebées*, or princes, who took an exact account of the whole; a ſervant of the Company deputed for that purpoſe, and one of my ſhip's officers, being likewiſe preſent, to prevent every kind of fraud. It was afterwards carried down the river, in flat-bottomed boats, and put on board, while a guard was ſtationed in every boat, to prevent any pepper being ſtolen; for the Bantammers are greatly addicted to this vice. Heavy goods are weighed here by *bhars*, each containing three *picols*, and theſe laſt are eſtimated at one hundred and twenty-five pounds.

While the loading of my ſhip was going on, I now and then made an excurſion inland, together with the Company from *Batavia*,

tavia, to ſome *paſſar*, or market. In theſe, on certain days of the week, all kinds of goods, but more eſpecially the country proviſions, are expoſed for ſale. We likewiſe paid a viſit to a place, ſituated about a Dutch mile and a half out of the city, which is called *Grobbezak*. It is an old and very ruinous four-cornered building, ſtanding on a ſquare piece of ground, of about ten or eleven acres, ſurrounded with water which is three hundred feet broad. A bridge formerly led to this little iſland, the remains of which were ſtill to be ſeen in the water; but at preſent no one attempts to go over to it, for fear of the alligators or crocodiles, which inhabit the water. We, however, ſaw none of theſe animals. The natives believe, that no perſon could live in this building, on account of the evil ſpirits which reſide there. It is, in all probability, a relic of the Portugueſe. Sitting on a little eminence oppoſite to it, there is an echo, which plainly repeats a word five or ſix times.

Another day, we went to view the tomb of one of the principal ſaints of the Bantammers. This lay full two Dutch miles from the city, upon a hill, of about two hundred

hundred feet high. Hard by is a little village, called *Bodjo Nogare*. It is not far from the ſea, into which the rivulet which runs cloſe to it, diſcharges itſelf. There is a *paſſer* or market, held here every Saturday, for proviſions, cotton-yarn, capok *, and other productions of the land. At the top of the hill which is called *Vounong Santri*, from the name of the ſaint, ſtands the tomb, which is made of brick, and is no more than twelve inches above the ground. At the head and feet, ſtand two cylindrical ſtones, of three feet in height, like ſmall pillars, which the Javaneſe cover with a piece of white cotton cloth, in honour of their ſaint. The whole is ſurrounded by a kind of low white ſtone wall, raiſed a little higher than the tomb. The natives pay extraordinary reſpect to this holy repoſitory of the dead, and would not ſuffer any one to

* *Capok*, is the denomination given to the cotton, which incloſes the ſeed, in the capſule of the ſilk-cotton-tree (*bombax pentandrum*), and is not uſed for ſpinning, but for making matraſſes, bolſters and pillows. The other cotton is the produce of a perennial ſhrub (*goſſypium herbaceum*). Its ſeed-veſſels contain a very fine cotton, called *capas*, which is woven into an infinite number of cotton and calliço pieces, of various degrees of fineneſs. *T.*

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commit an indecorous action, or eaſe nature, near it, without ſevere puniſhment. They are perſuaded, that even if any animal were to void its excrement upon the tomb, it would inſtantly drop down dead. Their legends relate, that this ſaint walked dry-ſhod over the ſea, in the preſence of a multitude of faithful muſſelmen, and could paſs many days and nights, without taking any kind of nouriſhment. Cloſe by the tomb there is a ſhady tree, round which a cubebs-plant, which produces the long pepper, twines its luxuriant branches.

Shortly after our arrival at *Bantam*, Mr. VAN TETS, and the company that were with him, had aſked leave to pay their reſpects to the king, and the 17th of May was fixed upon, for that purpoſe.

Accordingly, on that day, three of the king's courtiers, magnificently arrayed in the Javaneſe faſhion, came to fetch the company, at the head of whom was the commandant REINOUTS, while I likewiſe made part of it. The garriſon of fort *Speel-wyk* was under arms, and drawn out in two files, from the commandant's houſe to the gate, whither we had to walk between them.

them. Having paſſed the drawbridge of the fort, we found there in waiting, three of the king's coaches, with European coachmen, dreſſed in his livery, which is yellow, with red flowers. The deputies from the court, deſired the company to take their places, in the ſecoaches. In the firſt, were ſeated the ladies of the company; in the ſecond, was the commandant REINQUTS, and Mr. VAN TETS, eſcorted by the uſual guard of the former, conſiſting in twelve grenadiers, and preceded by ten of the king's bodyguards; and in the third coach, followed the reſt of the company.

We rode in this order, over the *Paſcébaan*, as far as the drawbridge of fort *Diamond*, where we left our equipages; and coming over the bridge, found part of the ſultan's bodyguards, likewiſe ranged in two files, as far as the gate of the fort. They were armed with half-pikes, and were naked down to their middle, which was girded by a piece of dark blue or blackiſh cotton cloth, which came round between their legs, and hung about half-way down their thighs.

While we were paſſing between their ranks, the *gomgoms*, and other Indian muſical inſtruments,

inſtruments, were played. Coming to the gate of the fort, we were met by the king, who took the commandant REINOUTS, and Mr. VAN TETS, by the hand, and led them in, while we ſlowly followed in proceſſion. Within the gate, ſtood the guard under arms, and the drums were beat inceſſantly. There were beſides two trumpeters ſtationed at the entrance of the palace, and dreſſed in the king's livery, who ſounded a luſty peal of wind-muſic.

The entrance to the palace, is through an arched gateway; the plaiſtering of which was, in all likelihood, once of a white hue, but now appeared very black and dirty. It had, upon the whole, more the appearance of a priſon than of a regal palace, and gave me but a very indifferent idea of the inſide. Paſſing hence, we came into a large hall, which ſeemed, to the eye, to be about fifty-five or ſixty feet in length, and of about half that breadth, with a tolerably lofty cieling, built archwiſe, and ſeemingly wainſcoted. The walls were whitewaſhed, but looked very dirty, ſo that it was eaſily to be ſeen that little attention was paid to them. The floor was paved, diamondwiſe, with

ſquare red tiles. The light and air were let in, on the north ſide, through three windows, and two large doors, opening towards the inner buildings of the court, which wore likewiſe not the moſt inviting appearance.

The door by which we entered, was at the lower end of the hall; at the other end, was another, leading to the remaining apartments. Near it ſtood a couch, covered with yellow ſatin; and alſo a kind of bedſtead, with doors; the whole lacquered in the Chineſe faſhion. A little lower, was an oblong ſquare table, with a yellow cover, adorned with red flowers; and on it ſtood three large chaſed ſilver diſhes, with *ſiri* leaves, *areca* nut, and the further requiſites for the preparation of *pinang* *. Againſt the wall, were two ſide-tables, with beautiful marble ſlabs; and between them, chairs

* *Pinang* is the name of the kernel of the areca-nut (*areca cathecu*); but it ſeems likewiſe to mean, the mixture of the ingredients they uſe for maſtication. The *ſiri* leaves are betel leaves (*piper betel*). Into one of theſe leaves, a piece of the areca-nut, which is generally divided into ſix parts, one of which ſerves at a time, being put, with a little lime, the leaf is folded together, and kept in the mouth till all the ſtrength is drawn out of it. The univerſality of the practice of chewing betel and areca, throughout the eaſt, is well known. *T.*

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of walnut-tree wood, made in the European faſhion.

At the lower end of the room, was a large mat of ſplit rattans, ſpread upon the floor, on which the king's courtiers, with the prince, or prime miniſter, who had the adminiſtration of the empire, at their head, ſat down upon their heels, as ſoon as we had taken our places at the table. The king, having led the two abovementioned gentlemen into the room, placed himſelf upon a raiſed chair, at the upper end of the table. Next to him, on the left hand, having his face turned towards the windows, ſat the commandant REINOUTS, then Mr. VAN TETS, and the other gentlemen of the company. On the oppoſite ſide of the table, on the right hand of the king, ſat his firſt queen, the mother of the prince, heir apparent of the crown; next to her was Mrs. VAN TETS, then the ſecond queen, then followed the lady ſecond in rank of our company, then the third queen, then again one of our ladies, and the fourth queen, and next to her, the laſt on that ſide, ſat a little boy, the ſon of Mr. VAN TETS.

The two firſt of theſe queens ſeemed to be

be already pretty far advanced in years, but the two others were younger, and, though ſomewhat brown, looked very well; yet I remarked ſome of the female ſlaves, who ſerved us, who were incomparably handſomer and fairer than any of the four legal wives of the king. Their dreſs too, had not any thing peculiarly graceful in it, conſiſting in long chintz *kabays*, or robes, of a ſufficient fine quality it is true, but hanging looſe down to the feet, in the Indian faſhion, as I ſhall hereafter more particularly deſcribe.

Their hair, which was of a jetty black, was combed ſmooth up over the head, and faſtened behind with a wreath, which is here commonly called a *condé*, richly adorned likewiſe with gold and jewels. They ſat on chairs, in the ſame manner as we do, although this is quite contrary to the general cuſtom of the orientals, who every where are uſed to ſit with their legs croſſed under them. Theſe ladies were very talkative, and converſed much with ours in the Malay language, while the chewing of *betel* or *pinang* was not forgotten, either by the Indian ſultanas, or the Dutch ladies.

The king, who was addreſſed by the title of

of *Touang Sultan*, or My Lord the King, appeared to me to be a man of between forty-five and fifty years of age. His colour was a cheſtnut-brown, with a friendly countenance, which was not belied by his manners or behaviour. He had a little beard, and black hair, curling a little: he ſeemed more inclined to ſpareneſs than to corpulency. His dreſs conſiſted in a long Mooriſh coat, made of a certain ſtuff, interwoven with gold, which is manufactured at *Surat*, and is called *ſoesjes*. This hung down almoſt to his feet. The ſleeves, which were looſe and wide above the elbow, ſet cloſe to the lower part of the arm, where they were faſtened by a row of ſmall gold buttons. Under this coat, he wore a white ſhirt, and a pair of drawers, that reached down to his heels, of the ſame ſtuff as the coat. On his feet he had Turkiſh ſhoes drawn on ſlipſhod, the forepart of which was turned upwards; and white ſtockings on his legs. His head was covered by a round, and ſomewhat ſharp-pointed, cap, of a violet colour, laced with ſilver. Behind his chair ſtood one of his female lifeguards, who was relieved from time to time, armed with a

large gold *kris*, in a ſheath of maſſy gold, which ſhe continually kept raiſed on high; and which the king, when he ſtood up to conduct us out, took from her, and put under his arm. Two female ſlaves, one on each ſide, were ſeated next to him on the ground. One of theſe, held his tobacco-box and his betel-box, both of which were made of gold, and of a pretty large ſize. When he wanted either the one or the other, it was handed to him, wrapped up in a ſilk handkerchief. The other female attendant, had a golden ſpitting-pot in her hand, which ſhe handed from time to time to his majeſty, as he ſtood in need of this utenſil.

As ſoon as we were ſeated, pipes and tobacco were preſented to us; after which the commandant REINOUTS and Mr. VAN TETS entered into converſation with the king, on indifferent ſubjects, in the Malay language. Hereupon the king called the *pangorang*, or prince, prime miniſter, who, as I have before mentioned, was ſitting at the lower end of the hall, at the head of the nobles, to come to him. He accordingly crept along the floor, till he came near the king's chair, where he remained ſitting on the

the ground, anſwering the queſtions which the king put to him. He often replied with the word *ingbi*, which is the Javaneſe affirmative, *yes*; but as I underſtood little of the language which was ſpoken, I was neither edified nor entertained by the dialogue.

About half paſt eleven o'clock, the cloth, which conſiſted in a white piece of cotton, was laid upon the table; and in a moment it was provided with a number of ſmall diſhes, filled with all kinds of Indian food, dreſſed in various manners. The chief ingredients of moſt of them were, however, fiſh and poultry, varied by numerous ſauces, according to the cuſtom of the country, of ſugar, vinegar, or tamarinds. A ſquare ſcarlet woollen cloth, was laid upon the table before the king, and upon this, the diſhes were placed which were deſigned ſolely for his uſe, and of which he ate heartily. With regard to myſelf, it was only with the greateſt difficulty, I could ſwallow a part of what was ſet before me, which was fiſh preſerved in ſugar, and which indeed I ſhould not have touched at all, if politeneſs had not required that I ſhould taſte of ſomething.

Mr. Reinouts had taken care to provide himſelf with a few bottles of wine and beer, which it would elſe, have been in vain, to have looked for, at the king's table, and we could therefore, now and then, indulge in a glaſs of thoſe liquors, during the dinner.

The king frequently broke wind upwards, during his meal, and his example was aſſiduouſly followed by all the gentlemen in company, which afforded matter of no little ſurprize to me. But I afterwards was informed, that this cuſtom, ſo contrary to European notions of decency, was an etiquette of the court of *Bantam*, and was affected, in order to ſhew that one's appetite was good, and the victuals taſteful, which was very pleaſing to the king.

After this courſe was taken away, three large diſhes of confectionary and paſtry were put upon the table; and theſe were more to my liking than what had preceded; but neither the king, nor his queens, ſeemed to care much about them.

In the mean time, ſome large china bowls with boiled rice, and ſome diſhes of fiſh, which came from our table, were ſet before the nobles, who were at the end of

the hall, and who ſpeedily emptied them, with continual eructations, which echoed through the hall; after which, they again ſat down as before, upon their heels, each according to his rank. On their right hand, but ſeparate from them, ſat the ſecond ſon of the king, who ſeemed to be a youth of about ſeventeen or eighteen years of age, of a good countenance, but ſquinting a little. I was told, that he poſſeſſed a good judgment, and more underſtanding and abilities than the heir apparent. This prince had his victuals brought him, at the ſame time with the nobles, but ſeparately; and he was attended by a female ſlave, who ſat by him.

About two o'clock, we roſe from table, and took our leave of the king, who conducted us out, in the ſame manner as he had led us in, as far as the gate of the fort, followed by the prince, his ſon, who led the counſellor MEYER by the hand; the whole accompanied by the continued performance of muſic, by the *gomgoms*, trumpets, &c. Without the gate, the king took his leave, and returned to his palace, and we went over the eſplanade, and the drawbridge, to

the ſame coaches in which we had come, and which carried us back to Fort *Speelwyk*.

Two days afterwards, it was announced to us, that the king would ride that day in proceſſion, dreſſed in his pontifical robes, from the fort to the great temple, or moſque, to perform the ſervice of their religion. Curious to behold this ceremony, we rode, at noon, to Fort *Diamond*, and took our places, ſo that we could ſee his majeſty, ſtep into his coach.

About half paſt twelve, he came out of the palace, dreſſed in a white ſacerdotal robe, which was large and wide, and was faſtened round his waiſt by a girdle. On his head he wore a large white turban, and on his feet large ſlippers, embroidered with gold. His coach was drawn by only two horſes. As ſoon as he entered it, the hereditary prince and his brother, who were both dreſſed in a ſimilar manner to the king, put their ſhoulders under the axletree of the hind wheels, as if they were going to lift up the carriage, and remained in that poſture, till his majeſty rode on. A horſe of ſtate, richly capariſoned, was led by the hand

hand before the coach. Cloſe behind it, followed the heir apparent, on foot, under a *ſambreel*, or ſunſhade, of ſtate, and behind him, were carried three other ſunſhades, under which no one went. Next came the prince, prime miniſter, but without a *ſambreel*; and after him, followed the brother of the heir apparent, and the other grandees of the court, with a numerous retinue of ſlaves, carrying each ſome utenſil of wrought gold, for the ſervice of the king, as his tobaccobox, his betelbox, his ſpittingpot, kriſſes, &c. and during the whole time, their uſual muſic was not omitted; and the drum was beat inceſſantly.

When the king's carriage came upon the drawbridge, a gun was fired from the fort, to give notice to the people, who were aſſembled in great numbers on the *Paſcébaan*, of the king's approach, who taking a turn over that field, rode on to the temple. His guards were ſtationed in two rows, reaching acroſs the plain to the temple, with their faces turned from the proceſſion. In a little leſs than an hour, the king returned in the ſame order, and with the ſame ceremonies, only when he came near to the fort, his

guards, part of whom were armed with firelocks, fired four volleys, which were anſwered by a gun from the fort. The king was received within the fort, by the Company's garriſon, with drums beating, and colours flying; and thus ended the proceſſion.

I omitted before to mention, the reaſon why the heir apparent was not preſent, when we paid our viſit to the king. That prince was then gone out upon a party of pleaſure, to the neighbouring iſlands, to take the diverſion of fiſhing. We ſaw him enter the river the next day, with a retinue of twenty-eight ſmall veſſels, all decorated with flags and ſtreamers. That wherein his women were, was covered all round, ſo that nothing could be ſeen within it. All theſe veſſels were crouded with people. The prince frequently made ſuch excurſions, as I was informed, but never without obtaining the previous permiſſion of the king, his father.

In the mean time, the ſupply and ſhipment of pepper, went on ſo rapidly, that on the 28th of May, my ſhip received the laſt of her cargo on board. This conſiſted of 3,010 *bbars*, or 1,128,840 pounds of black, and 8 *bbars*,

8 *bhars*, or 3,000 pounds of white, pepper. Every thing being ready, we weighed anchor on the 30th of May, about four o'clock in the morning, and ſet ſail, ſaluting Fort *Speelwyk* with thirteen guns, whence the ſame number was returned, as the enſign was again hoiſted from our top. The commandant REINOUTS remained on board till the next morning, when he took leave of the company.

Having wind and tide againſt us, we anchored at noon under *Pulo Baby*. We were joined here, by the Company's ſhips, *Ouderamſtel*, *Ganzenhoef*, *Cornelia Jacoba*, and *Ritthem*; the two firſt coming from the chamber * Amſterdam, the third from Horn,

* The adminiſtration of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, is, in Holland, divided between ſix boards, or *chambers*; having ſeſſion at different places, *viz.* one at *Amſterdam*, which being the moſt conſiderable, is called the preſidial chamber; this is compoſed of twenty-four directors, of whom eighteen are choſen by the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, four by the cities of *Dort*, *Harlem*, *Leyden*, and *Gouda*, and the two others by the provinces of *Gelderland* and *Frieſland*; beſides theſe, there are four of the chief proprietors, who, in certain caſes, have ſeſſion with the directors: the chamber of *Middleburgh* is the ſecond in rank; it has thirteen directors, twelve choſen by the cities of *Zealand*, and the thirteenth by the province of

Horn, and the laſt from Delft. They had left Holland the 2d of October, of the preceding.

of *Gelderland*, and two of the chief proprietors have ſeſſion with them; next, the chamber of *Delft*, has ſeven directors, ſix nominated by the regency of the town, and the ſeventh by the province of *Over-Yſſel*: the chamber of *Rotterdam*, which is the fourth in rank, has eight directors, ſeven elected by that city, and the eighth by *Dort*: that of *Horn*, is compoſed of ſeven directors, ſix belonging to *Horn*, and the ſeventh deputed from the city of *Alkmaar*, and one of the chief proprietors here, has equally a ſeat in the direction: the chamber of *Enkhuizen*, which is the laſt in order, has likewiſe ſeven directors, ſix nominated by the regency of the city, and the ſeventh by the body of nobility of the province of *Holland*; while alſo one of the chief proprietors has ſeſſion with the directors. The places where theſe chambers aſſemble being all ſeaports, a certain number of ſhips is diſpatched from each, the equipment of which, with the nomination of the captains and officers, are effected by theſe local aſſemblies, who likewiſe have the direction concerning the outward cargoes, determine of what they ſhall conſiſt, and provide and ſhip them in courſe. But the ſupreme and general direction of all the affairs of the Company, is veſted in what is called the Aſſembly of Seventeen, which conſiſts of ſeventeen directors, deputed, eight from the chamber of *Amſterdam*, four from that of *Middleburgh*, one from each of the others, and one alternately by each of theſe four laſt. This aſſembly meets three times a year, and is held for ſix following years at *Amſterdam*, and the two enſuing years at *Middleburgh*. In their firſt ſitting, they deliberate reſpecting the ſale of ſpices, and the dividends to be made to the proprietors; in the ſecond, reſpecting the orders to be ſent out to India, and the anſwers to be given to the diſpatches received

ceding year. We received their ſalute of thirteen guns, and returned it with eleven.

We ſailed again the next day, but made very little progreſs.

On the 1ſt of June, we tacked, and ſailed again towards the eaſt, anchoring in the evening, cloſe to *Menſcheneeters*, or *Cannibal* Iſland.

On the 2d, we proceeded on our voyage in the morning, and caſt anchor in the evening, by the point of *Ontong Java*.

received thence; and in the third, they fix the autumn ſales, and determine the number of ſhips that ſhall be ſent out, the expedition of which muſt then be effected by the reſpective chambers. This aſſembly of ſeventeen, appoints likewiſe the principal officers, who are at the head of the Company's affairs in India. There is likewiſe a council of ten directors, which meets from time to time at the *Hague*; but as it ſerves merely as a council, and has no hand in the direction itſelf, otherwiſe, than in giving advice, and in being the medium through which the Company communicates with the States General, it is not neceſſary to enlarge concerning it.

This was the form of adminiſtration of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, before the late revolution in Holland; what alterations may be made in it, or whether the Company will continue in exiſtence, is, in the preſent unſettled ſtate of affairs in that country, impoſſible to ſay: we only know that the Company's charter expired ſome years ago; but being proviſionally continued, upon the old footing, by the late government, the new one came laſt year to a reſolution, that it ſhould be continued, in the ſame way, for one year longer. T.

The

The 3d, we were obliged to remain at anchor there, both wind and tide being againſt us.

On the 4th, we anchored at noon, by the iſland *Schiedam*, where Mr. VAN TETS and his company left the ſhip, and went up to *Batavia*, in boats which had been ſent thence to fetch him. We fired a parting ſalute of thirteen guns, and ſtruck the enſign from the maintop. At five o'clock, P.M. we came to an anchor under the iſland *Onruſt*, where the ſhip was to be unloaded: the ſame evening, I went up to *Batavia*, to inform the governor general of my return from *Bantam*, and learnt from his excellency, that my ſhip was appointed to be ſent to *Bengal*, thence to return again to *Batavia*.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

Appointment of a new Director in BENGAL.—*Departure from* BATAVIA *for* BENGAL.—*A Comet obſerved.—View of* ORIXA.—*Pagodas.—Point* PALMIRAS.—*Banks before the Entrance of the* GANGES.—*View of the Iſland* SAGOR.—INGELLER.—*Fine Tracts of Country.—Village called* DOVER.—*The Old* GANGES.—*Anchorage before* FULTAH.

ON the 18th of July, Mr. B. V. T—— was appointed by the council of India, to be director of the Company's trade in the kingdoms of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Orixa*, in the room of Mr. G. L. V——, who had given in his reſignation of that office, in order to return to Europe; which, however, he was directed to do, by way of *Batavia*, that he might render account to the council, of his adminiſtration. There were three other ſhips going to *Bengal*, but Mr. F—— preferred to take his paſſage, on board of the *Snoek*, the one I commanded. Our departure was fixed for the 12th of Auguſt, which was full a month and a half earlier than

ning; providentially there was no powder in it, at the time.

On the 14th of Auguſt, at ſunriſe, we weighed anchor, and ſet ſail, with an eaſterly wind, directing our courſe between the point of *Ontong Java*, and the iſland *Middleburgh*, and afterwards between *Menſcheneeters*, or *Cannibal* Iſland, and the *Great Combuis*, or *Furnace*, towards the point of *Bantam*. In the evening, about eight o'clock, we anchored abreaſt of the bay of *Bantam*, not daring to proceed farther, in this ſhoaly water, during the dark.

At four in the morning, the next day, we again got under ſail, and came up to the iſland *Dwars in den Weg*, or *Middle Iſle*, about noon, where the guard from the bay of *Anjer* came on board; of whom we bought ſome turtles as a refreſhment. The wind remaining favourable during the afternoon and night, we ſteered for the Iſland *Kraketau*, and then between *Prince*'s iſland, and the *Flat* point of *Sumatra*, out to ſea.

At ſunriſe, the next day, we could juſt ſee *Prince*'s Iſland; whence taking our laſt obſervation, we ſet our courſe, w.s.w. as far

as

as the eighth degree of ſouth latitude, and thence ſteered due weſt, making much progreſs, with an uniformly ſteady S.E. wind, blowing in freſh gales, till on the 26th of Auguſt, when our computed longitude was 102½ degrees eaſt from *Teneriffe*, or full 250 leagues weſt from the ſtraits of *Sunda*, and thence we ſailed N.W. and afterwards north as far as the line, which we paſſed on the 2d of September.

On the 30th of Auguſt, about half paſt four in the morning, we ſaw, in the eaſtern portion of the heavens, a comet, with a tail extended towards the W.S.W. of about eight or ten degrees in length, and reſembling a feather in form. The comet appeared like a ſtar of the ſecond magnitude, but a little hazy. Its ſituation was between *orion* and *taurus*. Its diſtance, according to a rough obſervation of Venus, was 50° 39′, and full 95° from the ſun; its exact altitude above the horizon, was at that time 69°, and its longitude 62° 21′. We were, by the ſhip's reckoning, in 3° 52′ ſouth latitude, and about 100° eaſt longitude.

On the 14th of September, at four o'clock in the morning, I found that ſince the 30th

of Auguſt, and thus in the ſpace of fifteen days, the comet had approached the ſun about 54°, making full 3½ degrees per day. After that time, I did not ſee it again in the morning; for the ſky was remarkably hazy, and beſet with clouds at the time of its riſe; and when afterwards the ſky became clear, it was loſt in the rays of the morning. In the beginning of November, we ſaw it again in the weſt, but much paler than before; the tail too did not extend ſo far to the eaſt, as it had done to the weſt, and ſhortly afterwards it diſappeared entirely.

It was on the ſame 30th of Auguſt, that the eaſt wind failed us, and blew in a weſterly direction, between W.N.W. and W.S.W. with heavy ſqualls, at intervals, and thunder and lightning, till we had got two or three degrees to the north of the line, where we experienced more ſteady weather.

We met with many ripplings of currents hereabouts, and ſaw many of the birds, called cutwaters *, and likewiſe pintados.

In 1½° north latitude, we obſerved, at ſun-

* *Rygchopſalia.*

riſe,

riſe, a great change in the colour of the water, and immediately ſounded, but found no ground with a line of a hundred fathoms. In the evening, the ſea reſumed its natural colour.

The 5th of September, we were in the latitude of the iſland of *Ceylon*, which we left juſt out of ſight, to the weſtward. At ſunſet, we even thought that we caught a glimpſe of the land, but we were not at all certain about it.

On the 12th, we again obſerved the ſea to be diſcoloured, but ſtill found no ground at a hundred and ſeventy-five fathoms. Many birds now flew near the ſhip, among which were ſome *pylſtaarts*, or tropic-birds *, with black wings, and a few land-birds; and in the night we heard a great noiſe of birds. *Bemelipatnam*, on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, was then, according to our eſtimation, N.N.W. from us, at the diſtance of twenty-five leagues.

The next day, we ſteered due north, in order to fall in with the land, but met with nothing, except ſea and rockweed, floating upon the water.

* *Phaeton ethereus.*

On the 14th, we ſteered for the land N.W. under a preſs of ſail, and about ſeven o'clock, P.M. we diſcovered the coaſt of *Orixa*, being the land of *Pondy*. It appears at firſt with three hummocks, ſeparated from each other. We had then no bottom, with a line of a hundred fathoms, and found no change of colour in the water; but in the afternoon, we found in ſeventy fathoms, bluiſh clay. In the evening, we were abreaſt of the hill of *Carepare*, four or five leagues from the land, and found that ſince our laſt obſervation, at *Prince*'s Iſland, we had deviated, one and twenty leagues more to the eaſt, than we computed by the ſhip's reckoning. The ſhore is not high, but has ſandhills at intervals, between which the land appears covered with trees. In paſſing along the coaſt, two large *pagodas*, or heathen temples, make their appearance. One of theſe is call the *pagoda* of *Jagernate*, and equals any temple of the Gentoos in all Indoſtan.

Theſe pagodas are ſaid to contain immenſe riches, from the innumerable confluence of penitents and pilgrims, who repair thither from all parts, and depoſit rich preſents

ſents in them, each according to his abilities, in order to obtain remiſſion of their ſins. It is further related, that the *pagoda* of *Jagernate*, was built by a certain corſair of that name, who, having amaſſed immenſe riches by his piratical excurſions, erected this ſanctuary, as a compenſation to heaven for his miſdeeds. The period, however, when this happened, ſeems to be now entirely forgotten. This temple appears from the ſea like a lofty, but obtuſe, ſteeple, while the other, has ſome reſemblance to a two-maſt veſſel under ſail.

We did not get much farther the next day, on account of its falling calm; and at ſunſet, we found ourſelves before the mouth of the river of *Mirzapour*, about two leagues from the ſhore, which had a very pleaſant appearance, being every where covered with trees. Our latitude at noon had been 19° 48′ north.

The following day, in the afternoon, finding that the currents, ſetting to the ſouthward, drove us greatly back, we were obliged to come to an anchor, in ſeventeen fathoms, full two leagues off ſhore. In the night, we hailed an Engliſh ſnow, who told

us, they came from *Calcutta*, and were bound to the coaſt of *Coromandel*.

We were obliged to remain here at anchor, till the 18th of that month, when the force of the current was much abated, and we again ſet ſail, but found ourſelves under the neceſſity of working farther down, the weſterly winds having changed, and beginning to blow from the eaſt. We, however, were able to get to windward of Point *Palmiras*, in the night between the 19th and 20th, and at daybreak, coming in ſight of the Dutch pilotboats, that were cruizing here to meet the ſhips that were expected, we took a pilot on board. In the afternoon, we ſaw the high land of *Ballaſore*, and anchored at ſunſet, before the outermoſt bank of the *Ganges*. Here we could not ſee the land on any ſide.

There are two banks, or ſands, which lie to the weſtward of the weſtern mouth of the *Ganges*, or *Hougly* River, and which extend from the land, about eight or ten leagues out to ſea. What is called the head, or the ſouthernmoſt of them, commences with the depth of ten fathoms, but ſhoals ſuddenly to four, and three and a half.

Ships

Ships ſailing into the river, are obliged to run ſtraight acroſs theſe banks, the ſoundings upon and between which, ſerve for marks to the pilots, to find the buoys which lie in the channel, leading to the entrance of the river, by *Ingellee*. If in ſailing over a ſhip runs aground, ſhe is in the greateſt danger of being entirely loſt. The ground is a hard ſand, that acts with a ſtrong ſuction. Theſe banks are, in conſequence, never paſſed but at the very time of high water, and, for greater ſecurity, a pilotboat always ſails about half, or three quarters of a league ahead, ſounding, and making ſignals of the depth; while, when the pilots are of opinion that the water will not riſe high enough, they rather keep the ſhips at anchor before the banks, till they can carry them over in perfect ſafety.

On the 21ſt of September, at half paſt eight, P.M. the pilotboat having made the ſignal that there was a ſufficient depth of water upon the bank, we weighed anchor, and got under ſail. Our ſhip drew twenty feet, and we paſſed the firſt bank in the depth of twenty-eight, and the ſecond in

twenty-four feet water. At noon, being between the two banks, we were in north latitude 21° 19′, and at four o'clock P.M. we came to an anchor in the channel, by the buoy of *Boero Baly*.

The next morning, about ſeven o'clock, we again made ſail, ſteering N.N.E. At ten, we ſaw the iſland *Sagor*, which we left upon our right. This iſland is long and low, and is eſteemed ſacred by the inhabitants of *Bengal*, who hold it in great veneration. A little after noon, we paſſed the road of *Ingellee*, and we here began to ſee land on both ſides of the river, having hitherto, from the iſland *Sagor*, only had it on the right hand. The land is here, at the mouth of the river, very low, and on coming from ſea, it is not viſible farther off than three leagues. At three o'clock we paſſed the *Jennegat*, which is the moſt dangerous part of the navigation; for if a ſhip have the misfortune to ſtrike upon one of the ſhoals, that make the channel here ſo narrow, it muſt be loſt; as was the caſe two or three years ago, with the Company's ſhip, the *Lady Petronella*, of which only a part of the cargo was ſaved,

and

and the hull of the ſhip was in a ſhort time entirely ſwallowed up, by the ſuction of the quick-ſand.

At ſunſet, we came to an anchor before the channel of *Cajoree*, where a ſmall veſſel came alongſide of us, by which I ſent up the Company's papers to *Hougly*.

The following day, being the 23d of September, we weighed anchor about nine o'clock P.M. and ſailed with the flood higher up the river, in ſix, five, and four fathom water. The water was very thick and muddy, occaſioned by the rapid courſe of the river, the afflux of which was now at the higheſt. In the channel, the bottom was a ſoft mud, but the ſhoals, which were numerous, were a hard ſand. At noon, we paſſed the *Haze*, or *Hare* Channel, which has both ſufficient depth and breadth to be navigable by ſeaſhips. In 1768, the director V—— ſent ſome pilots, and other proper perſons, to ſurvey this paſſage, that, in caſe of need, the Company's ſhips might be carried to ſea, through the ſame, inſtead of through the *Jennegat*, and paſt *Ingellee*; but coming to the end of the channel, that entered the arm of the *Ganges*, which runs by

by *Dacca*, they conceived that the farther progreſs to ſea was not adviſable to be attempted by the Company's ſhips, by reaſon of the many ſandbanks, of which they had no certain knowledge; and the examination ended here. The greateſt part of the goods which are conveyed from the laſtmentioned city to *Hougly*, paſs through this channel*.

Having proceeded thus far, the water deepened to ten and eleven fathoms, but the bottom was nothing but mud.

Hitherto, the land which we had ſailed by, was an uninhabited wilderneſs, abounding in tigers, and other wild beaſts. The banks of the river were moſtly covered with underwood; but beyond the *Hare* Channel, we began to ſee a few houſes and hamlets of the Bengaleſe inhabitants, ſcattered along them.

Inland, we beheld large level fields, ſome parts of which were cultivated; and between them were green paſtures, which afforded a

* From its ſituation in the map which accompanies this relation, the channel here mentioned would ſeem to be that, which, in the Engliſh maps, is called the *Baratulla*, or *Channel Creek*, though the circumſtance of its entering the river which runs by *Dacca*, indicates that it muſt either be, or have a communication with, what we call the *Baliagot Paſſage through the Woods*. *T.*

moſt

moſt agreeable proſpect as we ſailed by. The higher up the river we advanced, the finer the country became: at times, we ſaw herds of a hundred head of cattle grazing in the paſtures.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, we paſſed a village called *Dover*, where the Engliſh have built ſome warehouſes, and a factory. There is a good and ſafe anchorage before it, which is much frequented by their ſhips, ſeveral of which we found lying here: cloſe to it, a channel, called the *Shrimp* Channel, which runs far round into the country, falls into the river. At ſunſet we were obliged, by the contrary wind and tide, to come to an anchor at *Buffalo* Point, juſt below a place which the inhabitants call *Adam's-tomb*, and which is diſtinguiſhable by a delightful grove of fine trees.

The wind and tide prevented us from leaving this place, till the next day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when we ſet our ſails, but did not keep them long bent, on account of a riſing thunderſtorm, which was accompanied by a violent ſquall, and which forced us to come to an anchor, two hours afterwards, a little below the *Old Ganges*,

Ganges, having, the whole of the night, much thunder and lightning.

The following day, at daybreak, we heaved the anchor, but could only looſen it, without bringing it home to the ſhip; and, by the narrowneſs of the channel, occaſioned by the numerous ſandbanks, as well as by the rapidity of the ſtream, we were obliged to drive up with the flood, ſtern foremoſt, dragging our anchor along the bottom, and at ſeven o'clock we paſſed the *Old Ganges*, as it is called by the pilots.

This river takes its riſe ſo far inland, that no one has, as yet, been up it, as far as its ſource, as the pilots and other intelligent people informed me *. The place where it unites with the true *Ganges*, is very unſafe for veſſels going up or down the river, for there are dangerous ſandbanks before it, and the tide runs, at floodtime, with a ſtrong current into it, and ebbs equally violently

* The whole courſe of the river *Roopnarain*, which is falſely called the *Old Ganges*, is accurately laid down in Major RENNELL's Maps of *Bengal*; by the conſultation of which, the paucity of geographical information, reſpecting that country, in this work, may be amply ſupplied. *T.*

out. Juſt before I left *Bengal*, the Engliſh were intending to erect a battery of heavy cannon, on the point made by the confluence of theſe rivers, in order to command the *Ganges*, and to be able to prevent any veſſels from coming up it. It is certain, that along the whole courſe of the river, a more ſuitable ſpot for this purpoſe, could not be hit upon, for ſhips paſſing it, have enough to do to work their ſails, to avoid ſtriking upon the ſands, or being drawn into the *Old Ganges*, and are thus wholly unable to defend themſelves from any attack.

When we had paſſed this place, we came in ſight of our Company's ſhips lying at anchor before *Fultah*, who, as ſoon as they ſaw the enſign flying from our top, ſaluted us with ſeventeen guns, which we returned with fifteen. About half paſt eight o'clock, when the flood was ſpent, we came to an anchor by the *Lime* Channel. Shortly afterwards, the *equipagie meeſter* (comptroller of equipment) of *Hougly*, came on board, to welcome the director F——; this gentleman informed us, that an Engliſh Eaſt-India Company's ſhip had, eight days ago, been wrecked upon the ſeabanks, at the mouth of the

the river; her cargo, to the value of thirteen tons of gold *, was entirely loſt, and only forty of the crew ſaved.

The enſuing day, being the 26th of September, we again got under ſail, at ſunriſe, and anchored at nine o'clock, before *Fultah*, in ſix fathoms water; we found lying here, the Company's ſhips, the *Cornelia Hillegonda*, Captain I. S. HOEVE; the *Land's-welfare*, Captain S. BOTH; and the *Ritthem*, Captain A. VAN DER WEYDE; the firſt from Europe, and the two laſt from *Batavia*. The two firſt ſaluted us with nineteen, and the laſt with fifteen guns, and we returned a ſalute of nineteen. At eleven o'clock, a deputation from the Council of *Hougly* came on board, to congratulate the director F—— on his arrival, and to conduct him to *Hougly*, bringing with them the Company's great *budgerow*, or yacht, in which the director was to proceed up the river.—I ſhall be more explicit, reſpecting theſe veſſels, in my obſervations on *Bengal*.

This deputation conſiſted of three of the members of the council, two of whom were

* A ton of gold is 100,000 gilders; thus, at *ſ*.11.—per pound ſterling, thirteen tons of gold are nearly 120,000l. *T.*

accompanied

accompanied by their ladies. They dined on board, and ſtayed till four o'clock in the afternoon, when they embarked with Mr. F——, his lady, and child, in the great *budgerow*, and departed with the flood up to *Hougly*. At the ſame time, a ſalute of one-and-twenty guns was fired from my ſhip, and the flag was ſtruck from the maintop, followed by nineteen, ſeventeen, and fifteen guns from the other ſhips, which concluded the ceremony.

CHAP-

CHAPTER V.

Paſſage up to CHINSURAH.—*Siege of that Place by the Nabob.—Cauſes of this Miſunderſtanding.—The Siege raiſed.—Fine Proſpects along the* GANGES.—*Bengal Conjurers and Balancers.—* FULTAH.—*Excurſion up the River.—Manner of making Sugar.—Meeting with a Faquir, or Saint.—Burning of three Bodies of Bengaleſe.—Account of ſome ancient Buildings.—National Viſit to the French.—To the Engliſh.—Inſtalment of Mr. F—— in the Directorſhip.—Great Famine at* PATNA.—*Departure from* CHINSURAH.—*From* INGELLEE.—*View of the Iſland* SUMATRA.—*Currents.—Violent Squalls.—Calms.—Anchorage before* BATAVIA.

THE following day, in the forenoon, when Mr. F—— approached the Engliſh ſettlement of *Calcutta*, he was ſaluted by nineteen guns from Fort *William*, and received the compliments of two gentlemen of the council of *Calcutta*, who were deputed from the Engliſh governor *Verelſt*, in whoſe name, likewiſe, he was invited to dine at the ſettlement: Mr. F——, however, excuſed himſelf, on account of the indiſpoſition of his

his lady. Mr. VERELST had gone on purpoſe to his country ſeat, about two hour's walk from *Calcutta*, in order to receive Mr. F—— on his arrival, as ſoon as he underſtood that his *budgerow*, was coming up the river. When he had paſſed *Calcutta*, Mr. F—— was again ſaluted from Fort *William*, with nineteen guns.

On the next day, on paſſing the French factory at *Chandernagore*, Mr. F—— was likewiſe ſaluted with nineteen guns; but, inſtead of deputing two members of the council to wait upon him, as the Engliſh had done, the French governor only ſent a *chubdar*, or ſilver ſtaff-bearer, to welcome him on his behalf.

Halfway between *Chandernagore* and *Hougly*, or *Chinſurah*, Mr. F—— was met by the director in office, who came to congratulate him on his arrival, with ſeveral *budgerows*; and they went up to *Chinſurah* together. Landing at Fort *Guſtavus*, he was ſaluted with twenty-one guns, from the battery at the waterſide, and received by the other members of the council of *Hougly* at the ſtairs, being then carried in ſtate, in *palankeens*, through the great gate of the

fort, commonly called the *Lodge*, to before the director's houſe, while the garriſon was drawn up in two ranks, with drums beating and colours flying; and the ceremony was concluded in the evening, with an elegant ſupper and ball.

There being an order of the Hougly council, that all captains ſhould remain on board their ſhips, as long as the ſpringtides continued, which commenced at the time of my arrival at *Fultah*, I could not accompany Mr. F—— on his journey up the river; the above particulars are, therefore, ſuch as I had occaſion to learn from others. This order to the commanders of ſhips, has its relation only to thoſe ſpringtides, which take place from the latter end of September to the beginning of November, becauſe it is during that period that the monſoon generally breaks up; and there is great danger at that time, eſpecially with ſpringtides, as the ſtream then runs with the utmoſt rapidity, and the thunderſtorms rage with the greateſt violence.

On the 3d of October, the Company's ſhip, the *Valiant*, Captain WAGENDONK, arrived at *Fultah*, which ſhip left *Batavia* ten days before mine.

That

That day, being the laſt of the ſpringtide, I embarked at night, on board a *budgerow*, for *Chinſurah*, and arrived the next morning at the village of *Bernagore*; this is a place belonging to the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, which is ſituated halfway between *Chinſurah* and *Fultah*. In the evening I left *Bernagore*, and arrived about nine o'clock in the morning at *Chinſurah*. Of theſe places I ſhall ſpeak more at large in my obſervations.

The ſame morning, the nabob of *Caſſimbazar*, or viceroy of *Bengal*, had inveſted the place, on the landſide, with a force of ten or twelve thouſand Moors, and all the approaches and barriers were ſo cloſely guarded, that no one could go in or out.

This occaſioned, in the enſuing days, ſuch a ſcarcity of proviſions, among the inhabitants of the village, that many of them periſhed for want. Mothers, driven by hunger, and

'——————— compelled
By ſtrong neceſſity's ſupreme command,

brought their children to the dwellings of the Europeans, and entreated leave to ſell theſe innocents to ſlavery, for a ſmall portion of rice, in order to prolong their own

wretched life a little longer. To encreaſe the miſery, the ſtock of proviſions in the place, was found to be little or none. Beſides this blockade on the landſide, the Moors had alſo beſet the river, above the village, ſo that nothing could be brought down by water; and from below, there was little to be obtained. While there was any rice, ſeven pounds weight were ſold for a rupee, but it was ſoon conſumed. A perſon who, from the outſide, had contrived to throw ſome poultry over the barriers, in the hopes of gain, being caught by the Moors, had his noſe and ears inſtantly cut off.

The cauſe of this unhappy affair was as follows:—The Company were bound to pay certain duties to the nabob, for the goods which were conveyed up and down the *Ganges*; but the money had not been paid by the director V—— for a conſiderable time. The nabob, who inſiſted upon having them diſcharged, as they were in fact his lawful due, iſſued orders to the *fauſdar* of *Hougly*, of whom we ſhall take further notice hereafter, to claim the payment in the moſt forcible manner. This officer accordingly diſpatched a *chubdar* to the director

rector V——, to require the money of him, threatening withal, that in caſe it were not paid, he would not ſuffer any more goods belonging to the Dutch to paſs. The director took umbrage at this peremptory meſſage, and after having violently abuſed the poor *chubdar*, ſent him to the fiſcal DE SAUMAISE, and had him bound to the whippingpoſt, and unmercifully flogged.

In conſequence of this, the *fauſdar* cauſed all the goods belonging to the Dutch factory, which came down the *Ganges*, to be detained, and *Chinſurah* to be inveſted.

The goods thus ſeized by the Moors, conſiſted in callicoes and other piece-goods, intended for the cargoes of the ſhips which were to ſail for Europe in the beginning of November. Theſe veſſels were detained by this occurrence, and could not now be ready in time. They were obliged to ſtay in the *Ganges* till the latter end of January, and were at laſt forced to put to ſea in an unfavourable ſeaſon. Ought not the miſfortunes which theſe ſhips (two of which, the *Enkhuizen* and the *Valiant*, were loſt with all their crews; and the third, the *Land's-welfare*, was ſaved with difficulty)

met with, from the bad weather they had to encounter in the ſouthern latitudes, to be attributed to theſe circumſtances, and to the bad management of Mr. V——? But to return to the ſiege of *Chinſurah*.

As ſoon as intelligence was received of the detention of theſe goods, the director V—— thought fit to order a detachment of thirty men, under the command of an officer, to go up the river in boats, to where the goods were lying, in order to effect their releaſe by force; but upon learning that a body of four hundred *ſipahis* (ſeapoys), or Mooriſh ſoldiers, were poſted to defend them againſt our attack, the expedition was laid aſide. Hereupon the director V—— aſſembled the council, and informed the members of what he had lately done; ſaying at the ſame time, that matters being now brought to this point, he neither dared nor could proceed farther, without the approbation of the council. Some of the members replied, that ſince he had proceeded ſo far, without their knowledge or approbation, he might go on as he had begun, without their aſſiſtance; but the majority were of opinion, that the matter ought

to

to be endeavoured to be compromiſed, through the mediation of the Engliſh. A deputation was appointed for this purpoſe, conſiſting of the head adminiſtrator, Ross, and the comptroller of equipment, VAN BRAAM, both members of the council; who ſo far arranged matters at *Calcutta*, with the Engliſh council, and the little nabob, or miniſter, MAHOMED REZA CHAN, who governed as guardian of the great nabob, who was a minor *, that, upon a promiſe that the duties which remained unpaid, ſhould be immediately diſcharged, the goods were releaſed, and the blockade of *Chinſurah* was raiſed.

But inſtead of this promiſe being fulfilled by the director V——, theſe arrears were ſtill due, when, in the month of March the next year, he took his departure from *Bengal*; and the cargo of opium and other goods, intended for my ſhip, would equally have been ſeized, had not the director F—— taken upon himſelf to be perſonally reſponſible for this debt.

* MEER KANEYAH, otherwiſe SEYF AL DOWLAH, ſecond ſon of the well-known MEER JAFFIER ALLY CHAN, a youth of ſixteen years of age. T.

This laſtmentioned gentleman was ſo much blinded by the firſt, and was ſo eaſily impreſſed with whatever ideas the other thought proper to inſtil into him, that, however much he was warned by confidential and intelligent people of the evil effects which would reſult from his compliant partiality, he continued to follow the inclinations of the director in every thing. He was even guilty of the additional imprudence, of confiding to him whatever had been ſaid to him on the ſubject; and he did not perceive the bad conſequences of all this, till it was too late, and after the director V—— had taken his leave of the *Ganges*.

On the 15th of October, the Moors departed from *Chinſurah*, and the navigation of the river upwards, was again opened.

On the 10th, the feſtival of the *Ganges* had been held all along its banks, by the Bengaleſe, or Gentoos, after ſome preliminary ſolemnities of three days; on which occaſion, an incredible number of people came from the inland parts, to be preſent at the feſtival. I ſhall likewiſe notice it in my obſervations on *Bengal*, already referred to.

On

On the 12th of October, I went from *Chinſurah* down to my ſhip, lying at *Fultah*. Going down, I landed at *Serampore*, where the Danes have a factory; this is the moſt inconſiderable European eſtabliſhment on the *Ganges*, conſiſting only, beſides the village occupied by the natives, in a few houſes inhabited by Europeans. Their trade is of very little importance.

The proſpects of the country, along the banks, and on both ſides of the *Ganges*, in going up or down the river to *Fultah*, are delightful; but they are all ſurpaſſed by that which offers upon paſſing along the French ſettlement at *Chandernagore*, upwards towards *Chinſurah*, *Hougly*, and *Bandel*; which laſtmentioned place is juſt ſeen in the background: then the eye glances upon the buildings of *Chinſurah*, the church, the garden called *Welgelegen* (well-ſituated), with three ſtone terraces, raiſed one above the other, and where every thing that is of ſtone is whitened. Groves of ever-verdant trees appear behind, and, between theſe, buildings. In their front, the river, covered with ſmall veſſels and boats. A little lower, on the right hand, *Chandernagore*, which is built all

all along the river, and is embelliſhed with many handſome houſes. Before it, the ſhips at anchor, and moored with cables to the ſhore. On the left hand, fertile fields, and extenſive meadows, affording paſture to numerous herds of cattle, and interſperſed with pleaſant groves and coppices. The whole forming a moſt intereſting landſcape.

Farther down, about halfway between *Chandernagore* and *Serampore*, is a place called *Garetti*. Here, on the ſame ſide with *Chandernagore*, the French governor has built a noble houſe, or rather a palace, and has laid out an extenſive and pleaſant garden. And in this neighbourhood, the Engliſh have a military poſt, where often one thouſand men, and ſometimes more, are encamped.

The whole of this country is flat, juſt as in our provinces. It is interſected and fertilized by numerous channels, creeks, and rivulets. *Bengal* is juſtly eſteemed the moſt fruitful part of Aſia.

Approaching *Calcutta*, many gardens, newly laid out by the Engliſh, make their appearance, which have handſome dwelling-houſes, with an agreeable proſpect towards the

the river. *Calcutta*, which is built on the left ſide in going down, about three quarters of an hour's walk along the banks of the river, makes likewiſe a very pleaſing appearance. Before it, the ſhips lie at anchor, juſt as before *Chandernagore*, in great numbers. There are almoſt every day veſſels which go to, and come from, every part of India, in motion here; which greatly enlivens the ſcene.

A little below *Calcutta*, ſtands a ſtrong fortreſs, called Fort *William*, which, built upon the banks of the river, commands it entirely. From this place to *Fultah* there are many Bengal villages interſperſed, ſome of which are very large.

On the 13th of October, I reached my ſhip, lying in *Fultah* road, and ſtayed ſome time on board. I occaſionally went on ſhore in the evening, when the heat of the day was over, to take a walk; and often amuſed myſelf with ſeeing the tricks of the conjurers, and ſerpent-charmers. The former far ſurpaſs, in my opinion, thoſe of Europe. There were likewiſe balancers, who had a bamboo pole of twenty or twenty-five feet in length, perpendicularly reſting on their girdle,

girdle, without touching it with their hands. A young girl of ſeven or eight years old, laying hold of it, clambered up to the top, where ſhe laid herſelf on her belly, and throwing her arms and legs looſe, ſeemed to ſwim in the air; while the man kept running backwards and forwards, with the pole, always without touching it with his hands. In about ſeven minutes, the girl clambered down again, and performed a number of other tricks. But on this ſubject more hereafter.

Fultah is a pretty large village, ſituated on the left bank of the *Ganges*, going down the river. The fiſcal of *Chinſurah* keeps one of his officers here, to have an eye upon the illicit or ſmuggling trade, that is, in ſuch caſes, when matters have not been ſettled betimes with the fiſcal, and a proper conſideration made for his connivance.

The anchorage here is ſafe enough, when the breaking-up of the monſoons is not accompanied with violent hurricanes, for then it is very dangerous; which is, indeed, the caſe all up the *Ganges*. Ships lie here likewiſe protected from the ſwell of the ſea, which ſometimes, when the tide riſes, is

elevated

elevated to ſix and more feet in height, and rolls in with great violence, tearing the ſhips which it overtakes, from their anchorage, or breaking their cables, and daſhing them againſt the ſhore, or the ſandbanks. This ſwell never runs along the Fultah ſide, but only along the oppoſite ſhore. The bottom is a tough clay, in which the anchors often hold ſo faſt, that they cannot ſometimes be weighed, and the cables break in the attempt. When it happens, however, that the Company's ſhips lie a whole year in the river, they are then carried up to *Chinſurah* for ſome months, as was done in the year 1768, with reſpect to the *Valiant*.

On the 17th, the Company's ſhip *Enkhuizen*, arrived in *Fultah* road. She had left *Batavia* before me, but had touched at the Coaſt of *Coromandel*. Her Captain I. F. Stout, had died on the paſſage. This ſhip was intended to be diſpatched to Europe.

On the 18th, I received a letter from the director F——, informing me, that my ſhip was appointed to ſail to *Batavia*, by way of *Coromandel*, and that I was to ſail in the latter end of December.

The

The next day I again left the ſhip for *Chinſurah*, which I reached the ſame evening.

On the 20th of October, a Bengaleſe woman was buried, with her deceaſed huſband, alive, and on the 25th of November, another was burnt with the body of her huſband; but of both theſe barbarous rites, I ſhall give the details in my beforementioned obſervations.

The ſhip, the *Snoek*, which I had hitherto commanded, being now judged too old, to attempt the paſſage to Europe, I exchanged, with the conſent of the director and council, for that of Captain HOEVE, the *Cornelia Hillegonda*. This gentleman took the command of the *Enkhuizen*, by which I had at firſt intended to have gone, but being adviſed to the contrary, in order that I might take another trip to *Batavia*, whither the *Cornelia Hillegonda* was bound, I choſe this laſt. My firſt lieutenant A. VAN ES, was promoted to the command of the *Snoek*; and the ſeveral changes took place on the 17th of November.

On the 3d of December, we dropped down from *Fultah* to *Ingellee*, at the mouth

of the river, together with the *Enkhuizen*, the *Valiant*, the *Land's-welfare*, and the *Snoek*, which laſt ſailed on the 29th of December, for the coaſt of *Coromandel*.

There being very little of importance for me to do at preſent, in the Company's ſervice, I employed my leiſure-time, in making ſome little excurſions inland, or to the Engliſh and French factories. I likewiſe went a-hunting of foxes, jackals, and other wild animals, plenty of which are to be met with a little way inland; but the Bengaleſe do not like to ſee this, for it is contrary to the precepts of their religion to kill any thing which has life. Their objections, however, have no weight, as they never can muſter ſufficient courage to oppoſe an European.

On the 5th of January, 1770, the Engliſh governor VERELST, leaving the preſidency, paſſed *Fultah*, where two of our ſhips were lying at anchor, without receiving any ſalute from either of them, which was always cuſtomary. This afforded matter of great ſurprize to Mr. VERELST, as he had done all honour to Mr. F——, when this laſt paſſed *Calcutta*, as we have before ſeen. He ſent one of his ſervants on board of the ſhips, to inquire

inquire of the commanding officers, whether they had not received directions from the director V——, or the council of *Hougly* to fire the accuſtomed ſalute? which they anſwered in the negative. The Engliſh government, complained in ſtrong expreſſions of this behaviour; but were anſwered on the part of the director V——, that this was in retaliation of a ſimilar affront, which he had received from Mr. VERELST on a national viſit to *Calcutta*.

On the 14th of January, my mooring cable broke looſe, but by the vigilance of my firſt lieutenant, we met with no damage. In the following night, however, the ſhip *Ritthem* met with the ſame accident, and ran aground on a ſandbank. Being fully loaden, the cargo was obliged to be unſhipped, and ſhe was not got afloat again in a fortnight; yet ſhe did not ſuffer conſiderable damage.

On the 29th and 30th, the *Enkhuizen*, the *Valiant*, and the *Land's-welfare*, ſailed from the road of *Ingellee*, for Europe.

On the 31ſt, my ſhip, and the *Ritthem*, left *Fultah*, and proceeded to *Ingellee*, there to remain till the time of ſailing. The rea-

ſon why ſhips do not tarry at *Fultah* ſo long, is only becauſe the water of the *Ganges* becomes too ſhallow in this ſeaſon, ſo that the *Jenegat* is dangerous to be paſſed. Theſe veſſels came to an anchor in *Ingellee* road, on the 7th of February, under command of the two firſt lieutenants.

In the mean time, I took another journey up the *Ganges*, and inland, in company with two of my friends, to view the country, and purſue the diverſion of hunting.

On the 27th of January, we left *Chinſurah*, in a *budgerow*, at three o'clock in the afternoon, going up the river with the tide, and before the wind; and about half paſt four we came to the Channel of *Niaſſerai*, where we went on ſhore, and up the country. Here we met with pleaſant plains of arable and paſture land, intermixed with groves of cocoanut, ſuri, mango, and other trees. The ſugarcane was likewiſe cultivated in many places, and flouriſhed luxuriantly.

We likewiſe obſerved, the manner in which the inhabitants make their ſugar, which is very ſimple, the whole proceſs going on in the open air, without much trouble.

They bruiſe the cane, between two chamfered rollers of hard wood, two and a half feet long, and of about ſix inches in diameter. Theſe lie horizontally, one above the other, in two reſts, ſo fixed, that the rollers cannot be moved, out of their relative poſition to each other, and leaving a ſpace of a quarter of an inch between them. Each roller has four ſpokes, or handles, at the end, by which they are turned in oppoſite directions, by two men. The ſugarcane being put between the rollers, is thus bruiſed, or flattened, to the thickneſs of a quarter of an inch, and its ſap is preſſed out, and received in a large earthen pot, placed for that purpoſe, under this ſimple machinery. About eight or ten feet off, are eight other pots, fixed in holes, into which they fit exactly, and which are made in the earth in a longitudinal direction. The dried canes, from which the ſap has been expreſſed, are uſed as fuel under theſe pots, into which the ſap is put, and boiled into ſugar.

The country hereabouts, abounds in jackals and wild dogs, ſome of which we ſhot.

At night we went up higher, with the tide, and came at five o'clock in the morning

ing, to the channel of *Chogdah*, which lies on the right ſide of the river in going up (that of *Niaſſerai* is on the left), about eight or ten Dutch miles above *Chinſurah*. The village, which gives its name to the channel, ſtands a little inland. There is a great weekly market, or *bazar*, as it is called by the Bengaleſe, held here, where all kinds of proviſions, and other goods, the produce of the country, are expoſed to ſale. The channel terminates about three Dutch miles inland.

On its left ſide, and upwards, the whole is flat land, without any trees; but on the right hand downwards, are many woods, in which there are tigers and other wild beaſts.

We croſſed a number of fields, without ſeeing any thing like a tiger; but on entering the woods a little way, we ſoon met with their traces in plenty, and we did not therefore think it prudent to venture farther in; for this animal ſeldom ſhews itſelf, before it can ſpring upon its prey, and when once within the reach of its claws, nothing can ſave a man's life. We likewiſe met in the way, the remains of a Bengaleſe, who had been torn in pieces by the

beaſts of prey. For the reſt, the hunting of jackals and wild dogs was not unpleaſant.

In the afternoon, we ſailed higher up the *Ganges*, to a place called *Gouptipara*, which is about ſix or eight Dutch miles above *Chogdah*. In our way, we paſſed a pretty large iſland, lying in the middle of the river, but which produced nothing but a little tall graſs, and ſome reeds.

We found here that the flood only laſted three hours, while the ebb continued nine. About four or five Dutch miles higher, as the Bengaleſe, and others who had been at *Caſſimbazar*, informed us, there was no flood, except a little in ſpring-tides.

It was late in the evening before we arrived at *Gouptipara*. At daybreak, the next morning, we went on ſhore, and found, about a quarter of an hour's walk from the river, a little village. Somewhat higher there was a wood of lofty trees, with much underwood, in which there was a great number of monkeys, and the wood was therefore named the monkey-wood. Theſe animals were about the ſize of a ſpaniel, with long tails, which, when they ran, they turned upwards. The body was covered with

with hair, of a grey colour, and the fore part of the head was black. As ſoon as we had fired one ſhot, they all ran up the high trees, and ſome of them threw their young ones, which they held between their fore paws, into the buſhes below; and whatever pains we beſtowed in looking for them, we could not find them. The large ones ſprang with an inconceivable quickneſs, from branch to branch, and from tree to tree. We ſhot ſome of them, and when the others ſaw theſe fall, they ſet up a moſt horrid cry.

The Bengaleſe were much diſpleaſed at this, and deſired us not to kill any more of theſe animals; for their ſuperſtitious belief in the tranſmigration of ſouls after death, makes them think that theſe creatures, in particular, are the receptacles of human ſouls.

Somewhat farther inland, we met with the ruins of a ſtonebuilding, in which a *faquir*, or ſaint, had taken up his abode. He ſat by a ſlow fire, in the middle of the aſhes, entirely naked. His hair was black, and very long, tangled and clodded with aſhes and dirt, with which it was ſtrewed.

He had impoſed a ſingular penance upon himſelf, conſiſting in a braſs ring, about the thickneſs of a quill, and three inches in diameter, which was paſſed through the ſubſtance of the glans of the penis, though in ſuch a manner, that the urethra remained unhurt. While we were with him, a Bengal woman, in the ſuperſtitious hope of thereby becoming fruitful, came to kiſs this diſguſting mortal, on the part which was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs the prolific virtue required. We put many queſtions to him, on the ſubject of what we ſaw, but decency forbids the recital of his anſwers. Beſides this ring, there were three other riveted iron-rings linked to it, which altogether, might weigh, as we gueſſed, about two pounds and a half. When he walked, he let the whole hang looſe, without ſeeming to be in the leaſt incommoded.

Thoſe who torture themſelves in this extraordinary manner, are held in great veneration by the vulgar. Many of theſe *faquirs* wander about the country, and never need to be ſolicitous about their maintenance; for the ſuperſtition of the people, makes them even think it a great happineſs to be allowed

to

to give theſe ſanctified beggars, who torture their bodies ſo unmercifully, for the love of religion, every thing neceſſary to their ſubſiſtance. I refer the reader, for a more ample account of this, to my obſervations on *Bengal.*

In the afternoon, we returned from the woods, on board of our *budgerow*, and went again down the *Ganges.* Here we found its banks every where very ſteep, and in ſome places ſo deeply hollowed, or undermined by the water, that parts of them, to the ſize of a houſe, had ſometimes fallen in, which we could ſee had happened in ſeveral places.

At ſunſet, arriving at the channel of *Chogdah*, we ran into it for ſhelter during the night, apprehending that we ſhould be overtaken by a thunderſtorm, as the wind began to riſe, and the ſky appeared dreadfully black and lowering. We faſtened our *budgerow*, with ropes, to both ſides of the channel, becauſe theſe veſſels are eaſily overſet by the wind, not having any ſupport or hold on the water, on account of their flat bottoms.

Before the ſtorm came on, we took a

walk along the banks, and ſaw three bodies of Bengaleſe burnt. This is done by the relations of the deceaſed, or by his ſons, if he have any. They ſit upon their heels, round the burning pile, ſmoaking their *gorgor*, and feed the fire, with the greateſt indifference, as if they were burning a beaſt, ſtrewing the aſhes afterwards in the *Ganges*. The bodies of thoſe, who do not leave property enough to purchaſe firewood for this purpoſe, or whoſe relations are poor, are expoſed by the riverſide, to be devoured by the jackals, and other wild animals. Theſe, likewiſe, as ſoon as it begins to grow dark, iſſue out of the woods, and come to the the river, howling dreadfully all night long, while they alſo fight with each other for their prey. Some of them are often found lying dead in the morning, eſpecially the wild dogs, who are not a match for the jackals.

We were obliged to deſiſt from our walk, on account of its falling dark; and we were warned by a Bengaleſe, that there were many tigers, who had their haunts not far from us, and who in the evening were wont to repair to the riverſide.

The

The ſtorm came on about eight o'clock, and burſt all around with tremendous force. The thunder was very violent, and the lightning ſo fierce, and ſhot in ſuch broad flaſhes along the ground, that the whole neighbourhood ſeemed to be on fire. This was accompanied with ſuch heavy ſqualls, that we durſt not remain on board our veſſel, but went on ſhore, and ſtood in the open air, though expoſed to all the inclemency of the weather. The ſtorm did not abate till eleven o'clock at night.

At midnight, we left the channel, and fell down the river with the ebb, but about an hour before daybreak, we were again obliged to ſeek for ſhelter, in the channel of *Niaſſerai*, as the wind began again to blow hard.

As ſoon as the day broke, we went on ſhore, in order to walk overland to *Terbonee*, whither we ordered our *budgerow*, to wait for us there.

The way led firſt through an extenſive wood, which was filled with all kinds of birds, and afterwards over a level plain, moſtly conſiſting of paſture-grounds. About an hour before we came to *Terbonee*, we entered

tered another wood, into which, having advanced a little, we met with an ancient building, of large ſquare ſtones, which ſeemed as hard as iron; for whatever pains we took, we could not, with a hammer, break any pieces off. The building was an oblong ſquare, thirty feet in length, and twenty in breadth. The walls were thirteen or fourteen feet in height. It had no roof, and within it, were three tombs, four feet above the ground, made of a blackiſh kind of ſtone, and poliſhed, with here and there ſome Perſian characters engraved upon them.

The Bengaleſe believe, that this was built by a great magician, in one night, without the aſſiſtance of any mortal hand.

About forty paces farther, was a large, but very ruinous building, the roof of which conſiſted in five domes, or cupolas, which had been adorned with ſculptured imagery, but which was much obliterated.

The Bengaleſe could not inform us of the purpoſe, or time, of the erection, but it now ſerved as a reſidence for *faquirs*, ſome of whom we ſaw ſitting in it.

About ten o'clock, we came to the mouth of the channel, where we found our veſſel, and went down the river to *Chinſurah*.

On

On the 22d of February, the director V— and ſome members of the council, accompanied by their ladies, paid a national viſit to the French governor, to which party I was likewiſe invited.

Theſe viſits are made annually, from one ſettlement, or factory, to the other, at the commencement of the year, or whenever a new governor, or director, enters upon his government.

Much ceremony is obſerved, when the viſits are received at the place where the factory itſelf is ſituated; and therefore Mr. V—— had intimated to the French governor, that he ſhould prefer waiting upon him for this purpoſe, at his country-ſeat, near *Garetti.* In the afternoon, at four o'clock, we ſet off in ſix carriages, and reached *Garetti* at ſix, where the director V——, and Mr. F——, who was likewiſe one of the party, were received at the bottom of the ſteps aſcending to the houſe, by the French governor, and conducted into a large ſaloon, in which the principal ladies and gentlemen of *Chandernagore* were aſſembled. About ſeven o'clock, the company were invited by the governor, to be

ſpectators

ſpectators of a play, which ſome amateurs were to perform, in a ſlight building, which had been erected for that purpoſe.

When the play was over, which was about ten o'clock, we were led into a large room, and were entertained with an elegant ſupper, to which upwards of an hundred gueſts, both ladies and gentlemen, ſat down. At one o'clock we took our leave, and rode back to *Chinſurah*.

The national viſit to the Engliſh, to which I was alſo invited, was appointed to be paid on the 26th of the ſame month. This was chiefly intended to congratulate the new Engliſh governor, CARTIER, upon his appointment.

We were eight of us, who were preſent at the viſit; and at four o'clock in the afternoon, we went from the director's houſe to the quay, where the Company's great *budgerow* was lying ready. The garriſon was drawn up in two ranks, within the fort, and a detachment, conſiſting of an officer and twenty-four privates, marched before us, which was to accompany us, as an eſcort, and to ſerve as a body-guard to the director.

As ſoon as our *budgerow* put off from the ſhore,

ſhore, a ſalute of twenty-one guns was fired from the battery. Every one of the company had his own veſſel to paſs the night in, but in the day-time, we were all on board of that of the director, in which there was a room where ſix and thirty people could ſit down to table. At the maſthead of the director's *budgerow*, there was a Prince of Orange's flag *, with the arms of the Union, and thoſe of the other veſſels carried a prince's pendant.

Beſides ours, there were ſeveral other veſſels, in which the ſoldiers and ſervants were embarked; two that were to be uſed as kitchens, the victuals being dreſſed on board of them; and two as ſtoreſhips, to carry the proviſions. There were, in all, thirty-three veſſels of different ſizes, which formed a pleaſing ſight when they were all together.

In the evening, at half paſt eight o'clock, when the ebb began to fail, we came to an anchor, with our flotilla, a little below *Serampore*.

* The *Prinſevlag*, or Prince of Orange's flag, is the name given by the Dutch ſeamen to the naval enſign of the United Provinces, and the ſame that is ſtill the national flag, being three horizontal ſtripes, red, white, and blue. *T.*

At

At four o'clock on the following morning, upon the turning of the tide, we again proceeded downwards, and at ſeven, we came to *Chitpore*, ſituated about a Dutch mile above *Calcutta*, where we ſtopped for the deputies from the Engliſh council, who were to come to receive the director and his company. Half an hour afterwards they arrived, and paid a viſit of welcome to the director, in his *budgerow*. The chief of them was the ſecond in command at *Calcutta*, Mr. RUSSEL.

After a ſtay of about a quarter of an hour, they conducted the director on ſhore; and, followed by the reſt of the company, they entered a handſome ſummer-houſe, cloſe to the river, which belonged to Mr. RUSSEL.

We found breakfaſt prepared for us here, and after ſtopping about an hour, we left this place, in five coaches, ſent by the governor for that purpoſe. Six of his life-guards on horſeback, dreſſed in blue, with gold-lace, rode by the ſide of the coach in which the director was. At ten o'clock we were ſet down in *Calcutta*, at the houſe prepared for the reception of the director V——. It was a very handſome building, provided

with many and roomy apartments, all furniſhed in the European ſtyle, and hung with damaſked ſilk. It was the property of the little nabob, or miniſter, MAHOMED REZA CHAN, who had purchaſed it of an Engliſh gentleman, for 120,000 rupees, and always reſided in it when he was at *Calcutta*; but as he was not now in the place, the Engliſh government had made uſe of it. On the area, before it, ſtood a company of eighty ſeapoys, under arms, commanded by an European officer, as a guard, in honour of our director; which continued to do duty as ſuch all the while he remained at *Calcutta*.

When the director alighted before the houſe, a ſalute of nineteen guns was fired from Fort *William*.

As ſoon as we had entered the houſe, the director diſpatched one of his *chubdars*, with a meſſage to the Engliſh governor, who reſided in the government-houſe, next to that in which we were, to enquire if it were convenient for his Excellency for us to wait upon him in a body. Soon after, however, came that gentleman himſelf, accompanied by all the members of the council of *Calcutta*, to welcome the director.

director. After the firſt complimentary ceremonies were over, Mr. V—— ſaid, that the object of this national viſit, was to congratulate Mr. CARTIER upon his acceſſion to the governorſhip, adding, as a particular compliment, that he hoped Mr. CARTIER would ſo well manage affairs, as to be able to return to Europe in a few years; to which that gentleman replied with a ſmile, and expreſſed his thanks by an amicable interchange of civilities.

Theſe compliments were made and returned, by the director in French, and by the governor in Engliſh, the latter not underſtanding French, nor the former Engliſh, while Mr. RUSSEL performed the office of interpreter.

This viſit of ceremony laſted more than an hour. The governor then departed, with the gentlemen of the council. Half an hour afterwards, the director V—— went with us to pay a viſit of ceremony in return, to the governor, which laſted about three quarters of an hour; at the concluſion of which he conducted us out, accompanying us to the ſteps, in the ſame way as the director had done upon receiving his viſit juſt before.

About half paſt twelve o'clock, having been formally invited to dinner by the governor, we went again to the government-houſe.

Here we found, in a large and airy ſaloon, a table of ſixty or ſeventy covers. The ſervice was entirely of plate. The director was ſeated at the upper end, on the right hand of the governor, having, on the other ſide, the general of the Engliſh land-forces, being the third perſon in the council of *Calcutta*, or rather the ſecond, excluſive of the governor. The other gentlemen in company, were placed promiſcuouſly at table. Full half of the gueſts were officers of the troops, for whom the governor keeps every day open houſe.

When the cloth was taken away, a *hooka*, which is a glaſs filled with water, through which the ſmoke of tobacco is drawn, and of which I ſhall ſpeak further, was ſet before every one of the company, and after having ſmoked for half an hour, we all roſe from table, and ſeparated each to his reſpective dwelling.

The converſation was carried on at table, in a free and unconſtrained manner, with-

out the company being under any fear or reſtraint, from the preſence of the governor, or of other great men. The ſpirit of liberty, which animates a Briton in his own country, is repreſſed as little here, as there. This freedom and eaſe, is diametrically oppoſite to the ſtiff and obnoxious formality, which takes place at *Batavia*, in the company of the governor general, and the counſellors of India. Indeed, an Engliſhman could never brook the inſupportable arrogance, with which the Dutch Eaſt-India Company's ſervants are treated by their ſuperiors, as well at *Batavia*, as at the out-factories. It would be well, if this conduct remained ſolely confined to the Aſiatic regions, which gave birth to it: but, unfortunately, we ſee it continued by purſe-proud individuals, when they return to a country, where, from the moſt ancient times, it is known to be in perfect contradiction to the genius and temper of the inhabitants. It is certain that this is one reaſon, why there are ſo few to be met with, who ſerve the Company with fidelity, or a ſenſe of honour. Every one attends ſolely to the main buſineſs, of well and ſpeedily lining his purſe; and all look to the time,

time, when they ſhall be able to withdraw themſelves, from the inſolent dominion of an arbitrary government, againſt which little or nothing can be ſaid or done.

At ſix o'clock in the evening, Mr. CARTIER came to fetch the director V—— and his company, to take a ride to his country-ſeat, *Belvedere*, about two Dutch miles from *Calcutta*, where we were entertained with an excellent concert, performed by ſome amateurs, and an elegant ſupper. About twelve o'clock at night, we rode back to *Calcutta*.

The next morning, at nine o'clock, the governor came again to pay a viſit to Mr. V——, and made him an invitation to dinner, and to a grand ball, which was to be given in the evening, at the courthouſe. Hither we went, at ſeven o'clock, and the ball was opened by Mrs. CARTIER and Mr. V——.

The company were very numerous, and all magnificently dreſſed, eſpecially the ladies, who were decorated with immenſe quantities of jewels. A collation was ſerved in an adjoining apartment, and the whole

was conducted with great elegance, laſting till the next morning.

This day being appointed for us to ſet off on our return to *Chinſurah*, we went at nine o'clock in the morning, with the director, to take leave of Mr. CARTIER, and the other gentlemen who had been to ſee us, and dined at Mr. RUSSEL'S, whence we took our departure, about half paſt three in the afternoon, in coaches, for *Chitpore*, where our little fleet was lying, ready to receive us.

The director was ſaluted, on leaving the place, as he had been on his arrival, with nineteen guns from Fort *William*. The ſix lifeguards of the governor, who always accompanied Mr. V——, when he went out, while he ſtayed, did not leave us till we came to *Chitpore*, where he gave them a handſome preſent in money, as he had done to all the ſervants of the governor who had attended him, which altogether amounted to full a thouſand rupees, or fifteen hundred gilders.

The ſame deputies who had come to *Chitpore*, to receive Mr. V——, conducted him

him again on board his *budgerow*. We departed hence, at ſunſet, with the floodtide, upwards, and reached *Garetti* early the next morning, where we were received by Mr. CHEVALIER, at his country-houſe, and took our breakfaſt with him. We found here the carriages of the director V——, ready to carry us to *Chinſurah*.

At nine o'clock, we rode from *Garetti* to *Chandeenagore*; and after having paid ſome viſits in that place, we proceeded to *Chinſurah*, where we alighted before the houſe of the director F——, under a ſalute of twenty-one guns from the battery. Thence the director V—— led us to his own houſe in the lodge, where we found all the members of the council, aſſembled to meet him; and were entertained at dinner by Mr. F—.

On the 8th of March, Mr. F—— was formally announced, as director of the Company's trade in the kingdoms of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Orixa*, by Mr. V——, who had fixed his departure to be eight days afterwards.

On this occaſion, all the ſervants of the company, from the higheſt to the loweſt, aſſembled, at ſeven o'clock in the morning,

at the houſe of Mr. V——, where a coſtly breakfaſt was provided for them. The wives of thoſe who were married, were equally preſent. The garriſon was under arms, in the court-yard, within the lodge.

About nine o'clock, both the directors, with all the members of the council, aſcended the platform, over the landgate, where the commiſſion given to Mr. F—— by the council of India at *Batavia*, was read aloud by the ſecretary, after which a diſcharge was made, of three vollies by the military, and one-and-twenty guns by the battery.

Returned to the council-chamber, the commiſſion was again read, and Mr. V—— addreſſed Mr. F——, and the members of the council, in a ſpeech, by which he aſſured that gentleman, of his ſatisfaction, that the time was now come, when he was relieved from the heavy burden of an office, which he had filled for upwards of five years, during which period he had promoted, as much as his humble abilities admitted, the intereſt of the company; and adding, that his ſatisfaction was greatly increaſed, by having to reſign his government into the hands of a moſt worthy ſucceſſor, and his ſincere

ſincere friend. To this ſpeech, Mr. F—— replied by another, couched in the moſt polite terms, and in which he was not ſparing in panegyrics of Mr. V——, and of his lady.

The whole ceremony was concluded in the evening, by a ball, given by Mr. F——, in the garden of *Welgelegen*.

The following day, the directors received a letter from *Patna*, which is a large city in the kingdom of *Bahar*, about ninety leagues diſtant from *Chinſurah*, where the Company have a factory, for the opium and ſaltpetre trade, informing them, that the ravages of famine were there ſo great, that hundreds of Indians periſhed daily for want of food; ſo that our people avoided going out of the lodge, in order not to behold the miſery of theſe wretched inhabitants, who lay dying in crouds, along the ſtreets and highways, merely for want of nouriſhment. The ſurvivors began even to attempt ſatisfying their craving hunger, with the fleſh of the dead, in order to preſerve their own exiſtence. In this inſtance, the obſervation, that nature overcomes precept, was forcibly verified; for theſe poor, ſuperſtitious heathens, into

whom, from their childhood, an abhorrence of every kind of animal food is inſtilled, and more eſpecially with reſpect to human fleſh, on account of their belief in the tranſmigration of ſouls, now ſought to prolong their miſerable exiſtence a little while, by devouring the fleſh of their fellow-creatures.

The dire effects of famine too were felt in *Bengal*. At *Chinſurah*, a woman, taking her two ſmall children in her arms, plunged into the *Ganges*, and drowned herſelf, not poſſeſſing, or being able to procure, any thing to ſatisfy the raging hunger of her tender offspring. The banks of the river were covered with dying people; ſome of whom, unable to defend themſelves, though ſtill alive, were devoured by the jackals. This happened even in the town of *Chinſurah* itſelf, where a poor ſick Bengaleſe, who had laid himſelf down in the ſtreet, without any aſſiſtance being offered to him by any body, was attacked in the night by the jackals, and devoured alive; and though he had ſtrength enough to cry out for help, no one would leave his own abode, to deliver the poor wretch, who was found, in the morning, dead, and half-devoured.

The

The Bengaleſe will ſeldom aſſiſt each other, unleſs they happen to be friends, or relations, and then the ſervice that they render, only conſiſts in carrying the ſufferer to the water of the *Ganges*, to let him die there, or be carried away by the ſtream, and reſign his breath in its waves; for they all truſt, that by this means, they will be purified from moſt of their ſins, and their ſouls be tranſlated into the body of an happier creature.

This dreadful calamity was occaſioned, partly by the failure of the rice-harveſt, the preceding year, but it may chiefly be attributed, to the monopoly which the Engliſh had made of the rice, which was reaped the ſeaſon before, and which they now held at ſo high a price, that the natives, moſt of whom could earn no more than one, or one and a half, ſtiver (penny) per day, out of which they had to maintain a wife and children, could not buy, for this trifle of money, the tenth part of the rice they wanted, the conſequences of which were, that whole families periſhed miſerably.

The evil was augmented by another ſcourge, almoſt equally calamitous, the ſmall-

pox,

pox, which attacked people of all ages, and brought many to the grave.

This added to the contagion which had already contaminated the air, through the number of half-putrified bodies which lay unburied, or unburnt, along the banks of the river; hence the mortality encreaſed more and more, eſpecially after my having left *Bengal*. The director F—— died of the ſmall-pox, in the month of May enſuing, as I was informed, juſt before my departure from *Batavia*.

The heat of the weather now likewiſe augmented, from day to day, ſo that at noon it equalled, and ſometimes ſurpaſſed, the warmth of the blood: men and animals could ſcarcely breathe; and, although the heat was conſiderably leſs within doors, than in the open air, it was, nevertheleſs, ſcarcely ſupportable to me, and to every one, who had not been uſed to it. Water was poured, from time to time, upon the ſtones of the court-yards round the houſes, which afforded a momentary coolneſs, but it ſoon vaniſhed before the ſcorching rays of the ſun. The water taken out of the *Ganges*, differed only eight or ten degrees in warmth, from the air

in

in the ſhade where my thermometer hung; this ſtood, in the latter end of the month, at 104°, and, when I took the tube in my hand, the mercury fell to 98°; whence it appeared, that the heat of the outward air, ſurpaſſed that of the blood, by 6°.

On the 15th of March, which was the day on which the director V—— was to leave *Chinſurah*, for the road of *Ingellee*, where the ſhip *Ritthem* lay ready to convey him to *Batavia*, all the Company's ſervants aſſembled anew, with their wives, early in the morning, at the director's houſe, in order to take leave of him and his family, and to wiſh them a proſperous voyage; for that gentleman thought himſelf of too much conſequence to go to them himſelf, to take leave.

This conduct was ſtrongly contraſted with that of Mr. FAILLEFERT: when he left the colony, although he enjoyed the dignity of counſellor of India, his affability, and other virtues, endeared his memory, as well to the ſervants of the Company, and to the other Europeans ſettled in *Bengal*, as to the native inhabitants. It was exactly the reverſe in the inſtance I am ſpeaking of, Mr. V—— being equally deteſted by them all.

At eight o'clock, the keys of the lodge, or fort, were brought in by an officer, upon a ſilver waiter, and were delivered by the director V——, to his ſucceſſor in the directorſhip, Mr. F——.

A few minutes afterwards, having taken his leave of all the perſons preſent, on which occaſion the complimentary parade was even accompanied by tears, either of genuine regret, or of hypocritical affectation, Mr. V—— left the houſe and the lodge with his family; he was conducted by the whole aſſembly to the quay, where the *budgerows* were lying in readineſs. On the way, he ſcattered ſome money from his palankeen, among the Indians; and was ſaluted, when he left the ſhore, by one-and-twenty guns from the battery. Mr. F——, with ſeveral other ladies and gentlemen, intending to accompany Mr. V—— down to *Fultah*, invited me to go with them, which I the more willingly did, having ſome affairs of my own to tranſact at *Calcutta*, where the director and his company were to ſtop two days, before they proceeded to *Fultah*.

We arrived the next morning at that place, where the directors were ſaluted with nine-

teen

teen guns from Fort *William*. We were all ſumptuouſly entertained at dinner, by the Engliſh governor, and invited in the evening, to be ſpectators at a play, which, as at *Chandernagore*, was performed by ſome amateurs, in a houſe erected for that purpoſe. A little before the concluſion of the performance, Mr. F—— received a letter from *Chinſurah*, informing him, that his lady was at the point of death; whereupon that gentleman reſolved to return the ſame night to *Chinſurah*, and requeſted me to accompany him.

Having done what I wanted for myſelf, at *Calcutta*, I was glad to return again to *Chinſurah*, as the time was faſt approaching, when I was to leave the *Ganges*, and beſides, the company I was with, was not the moſt agreeable to me.

At midnight, after having ſupped with the governor, we departed up the river in Mr. F——'s *budgerow*, and reached *Chinſurah* at ſeven o'clock in the morning, where Mr. F—— was received with a ſalute of one-and-twenty guns.

Mrs. F—— died on the 27th of March, and was interred, with great pomp, on the

29th. Her huſband belonged to the fraternity of free-maſons, and all the brethren, and the wives of ſuch as were married, wore the mourning of the order, which conſiſted in a black ribbon hanging on the breaſt, with the inſignia of the order pendent from it.

The departure of my ſhip was, in the mean time, put off from day to day, becauſe the papers which were to be conveyed to *Batavia* by her, were not yet in readineſs. This was chiefly occaſioned, by the negligence with which the affairs of the Company had been managed, during the latter part of the adminiſtration of the director V——; and I was of opinion that this was deſignedly done, in order that, if forced to ſtay too long in *Bengal*, I might be neceſſitated to take my paſſage through the Straits of *Malacca*, in which caſe, there would be no poſſibility of my reaching *Batavia*, ſooner than the middle of November; and even if the monſoon changed earlier than uſual, I ſhould be obliged to remain in the *Ganges* till the next ſeaſon; ſo that he would have had an opportunity of ſailing for Europe, before the papers, which were to come by my ſhip, would have reached *Batavia*, and which he was conſcious would

would contain very ſerious matter, that would be of great prejudice to him, and, in conſequence of the appearance of which, he would be obliged to remain in India, to render an account of his adminiſtration. His fears on this head were, in fact, realized, for I was fortunate enough to reach the capital in time.

At laſt theſe papers were got ready, and, on the 31ſt of May, they were delivered to me by the ſecretary of police; at the ſame time I received the diſpatches for the governor general, from the director F——. This gentleman endeavoured to perſuade me to ſtay that night at *Chinſurah*, being fearful that I ſhould be overtaken by a thunderſtorm, which ſeemed to be brewing over us; but having nothing in view, but to make all poſſible ſpeed to leave the *Ganges*, before the bad ſeaſon, which was very near at hand, ſhould ſet in, I left *Chinſurah*, the ſame evening, in a *budgerow*.

It was when we were before *Chandernagore*, that the ſtorm burſt upon us, with loud thunder, and tremendous flaſhes of lightning, and the wind blew ſo hard from the ſouth, that it was with difficulty we could get

get to *Garetti*, where we anchored at midnight.

The following day, rowing down the river with the ebb-tide, we paſſed *Calcutta*, in the forenoon, and at two o'clock in the afternoon, we ſtopped for the tide, at a place which we call the *Boter-tol*, or *Butter-toll-houſe*, and found ourſelves under the neceſſity of lying here all night, on account of the violent ſoutherly wind.

We fell down again the next day, with the ebb, but made but little progreſs, as we had a pretty high gale from the ſouth, and were not able to advance farther than *Rajapore*, which is one Dutch mile and a half above *Fultah*.

At eight o'clock, A.M. on the 3d of April, we arrived at *Fultah*. Stopping here, we found a ſloop, with the allowance of ſpirits for my ſhip. At nine o'clock, another arrived with a part of my cargo, and which had to take an anchor on board, for my ſhip, in the place of one that had been broken. Beſides this, there were more goods intended to form part of my cargo, which had been put on board of ſmall veſſels, but which were not of a ſufficient ſize to navigate the river

river farther down, in this advanced ſeaſon of the year, and had therefore remained ſeveral days waiting for a ſloop, in which they might reſhip their cargoes. Fortunately one arrived at night, into which the goods were all put. The cargo, however, was ſtill incomplete; ſome part of it being yet expected from above, but I had no inclination to ſtay longer for it. I accordingly put off at nine o'clock, A.M. with the three ſloops, in one of which I embarked, and ſent my *budgerow* back to *Chinſurah*. At two, P.M. we anchored before the *Garnaale Spruit*, or *Shrimp* Channel, whence we ſet ſail again in the evening, anchoring at one o'clock in the night, about half a Dutch mile below *Dover*. The next morning, at nine o'clock, we again got under ſail, and proceeded downwards, anchoring at three, P.M. by the *Haze Spruit*, or *Hare* Channel, and at three the next morning, before the channel of *Cajoree*. On the 6th, about nine o'clock, P.M. we again got under weigh, and came on board of my ſhip, the *Cornelia Hillegonda*, in the road of *Ingellee*, at noon.

We immediately occupied ourſelves with ſhipping the goods conveyed by the ſloops,

which took us up the remaining part of that day, and part of the next.

As ſoon as I came on board, the pilot who was to have charge of the ſhip out to ſea, informed me, that he was very averſe to undertake it, as the monſoon was already changed, and we had to expect bad weather every day; and that if we were overtaken by it while we were between the banks, the ſhip would certainly run the greateſt danger of being loſt. However, after a ſmall preſent had infuſed ſome courage into him, he promiſed to make the trial, provided I waited no longer for the reſt of the cargo, which was ſtill expected from *Chinſurah*, to which I agreed; and thereupon calling the ſhip's council together *, we were unanimouſly of opinion,

* The captains of ſhips in the ſervice of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, are obliged, by their articles, to conſult their lieutenants reſpecting the courſe to be ſteered; and if they cannot agree, a council is to be ſummoned, conſiſting of the five principal officers on board, including the captain, where the matter is decided by a majority of votes. This council likewiſe, takes cognizance of whatever, not relating directly to the navigation of the ſhip, may be called extraordinary circumſtances; and determines, among other things, reſpecting the diminution, or increaſe, of the allowance to the crew; the touching at any places for reparation, or refreſhment; the time

opinion, that it was more for the advantage of the Company to leave what ſtill remained behind, of the cargo, than to incur the riſk of being obliged to ſtay with the ſhip in the *Ganges*, till the next ſeaſon.

On the 8th of April, every thing being ready, we weighed, and fell down in the afternoon with the ebb, anchoring in the evening, cloſe by a buoy, upon a ridge of ſand that ſhoots ſtraight athwart the paſſage. Weighing again with the beginning of the ebb, we worked farther down, againſt the s.w. winds, till on the 10th, we got ſafe without the banks, and into the open ſea. By the pilot, who left us at midnight, I ſent ſome letters up to *Chinſurah*.

We were now apprehenſive, that, as we had to expect nothing but ſouth-weſterly winds, and our intended courſe was direct ſouth, in order to get above the *Andaman* and *Nicobar* Iſlands, we ſhould be forced below them, and thereby likewiſe fall to leeward of the point of *Acheen*, the northweſt end of *Sumatra*; in which caſe, nothing would re-

time to be paſſed there, &c. as per art. III. IV. V. and VI. of the Eaſt-India Company's *Artikul-brief*, or articles of engagement, entered into by the perſons in their employ. *T.*

main for us, than to paſs through the ſtraits of *Malacca* to *Batavia*, and thereby conſiderably lengthen the duration of our voyage.

But our fears were fortunately, in this inſtance, not realiſed. We paſſed to the windward of thoſe iſlands, ſo as not to ſee them.

On the 3d of May, we found ourſelves in the north latitude of 7°, which is that of the ſouthernmoſt of the *Nicobar* Iſlands. Having, therefore, got beyond theſe, we entertained hopes of a ſpeedy proſecution of our voyage round *Sumatra*. The ſudden ſqualls, or whirlwinds, which came upon us almoſt every day, were our chief hindrance; they often ruſhed on us ſo unexpectedly, that we had ſcarce ſufficient time to take in our ſails; they were uſually ſucceeded by dead calms, which laſted the remainder of the day; and we were hereby greatly impeded in our progreſs.

Very unexpectedly, at daybreak, on the 10th of May, being in the north latitude of four degrees and a half, we diſcovered the iſland *Sumatra*, not far from the point of *Acheen*.

We had obſerved ſome ſigns of land for a few

few days before, namely, we had ſeen pieces of wood and bamboo floating on the water; but we flattered ourſelves that theſe came from the *Nicobar* Iſlands. We now found that the currents, which muſt have only ſet to the northeaſtward, after our paſſing thoſe iſlands (for had they driven us before in an eaſterly direction, we muſt have run in ſight of them), had carried us full thirty-three leagues towards the eaſt.

We were, by computation, four leagues and a half off ſhore, when we made the land. It appeared to the eaſt like ſmall iſlands, but more northerly, like connected land, with high mountains inward.

Fortunately, we were fifteen or twenty leagues to windward of the point of *Acheen*; for had we fallen cloſe in with it, or to leeward of it, we ſhould, for certain, have loſt the opportunity of paſſing round *Sumatra*. We yet ran ſome danger of being driven to leeward, from the continual calms, and the ſtrong currents, which ſometimes ſet to the north, and ſometimes to the ſoutheaſt.

Frequently, when we were driving along, in a dead calm, I had the boat hoiſted out, in order to obſerve the courſe of the current.

For this purpoſe, a heavy grapnel was faſtened in a large tub, and attached to a coil of rope, that was long enough to let down this apparatus, ſix or ſeven hundred fathoms below the ſurface of the ſea; and as there was no current at that depth, the boat lay, as it were, at anchor, and bore up with its head to the current. In order, in the next place to aſcertain the exact direction and degree of rapidity of the current, one of our ſweeps was taken, the leaf of which was painted white, a weight was faſtened to the other end, ſo as to make it ſtand upright in the water, with the white part five or ſix feet above the ſurface. To this end, a log-line was attached, in order to ſee how far the ſweep would be driven away from the boat, by the current, in a given time, to be obſerved by a ſtop-watch, and towards what point of the compaſs, having one with us in the boat, for that purpoſe.

In the ſpace of five minutes, I found that the ſweep was driven by the current, in the direction of north by weſt, to a diſtance of two hundred and twenty-ſix Rhineland feet from the boat, which may be eſtimated to make about three leagues in four-and-twenty hours.

hours. This was the reſult of our experiment the firſt day, but in the following days, we found the currents ſet to the northeaſt, at the rate of five or ſix leagues in twenty-four hours.

But not having always an opportunity of hoiſting out the boat, I cauſed a lead of ſeventy pounds in weight, to be let down by the ſounding-line, to the depth of eighty or ninety fathoms, and faſtening an empty caſk to it, which held up the lead, and was kept ſtationary by it, the ſhip drove away from it, by the current; for ſhe had no other motion, on account of the calm. We found by this, that the currents ſet more to the eaſt, and ſoutheaſt, every day; and on the 15th of May, we ſucceeded in getting off from the ſhore, which we loſt ſight of that day, at noon.

We now purſued our voyage with leſs apprehenſion, yet we made no greater progreſs than before, by the continual calms, which were only interrupted by ſudden whirlwinds, of an hour or two in duration *.

* From the frequency of theſe ſudden ſqualls, in the neighbourhood of *Sumatra*, the Portugueſe firſt, and afterwards the Engliſh ſeamen, have given them the name of the iſland, and call them *ſumatras*. T.

On the 15th of May, the ſun roſe, during an eclipſe, which was then full two-thirds completed. I obſerved the end of the eclipſe, fifty-eight minutes, and thirty ſeconds after ſix o'clock: this was to have been at *Chandernagore*, at thirty minutes paſt ſix; thus, the difference of time, between that place, and where we were, was 28′ 30″; or 7° 8′ longitude, that we were to the eaſtward of *Chandernagore*, whoſe longitude we knew was 105° 1′ eaſt from *Teneriffe*, and our eſtimation was 111° 95′; hence we found that we were eleven leagues more to the eaſtward than by the ſhip's reckoning. The day before we had paſſed the line to the ſouthward.

On the 29th of that month, we met, and hailed, the Eaſt-India Company's ſhip, *Duinenburg*, Captain JOHN VERHEEK, from the coaſt of *Mallabar*; ſhe had left *Cochin* on the 4th, and was equally bound to *Batavia*. We ſailed in company, till the 4th of June, when we left her behind, and loſt ſight of her.

The following days, we ſaw many ſigns of land, as rockweed, bamboos, large pieces of wood, and a ſpecies of red blubber, or *molluſca*, floating

floating on the water; likewiſe ſeveral land-birds, and a number of white and yellow tropic birds. Sometimes whole trees floated by the ſhip, with their branches and roots, yet freſh and uninjured. We concluded, that all this came from the iſland *Engano*; for when we ſtood towards *Sumatra*, we met with hardly any of them.

On the 10th of June, we again ſaw the iſland of *Sumatra*, and the high hill of *Sillebar*, which lies near *Bencoolen*, and we found that we were thirty-ſix leagues more to the weſtward, than by the ſhip's reckoning.

The ſoutheaſterly winds, now blowing very hard along the weſt coaſt, we were obliged to work up againſt the wind, towards the ſtraits of *Sunda*, and it was not before the 20th of June, that we came abreaſt of the *Flat Point*, and *Prince*'s Iſland; and on the 25th we anchored in the bay of *Anjer*, whence we ſet ſail the next day, and arrived in ſafety, in the road of *Batavia*, on the 2d of July, having had no more than four men dead, during the voyage.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VI.

Appointment of the Commodore of the homeward Fleet.—Earthquake at BATAVIA.—*Chineſe Feſtivals.—Thunderſtorm.—Arrival of the Endeavour, Captain* COOK, *from the South Seas.—Account of an Otaheitan, brought to* BATAVIA *by that Ship.—Thankſgiving, Faſt, and Prayer Day.—Liſt of the homeward Fleet.—Departure from* BATAVIA.—*The Reef of* ANGUILLAS.—*View of the Land of* AFRICA.—*Anchorage at* ROBBEN *Iſland.*

AS ſoon as I came on ſhore, I found that my ſhip had, the ſame morning, been appointed to return to Europe, as forerunner * of the fleet, for the chamber of *Enkhuizen*. But going the ſame evening to give an account of my Bengal voyage, to the governor general VAN DER PARRA, his excellency

* The homeward-bound Dutch Eaſt-India Company's ſhips, are divided at *Batavia*, into two fleets, one of which generally leaves India towards the end of the year, the other ſome months afterwards; and ſome days before the departure of each, a ſingle ſhip ſails for Europe, which is called the *voorzeilder*, or forerunner. Except, however, in war-time, theſe ſhips ſeldom ſail, or keep together, though they uſually rendezvous at the *Cape of Good Hope*. T.

told me, it would be better for me, that I ſhould return to Europe, in a large ſhip of a hundred and fifty feet, for the chamber of *Amſterdam*, than in a ſmall veſſel, like the *Cornelia Hillegonda*, for a chamber of leſs conſequence. On this account, the next day, in the council of India, the command was given to me, of the ſhip, *'t Huis ter Mye*, being one of a hundred and fifty feet, and which was bound for the chamber of *Amſterdam*. At the ſame time, the commandant, and upper comptroller of equipment of *Batavia*, ANTHONY VOGELZANG, was appointed commodore of the homeward fleet; but this gentleman dying ſoon after, Captain FREDERICK KELGER, of the ſhip *Kroonenburg*, was appointed in his ſtead *.

On the 15th of July, I took over the command of the ſhip, *'t Huis ter Mye*, from Captain HARTZ, and three days afterwards,

* The command of the fleet is given to the ſenior captain, unleſs when a paſſenger of higher rank, in the Company's ſervice (for all perſons in their employ, whether in a civil, a naval, or military ſtation, have their reſpective ranks), happens to be returning to Europe, and then the paſſenger, whether he be in a naval, or in a civil capacity, is appointed the commodore, and the ſhip he goes by, becomes the flag-ſhip. *T.*

I gave

I gave up to Captain MARTIN LABAAN, that of the *Cornelia Hillegonda*.

On the 17th of September, at about half paſt five in the morning, juſt as the day began to break, the ſhock of an earthquake was felt at *Batavia*, which laſted full two minutes, but did not do much damage. The water in the canals toſſing to and fro with impetuoſity, ſeemed, by its agitation, as if boiling. Whatever was pendent in the houſes, like chandeliers and glaſs lanthorns, was in motion for three quarters of an hour afterwards. All the clocks, both within and without the city, the pendulums of which oſcillated eaſt and weſt, ſtood ſtill; but thoſe that hung to the north and ſouth, were not affected. A clock which was in the houſe I was in, ſtood ſtill at thirty-two minutes paſt five.

On the 18th and 19th, there was a great feſtival of the Chineſe, inſtituted as an interceſſion for their ſick. In the evening, one or more bamboos, having ſeveral lanthorns hanging at the top, were ſtuck up before every houſe, which made a pretty appearance, in the Chineſe *campon*, or ſuburb.

This

This was followed, on the 9th of October, by a grand feſtival, in honour of their *jooſtje*, or *joſs* *, to whom they offer a number of coſtly preſents; they made likewiſe a large veſſel of paper, and combuſtible matter, which was highly adorned with flags, and ſet it on fire in the evening, letting it drive out to ſea, where it was very ſoon conſumed. This is only what I have heard related, being myſelf, at that time, at the iſland *Onruſt*.

In the evening and on the night of the 11th of October, we had a violent thunder-ſtorm, which did no harm in the city, but in the road, the lightning fell, about eight o'clock, upon the ſhip the *Admiral de Ruiter*. The mainmaſt, maintopmaſt, and topgallantmaſt, together with their yards and ſails, and the foretopſail, and yards, were ſhivered all to pieces, and the wreck of them

* The images which the Chineſe worſhip, are called *jooſtje* by the Dutch, and *joſs* by the Engliſh ſeamen. The latter is evidently a corruption of the former, which being a Dutch nickname for the devil, was probably given to theſe idols by the Dutch who firſt ſaw them, either from their hideous appearance, or from the principle that all idolatry is demonolatry. On no better ground than this, the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, accuſe the Chineſe of worſhipping the devil, knowingly and *de facto*. *T.*

lay upon the quarter-deck, to the height of fifteen feet *. A longitudinal fiſſure was likewiſe made in the quarter-deck, but no ſoul on board was hurt, nor was there any damage done to any of the other veſſels in the road.

A few days before this event, the Engliſh ſhip, the *Endeavour*, commanded by Captain Cook, had arrived in the road of *Batavia*. This veſſel came from the Pacific Ocean, and had been twenty-ſeven months from England, having thus far circumnavigated the globe, from the eaſt. They had with them an Indian, whom they ſaid was a native of a country which they had diſcovered in the

* Captain Cook, who was then at *Batavia*, in the *Endeavour* bark, as noticed in the next paragraph, relates this incident, exactly as above, and adds, "ſhe had an iron ſpindle "at the main-top-gallant maſt-head, which probably directed "the ſtroke. This ſhip lay not more than the diſtance of "two cables' length from our's, and in all probability we "ſhould have ſhared the ſame fate, but for the electrical "chain, which we had juſt got up, and which conducted "the lightning over the ſide of the ſhip; but though we "eſcaped the lightning, the exploſion ſhook us like an earth-"quake, the chain at the ſame time appearing like a line of "fire: a centinel was in the action of charging his piece, and "the ſhock forced the muſquet out of his hand, and broke "the rammer-rod." Hawkeſworth's Voyages, Vol. IV. page 341, octavo edition. T.

South

South Sea, but they would not reveal where it was ſituated. This Indian was of a middling ſize, rather fat than otherwiſe, of a dark brown colour, and with long and thick hair, which hung half way down his back; it was looſe, and of a jetty black; it grew low down upon his forehead. His beard was likewiſe black, of a middling length, and uncut, contrary to the cuſtom of moſt Orientals; the nails of his hands were long; his countenance ſeemed ſorrowful, and his diſpoſition timorous. His dreſs conſiſted of a large piece of white cloth, which was thrown over the ſhoulders, and which appeared to me to be made of the bark of trees. The Engliſh gentlemen, with whom he came, and who had likewiſe a Swediſh naturaliſt, Dr. SOLANDER, with them, ſaid that they underſtood his language; but when they converſed with him, it ſeemed to me that it was moſtly done by ſigns. He would not eat of any thing that was ſet before him; and continually caſt his eyes on all ſides around him, expreſſing the greateſt aſtoniſhment at what he ſaw and heard *. We underſtood

* TUPIA, the Otaheitan here alluded to, who accompanied Captain COOK, as far as *Batavia*, died there, the following

derſtood from the Engliſh, that they had ſtayed eight months at that iſland, which they called *Otaheite*, and that all the natives reſembled the one they had brought away.

A thanſgiving, faſt, and prayer day, was held at *Batavia*, on the 17th of October. This ſolemnity takes place every year juſt before the departure of the return-fleet, for Holland, being partly inſtituted in order to ſupplicate heaven to grant them a proſperous voyage. A ſermon is preached on that day, on board of the flag-ſhip, in the road, at which all the commanders of the veſſels there, with part of their crews, are preſent.

On the 24th, the governor general went, with a great retinue, on board of the ſhip *Kroonenburg*, in order to inſtal the commodore of the homeward fleet, FREDERICK KELGER. For this purpoſe, all the ſhips

ing month. The reader of Lieut. COOK's voyage, who will have ſtrongly intereſted himſelf for this amiable Indian, will ſcarcely recognize him in the picture here drawn of him; but the rapid progreſs of a bilious diſtemper, which poor TUPIA laboured under, during the latter part of the voyage, and the approaches of death in a ſtrange land, are not adapted to give, either an expreſſion of pleaſure to the countenance, or of fortitude to the mind. T.

which

which lay in the road, were ranged in two lines, with the old admiral-ſhip next to the river, and that of the commodore, the outermoſt. This was done in order that the governor general, paſſing between the lines, might have an opportunity of taking a view of every ſhip, at his eaſe. His excellency came in a great barge, which was richly gilt, and had a pavilion, with glaſs windows at the poop. The chief of the marine, and ſome other gentlemen, were with him. The upper comptroller of equipment ſtood before the pavilion, and commanded the rowers. As ſoon as his excellency came on board of the ſhip *Kroonenburg*, a broad pendant was hoiſted above the enſign, at the maintop, while the old admiral-ſhip ſtruck her flag, and fired a ſalute of twenty-one guns. Eight captains ſtood upon the ſhip's ladder, as his excellency aſcended, and all the others who belonged to the homeward fleet, were on the quarter-deck, together with the vice-commodore, to receive him. Under the awning, a breakfaſt was got ready for the governor general, and after he had taken ſome refreſhment, the commodore's commiſſion was read by the

ſecretary of the governor, and his excellency then commanded the captains of the fleet, to obey the commodore, on their voyage to Europe. About half an hour afterwards, the governor general returned on ſhore. Upon his leaving the ſhip *Kroonenburg*, he was ſaluted with twenty-one guns, the broad pendant and enſign were both ſtruck, and the commodore's flag hoiſted in their ſtead.

The ſhips that compoſed the firſt diviſion of the homeward fleet, were as follows:

for the Chamber of *Amſterdam:*
the *Kroonenburg*, Com. FREDERICK KELGER:
the *Nieuw Rhoon*, Capt. JOHN HENDRICKS:
the *Young Lieven*, ... HENRY DE HART:
the *Huis ter Mye*, ... J. SPLINTER STAVORINUS:
the *Weeſtduin*, ... MICH. GODFREY LEHMAN:

for *Zealand:*
the *Duinenburg*, Capt. JOHN VERHEEKE:
the *Young Samuel*, Capt. PETER ANGLEVORST:

for *Delft:*
the *Lady Antonetta Conradina:*

for *Rotterdam:*
the *Fluſhing*, Capt. JACOB 'T HART:

for *Horn:*
the *Ridderkerk*, Capt. PETER VAN PROYEN:

and for *Enkhuizen:*
the *Cornelia Hillegonda*, Capt. MARTIN LABAAN.

The

The laſtmentioned had ſailed for Holland, on the 20th of October, as forerunner of the fleet, and the two firſt followed on the 25th; while the others had to ſtop, for a ſhip which was daily expected from the coaſt of *Coromandel*, in order to take over the bales of piece-goods ſhe was to bring, and then to receive the complement of their cargoes in pepper. This veſſel reached the road of *Batavia* three days afterwards, and the re-ſhipment of the goods ſhe brought, took place immediately; after which, the ſhips ſailed to the iſland *Onruſt*, to take in pepper.

On the 3d of November, the water-bailiff came on board, to muſter the crew, which was found to conſiſt of one hundred and eight ſeamen, eight ſoldiers, four mechanics, four paſſengers, and one man, who was ſent back to Europe, being unfit for the Company's ſervice.

On the 5th of November, we got the laſt of our pepper on board, and, together with the commanders of the ſhips, the *Young Lieven*, the *Young Samuel*, and the *Lady Antonetta Conradina*, having received our final

diſpatches from the governor general, we left the iſland *Onruſt*, on the ſame day, and anchored the next afternoon, at three o'clock, in the bay of *Anjer*. The *Young Lievens*, and my ſhip, having ſtill ſome water to receive on board, remained here at anchor till the 9th, when we ſailed in the morning, and at night we cleared the ſtraits of *Sunda*, and got out to ſea. The two other ſhips had ſailed the day before.

On the 10th, at noon, we took our laſt obſervation of *Prince*'s Iſland, and in the afternoon, we loſt ſight of *Java*, and ſteered firſt s.w. till in the ſouth latitude of 9°, where we were ſure of meeting with the ſettled ſoutheaſterly tradewind, and thence we directed our courſe w.s.w.

As ſoon as we were out at ſea, we found that our ſhip was very leaky. We made eighteen inches water every watch, ſo that we were obliged to keep the pumps continually at work. However narrowly we ſearched, we could not find where the leak was, till about a month afterwards; when we accidentally diſcovered that there was a hole in the bow, on the larboard ſide, two feet

feet under water. The carpenter contrived, with much difficulty, to ram in a wooden plug on the outſide; for we could not get at it within the ſhip. This reduced the inroad of the water by one-half; but the leak was by no means ſtopped, and our pumps were frequently choaked by the pepper, and we were forced to lift them out, to clear them again.

The day after we were out at ſea, we loſt ſight of the *Young Lieven;* which ſhip outſailed us by full one-third, although Captain HART and I had agreed to keep in company.

On the 17th, at five o'clock, P.M. we ſaw a ſolar eclipſe, but we could take no obſervation of its beginning, for the ſun was, at that time, obſcured by clouds; neither could we obſerve the end, for the ſun ſet at ſix o'clock, before the eclipſe was over.

We proceeded pleaſantly on our voyage, with the ſoutheaſt tradewind, which carried us quickly on, and paſſing the tropic of capricorn to the ſouth, on the 28th of November, we computed on the 7th of December, that we were abreaſt of the iſland

Madagaſcar. We perceived alſo, ſeveral ſigns of land, and ſaw much red blubber floating on the water. Hence we ſteered weſt by ſouth, to the latitude of 34½°, and thence due weſt, towards the reef of *Anguillas.*

The ſoutheaſt tradewind began to ſhift in the ſouth latitude of 26°, and we met with variable winds, which were, however, very favourable. The compaſſes ſhewed the greateſt variation of 25° and 26° N.W. between 62° and 50° eaſt longitude; and farther to the weſt, the variation began gradually to decreaſe.

On the 21ſt of December, we obſerved a change in the colour of the water, from a clear blue, to dark green, and a high ſea rolled in from the S.W. Theſe were indications that we were near the reef of *Anguillas*; and at ſunſet, we ſounded in ſeventy fathoms, grey ſand with ſhells.

This reef ſtretches out from the continent, as far as 36° ſouth latitude, and perhaps farther, but the ſoundings are, in ſome places, thereabouts, two hundred fathoms. By the depth, and the nature of the bottom upon the reef, you may know whether you

are to the eaſtward, or to the weſtward of Cape *Anguillas*. To the eaſtward, the ground is hard, and to the weſtward, ſoft, looſe mud, with a much greater depth; ſo that having paſſed the cape to the weſt, you get out of ſoundings by degrees.

The heavy ſeas, that are occaſioned by the ſtorms, which are ſo frequently met with, on the reef, make it a very dangerous part of the navigation, and the Company have loſt, in conſequence, many ſhips; eſpecially of the ſecond diviſion, or thoſe that come upon the reef in the months of April and May, at which time the weather is the moſt ſtormy. Ships going to the *Cape of Good Hope* cannot avoid paſſing over the reef, in order to be certain of their longitude, and not to overſhoot the cape. On account, however, of the danger attending it, orders were given by the Company, in the years 1767 and 1768, for their ſhips, which paſſed here in that time of the year, to haul in upon the outſide of the reef, in order to aſcertain their ſituation, and rectify their eſtimation; but on meeting with ſoundings, then to ſtand directly ſouth, in order to run round the reef, without touch-

ing at the *Cape of Good Hope*; but inſtead of that, to touch at *St. Helena*, for refreſhment. This mode, however, proved to be attended with worſe conſequences; and all their ſhips are accordingly again allowed to touch at the *Cape of Good Hope*, except the laſt ſhip, which refreſhes at *St. Helena*.

On the 23d of December, we had, at noon, a glimpſe of the land of *Africa*, but ſoon loſt ſight of it, nor could we, on account of the hazineſs of the weather, diſtinguiſh what part of it we had ſeen.

On the 25th, we ſaw it again, with a clear ſky, in 34° 57′ ſouth latitude. The land appeared with a deep inlet, or bay, the weſt point of which ſloped down into the ſea; and behind it we ſaw high rugged mountains, ſituated far inland. The beach was very low and ſandy. To the north, were ſome irregular white eminences, reſembling chalkhills; and a little more to the eaſtward, we ſaw a hill, forming a regular arch. We could ſee land to the weſtward, from the maſthead, appearing like two round hummocks. We ſaw a thick ſmoke riſing inland; hence we concluded, that we were before *Vleeſch*, or *Fleſh* Bay.

In the night, and part of the following day, we had a ſtorm from the weſtward, with a high ſea, which ſtrained the ſhip very much. This weſterly wind continued till the 28th, when it came round to the S.E. and the next day we ran in ſight of Cape *des Anguillas*, and the ſteep headland of *Rio Dolce*. This laſt is very remarkable, and ſhews like *Portland* Point in the Britiſh Channel.

Rectifying our eſtimation here, we found that ſince our laſt obſervation, at *Prince's* Iſland, we were 3° 9′, or 39 leagues, more to the weſtward, than by the ſhip's reckoning. At the ſame time we ſaw a large ſhip to the northward, which we loſt ſight of in the evening; we afterwards found that ſhe was the *Young Lieven*, who had left the ſtraits of *Sunda*, in company with us.

The next day, being the 30th of December, we found ourſelves, at ſunriſe, abreaſt of *Falſe* Bay, and ſteered our courſe for *Table* Bay. At noon we were in ſight of the *Lion's Mountain*, for which we ſteered; and afterwards for *Sandhill* Point; before, however, we got ſo far, we were becalmed under the *Lion's-head*, and we could not ſteer the ſhip, while it blew a ſtorm from the ſoutheaſt,

ſoutheaſt, a quarter of a league from us. After having been becalmed about half an hour, we got a breeze, which ſoon carried us off ſhore; but reaching *Sandhill* Point, it encreaſed to ſuch a ſtiff gale, and was accompanied with ſuch violent ſqualls, falling down from the mountains, that we found it impoſſible to work into the road; and we accordingly reſolved to run for *Robben*, or *Seal* Iſland, and anchor under it. We caſt anchor in the road of this iſland, in fifteen fathoms, ſandy bottom, and found lying here the ſhip *Young Lieven*, which had reached the anchorage three hours before us.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VII.

Anchorage in TABLE BAY.—*Departure from the* CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—*View of* ST. HELENA.—*Of* ASCENSION *Iſland.—The Graſs-ſea.—Animalculæ found in the floating Seaweed.—Council held by the Commodore.—Paſſage to the Weſt of the* AZORES.—*Narrative of a Woman, who had enliſted as a Soldier.—Meeting with the cruiſing Frigates off* LIZARD *Point.—Arrival at the* TEXEL.

ON the following day, in the morning, the Company's officer, ſtationed on the iſland, came on board, and brought refreſhments for the crew, conſiſting of twelve ſheep and ſome vegetables. This is the allowance delivered to every Company's ſhip, that anchors at the iſland.

On the 1ſt of January 1771, the wind veering, in the morning, to the N.W. we weighed anchor, together with the *Young Lieven*, and ſteered for the road; but when we were about a quarter of a league from the anchoring-ground, the ſoutheaſt wind burſt upon us, over the mountains, ſo that we were obliged to come to an anchor, in the

the outer road, under the *Lion's-tail*; and as the wind continued to blow in violent ſqualls, we could not reach the inner road before the 3d, on which day we caſt anchor there, at ten o'clock, A.M. and we immediately moored our ſhip, ſtem and ſtern, ſaluting the commodore of the homeward fleet, with eleven guns, which was returned us with the ſame number.

We found ſeven ſhips of the homeward fleet, lying at anchor here, viz. the *Kroonenburg*, the *Nieuw Rhoon*, the *Lady Antonetta Conradina*, the *Cornelia Hillegonda*, the *Young Samuel*, the *Young Lieven*, and the *Ridderkerk*.

The *Woeſtduin* arrived on the 7th, the *Vluſhing*, on the 13th, and the *Duinenburg*, on the 31ſt. This laſt had, ſome time before, anchored under *Robben* Iſland, but her cable breaking, in a gale of wind, ſhe had been driven out to ſea.

After a ſtay of full five weeks, during which the crews partook of the uſual refreſhments of the place, ſix of the ſhips belonging to the homeward fleet, one of which was the commodore's, received orders to ſail for Holland. Theſe were, the *Kroonenburg*,

Kroonenburg, the *Huis ter Mye*, the *Young Samuel*, the *Lady Antonetta Conradina*, the *Fluſhing*, and the *Ridderkerk*; the *Cornelia Hillegonda*, had ſailed on the 10th of January, as forerunner.

On the 7th of February, we received our final diſpatches from the governor of the *Cape of Good Hope*, together with orders, to keep in company with the commodore. We, however, lay ſtill, till the 9th, as the violence of the ſoutheaſt wind prevented any of the ſhips from weighing till then. On that day we all ſet ſail, and about noon we got out of the bay, and each of the ſhips ſaluting the commodore with eleven guns, we ſteered to the W.N.W.

At ſunſet, we took our laſt obſervation of the land of *Africa*, the *Table Mountain*, bearing S.E. ten leagues off.

The next day, at noon, we changed our courſe to N.W. by ſignal from the commodore, and ſteered for the latitude of the iſland of *St. Helena*.

Our ſhip was now perfectly tight. The leak, which we had diſcovered at ſea, had been repaired at the Cape. We found under the ſheathing, a ſeam in the ſhip's ſide, that

was

was entirely open, ſo that it was a great happineſs that the ſheathing was but little damaged; for, if this had been wholly gone, where the ſeam lay that was open, we ſhould have had much difficulty to keep the ſhip above water. We did not perceive the leaſt leakineſs, during the remainder of the voyage, and were not once obliged to pump, from the Cape to the Channel.

The favourable wind, with which we had left the road of the Cape, ſoon brought us into the ſoutheaſt tradewind; with which we ran in ſight of the iſland *St. Helena*, on the 26th of February.

This iſland, which lies in the ſouth latitude of 16°, and full 13° eaſt longitude from the meridian of *Teneriffe*, is high, and mountainous, and has a barren appearance, in paſſing by. The Engliſh have taken poſſeſſion of it, and eſtabliſhed it, for a place of refreſhment, for their Eaſt-Indiamen. Our ſhips, likewiſe, in caſe of neceſſity, ſometimes touch there.

Loſing ſight of *St. Helena*, the following morning, we continued to ſteer N.W. and on the 5th of March, we made the iſland *Aſcenſion*, and ſailed cloſe under it.

The

The latitude of this iſland is about 8° ſouth, and its longitude 41° : it is alſo high and mountainous, yet not ſo much ſo as *St. Helena*; it is, likewiſe, ſmaller in circumference. It is uninhabited, and perfectly ſterile, being almoſt nothing but a bare rock. It, however, affords freſh water, though the watering-place is difficult of acceſs. The beach abounds in turtles, who lay their eggs in the ſand, in order to be hatched by the heat of the ſun. The Danes frequently viſit this iſland for the ſake of procuring a ſupply of turtle.

We ſaw, as we ſailed by, heavy breakers foaming on its eaſt ſide, to a conſiderable diſtance from the iſland.

On the 13th of March, we paſſed the equator, in the longitude of 356°. The ſoutheaſt tradewind failed us in the third degree of north latitude, and ran round to the northeaſt, with which we purſued our voyage, ſailing cloſe-hauled by the wind.

As our ſhip was the ſloweſt ſailer of the fleet, we were obliged to carry a preſs of ſail, in order to keep up with the others, whereby we ſplit our maintopmaſt.

On the 31ſt of March, I loſt my ſecond lieutenant,

lieutenant, HENRY VERBURG, who had been unfit for duty, by ſickneſs, from the beginning of December.

On the 2d of April, in the north latitude of 22°, we ſaw, for the firſt time, the ſea-weed, called gulph-weed*. This ſeaweed conſiſts of ſmall green bunches, large fields of which are ſometimes ſeen floating on the water; they are moſtly diſpoſed in long bands, ſeparated from each other by narrow intervals, and lying longitudinally in the direction of the winds, which generally blow here, between N.N.E. and E.N.E. It is as yet unknown, whether this weed grows upon the ſurface of the ſea, or whether it is produced at the bottom, and afterwards riſes to the ſuperficies†. It is worthy of obſervation, that it is not found, in ſuch large quantities, in any other part of the ocean; whence, and from its verdant appearance, the ſea hereabouts is called the graſs-ſea, by the ſeamen. The depth is here, as elſewhere in the main

* *Fucus natans.*

† Dr. THUNBERG, the lateſt ſcientific voyager, who ſays any thing concerning this marine production, is of opinion, that it grows as it floats in the water, and ſhoots forth new ſhoots at the extremities, which grow larger by degrees. Thunberg's Travels, vol. iv. p. 276. T.

ocean,

ocean, unfathomable. It is between the latitudes of 21° and 34° north, that this ſea-weed is moſtly met with, decreaſing thence daily, in quantity, to 38° or 39°, where it wholly diſappears. Neither is any of it ſeen to the eaſtward of the *Cape Verde* or *Canary* Iſlands, ſo that it muſt be produced, or collected, far to the weſtward of theſe iſlands. A great number of marine animalculæ, infinitely various in ſhape, are harboured in this ſeagraſs: ſome of them are as large as the joint of a finger. They are familiarly called ſea-cows, ſea-lions, &c. in alluſion to ſuch known land-animals as they reſemble the neareſt in ſhape *. Their ſubſtance is a thick ſlime, ſo that they cannot be preſerved, either in ſpirits, or in any other way.

On the 3d of April, we paſſed the tropic of cancer, and on the following day, the commodore made the ſignal for all the captains of the fleet to come on board.

As ſoon as we were aſſembled, which was

* Dr. THUNBERG enumerates, among the animals which he met with in this ſea-weed, the *ſcyllæa pelagica*, the *cancer minutus*, and the *lophius biſtrio*; and Captain STEDMAN particularizes the *hippocampus*, or ſea-horſe, which he aptly compares to the chevalier or knight of a cheſs-board. *T.*

at eight o'clock in the morning, we were formed into a council, in which the ſecret papers and orders committed to the commodore, at the *Cape of Good Hope*, with directions not to open them, till the fleet was in the preſent latitude, were read. They contained, a deſignation of the place, where we were to look out for the ſhips of war, which were cruiſing to meet us, being the *Lizard* Point in the Channel, and the private ſignals of recognizance of them.

After this, we ſat in judgment on the crime of one of the crew of the *Lady Antonetta Conradina*, who, being found guilty of mutiny, was ſentenced to be ducked three times from the mainyard, to be ſeverely flogged before the maſt, and afterwards removed to the ſhip *Fluſhing*; which ſentence was immediately put in execution.

Having thus concluded our buſineſs, we ſpent the remainder of the day in merriment; and at ſunſet we returned on board of our own ſhips, ſaluting the commodore with eleven guns from each.

Our north latitude, at noon, that day, was 24° 49′, and our longitude, by the average computation of all the ſhips, 338° 49′.

The

The northeaſt tradewind left us the following day, and was ſucceeded, firſt by calms, and afterwards by weſterly and variable winds. Theſe were ſometimes pretty high, and occaſioned ſo great a ſwell of the ſea, that it at times broke over us. On the 18th and 19th of April eſpecially, we had a high wind and ſea, with which we ran paſt the iſlands *Corvo* and *Flores*, which are the moſt weſterly of the *Azores*, leaving them, however, out of ſight, on our right.

Hitherto, nothing of material conſequence had happened on board of my ſhip, during the time we had been at ſea, which is rather a ſingular circumſtance in ſuch voyages; but on the 2d of May, we met with an unexpected occurrence, which had no relation to the ſhip's affairs.

A woman, one MARGARET REYMERS, had diſguiſed herſelf in men's clothes, in the beginning of the laſt year, and had enliſted as a ſoldier on board of the ſhip *Schoonzicht*; ſhe had long kept her ſex concealed, but being at laſt diſcovered, ſhe was put on ſhore at the *Cape of Good Hope*, and kept there, in order to be ſent back to Holland, by the homeward fleet. The governor of

the Cape made choice of my ſhip for that purpoſe, as there was a lady on board, who had taken her paſſage with me from *Batavia* for *Holland*; and whom this woman was to ſerve, as a maid, during the voyage. The miſtreſs had hitherto obſerved nothing amiſs in her ſervant, nor the leaſt ſigns of pregnancy, till the moment that ſhe heard the crying of a child, the maid being then, as ſhe thought, lying aſleep on a cheſt in her room. The ſurgeon being called, we found that the woman had been delivered of a female child; and the mother told him that the father of it, was a ſurgeon's mate at the *Cape of Good Hope*. Some days afterwards, I had the curioſity to aſk her, what had induced her to go to India as a ſoldier; ſhe anſwered, that ſhe was a farmer's daughter, in the duchy of *Oldenburg*, and had left her native country, on account of ill treatment; that coming to *Hamburgh*, ſhe there met with a Dutch recruiting officer, who adviſed her to put on male attire, ſaying, that if ſhe would go to India, which he would aſſiſt her to do, ſhe would make her fortune; he, accordingly, conveyed her to *Rotterdam*, whence ſhe had been put on board of

the *Schoonzicht*; ſhe had remained unnoticed for two months on board, but at laſt the firſt lieutenant diſcovered her. At the Cape, ſhe had been weak enough, ſhe ſaid, to liſten to the profeſſions of the ſurgeon's mate, who had ſeduced her, and who, after repeated promiſes of marriage, having got her with child, had abandoned her. She was in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, when ſhe came on board, and had hoped that the ſhip would have reached its deſtination before the time of her delivery. She was between twenty-three and twenty-four years of age, tall, and of a large and coarſe make, by which ſhe could eaſily paſs for a man, in her ſoldiers' uniform.

Three days after this event, we came into ſoundings, in the chops of the Channel, ninety fathom; but the violent eaſterly winds prevented us from making the *Scilly* iſlands till the 11th of May, when we got ſight of them, at noon.

At four o'clock, P.M. two Texel pilots came on board of us, and others on board of the other ſhips of the ſquadron, bound to the *Texel*.

The next day, at ſeven o'clock, A.M. we

ſaw the two ſhips of war, that were cruiſing for us, off *Lizard* Point; and our commodore ſtood towards them. About nine o'clock, he made the private ſignal of recognizance, which was anſwered by one of the frigates.

When we were within about half a league of them, our commodore ſaluted with thirteen guns, and ſtruck his flag, but which, as ſoon as the frigate had returned his ſalute, he hoiſted again. This occaſioned much miſunderſtanding between the commodore of the homeward fleet, who inſiſted upon continuing to bear his commodore's flag, and Captain VAN BRAAM, commander of the two frigates, who would not ſuffer this, and would only allow the commodore to carry an enſign at the maintop. To this he was at laſt obliged to ſubmit, after we had been detained for five or ſix hours during a favourable gale, by the boats going backwards and forwards, in order to bring the commodore to reaſon, and to ſettle this punctilio.

By our obſervation at the *Lizard* Point, we found, that ſince our laſt obſervation, off the iſland *Aſcenſion*, on the 5th of March, we were 4° 32′, or 45 leagues, more to the weſtward, than by computation.

At ſunſet, we made ſail, in company with both the frigates, ſteering for the *Start* Point.

The next morning, the commander made a ſignal for all captains of ſhips to come on board, when I found that this was our States' frigate the *Thetis*, under the command of Captain WILLIAM VAN BRAAM, and the other, the *Triton*, Captain RADERS, which laſt was to convoy us farther, to the ports to which we were bound.

Being returned on board of our own ſhips, Captain VAN BRAAM, made the ſignal to ſeparate, and returned to his cruiſing ſtation off the *Lizard* Point, returning, when he left us, with eleven guns, the ſalute of thirteen, given by the commodore of the homeward fleet.

While we were lying by, all the ſhips of the fleet were examined by two officers of the *Thetis*.

We met with eaſterly winds and calms in our paſſage up the Channel, ſo that it was only on the 22d of May, that we paſſed the Straits of *Dover*, and entered the North Sea.

On the following day, the *Young Samuel*,

the *Fluſhing*, and the *Lady Antonetta Conradina*, ſeparated from us, the firſt for *Zealand*, and the two laſt for *Goeree* *.

At nine o'clock, A.M. on the 24th of May, we diſcovered the coaſt of Holland, and at ten, we ſaw the ſteeple of *Egmond*. Shortly afterwards the frigate made the ſignal for puſhing on. We ſaluted with eleven guns, and were anſwered with five. We then worked up for the Texel roads, and at five o'clock, P.M. we came to anchor, in the ſouth gut, ſaluting the road with eleven guns; and on the 26th of May, the crew were diſcharged by the director BEAUMONT.

* An iſland at the entrance of the *Maeſe*. T.

BOOK II.

OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING THE ISLAND OF JAVA.

CHAPTER I.

Situation of JAVA.—*Straits of* SUNDA.—PRINCE'S *Iſland.*—DWARS IN DEN WEG.—*Bay of* ANJER.—*Claim of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company to the Sovereignty of the Straits of* SUNDA.—*Bay of* BANTAM.—*Road of* BATAVIA.—*Kingdom of* BANTAM.—*Tributary to the Company.*—*Speech made on the Appointment of a Succeſſor to the Throne.*—*Empire of* JACCATRA.—*Of* CHERIBON.—*Of the* SOESOEHOENAM, *or Emperor of* JAVA.—*Of the Sultan.*—*Principality of* MADURA.—*Political Conduct of the Company towards the native Princes.*

THE iſland of *Java*, which is one of the largeſt of thoſe conſtituting the great Oriental Archipelago, is ſituated between 6° and 9° ſouth latitude, and extends from 120° to 131° eaſt longitude from *Teneriffe*, being

being one hundred and ſixty-five Dutch miles in length. It lies nearly in the direction of eaſt and weſt. To the ſouth, and to the weſt, its ſhores are waſhed by the ſouthern Indian Ocean; to the northweſt of it, lies the iſland of *Sumatra*; to the north, *Borneo*; to the northeaſt, *Celebes*; and to the eaſt that of *Bali*: from which laſt it is ſeparated by a narrow paſſage, called the Straits of *Bali*. The arm of the ſea which runs between *Java* and *Sumatra*, is known by the appellation of the Straits of *Sunda*. The length of this channel, is, on the *Sumatra* ſide, taken from the *Flat* Point, to *Varkens*, or *Hog* Point, fifteen German miles; and, on the *Java* ſide, from the firſt point, or *Java* Head, to the point of *Bantam*, full twenty. In the mouth of the ſtrait, lies *Prince*'s Iſland, about a league and a half from the coaſt of *Java*, and full ſix leagues from that of *Sumatra*.

Prince's Iſland, is low, and only about four leagues in circumference. It has, however, two hills, one at its eaſt end, and the other a little more to the ſouth, which make it viſible at a moderate diſtance, eſpecially the hill, which lies at the eaſt end, and which

is

is accordingly called the high hill, by navigators *.

There is a ſtone reef at its s.w. ſide, which, according to the charts, extends a league and a half out to ſea, and is dangerous for the ſhips which paſs through the paſſage between this iſland and *Java*. *Prince*'s Iſland is covered with trees, and affords an agreeable proſpect to the paſſing ſeamen: it is inhabited by Javaneſe, who ſubſiſt by fiſhing.

By the ſituation of this iſland, at the entrance of the ſtraits of *Sunda*, are formed two paſſages; the one, running between *Prince*'s Iſland and *Java*, has been called the *Behouden*, or *Secured Paſſage*, and is made uſe of, for the moſt part, by thoſe ſhips which have to paſs the ſtraits, during the ſoutheaſt monſoon, in order, that, ſailing cloſe in with the ſhore of *Java*, they may ſoon get within anchoring-depth, and not be in danger of being driven out to ſea again, by the currents, which at that time of the

* The Engliſh call it the Pike: in Lieut. Cook's voyage in the *Endeavour*, there is a more ample account of this iſland. *T.*

year,

year, ſet ſtrongly out of the ſtraits, to the weſtward.

The other paſſage, which is called by ſeamen, *bet Groote Gat*, or the *Great Channel*, ſometimes ſerves alſo as an entrance to the ſtraits, during the ſoutheaſt monſoon; but it is with the greateſt difficulty, and after a continued ſtruggling with the ſoutheaſterly winds, and the currents, that this can be effected; and it is not an unfrequent circumſtance that five or ſix weeks are ſpent, in working up a diſtance, which, in the weſt monſoon, is often ſailed over, in twice as many hours.

The Eaſt-India Company's ſhip, *Luxemburg*, Captain ROEM, affords an inſtance hereof: ſhe ſailed on the 2d of June, 1768, from the bay of *Punto Gallo*, and came in ſight of the *Flat* Point of *Sumatra*, at the entrance of the ſtraits, on the 24th of July, but could not get upon the anchoring-ground, under the ſhore of *Java*, till the 21ſt of November. It was, however, remarkable, that the ſhip *Torenvliet*, which ſailed in company with the *Luxemburg*, from *Punto Gallo*, reached *Batavia*, full three months before her; and hence appears how much

much ſometimes one ſhip is either a better ſailer, or has better fortune than another, though ſeamanſhip and knowledge be upon an equal footing.

Notwithſtanding the difficulty of entering the ſtraits on this ſide, when theſe contrary winds and currents are in force, yet almoſt all the ſhips which fall to leeward, upon the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*, as well as thoſe which come from *Surat*, *Malabar*, *Ceylon*, *Coromandel*, *Bengal*, or other places in the weſt of India, are obliged to paſs through this channel, as it is ſcarcely poſſible for them to reach the windward ſhore of *Java*, in the teeth of the ſoutheaſt monſoon, and they therefore cannot avail of the other paſſage. That this, however, is not wholly impracticable, appeared by the ſhips, the *Young Lieven*, and the *Aſia*, who in the month of June, 1770, effected it; yet ſuch caſes are extremely rare.

The entrance of the ſtraits, on this ſide, affords an uncommonly pleaſing proſpect, near the Sumatran ſhore. Firſt, the *Flat* Point, which is low, and covered with trees, and behind it the majeſtic mountains of *Sumatra*, riſing with a gradual aſcent, and reaching

reaching to the clouds; a little more forward, the *Keizers*, or *Emperor*'s Iſland, lifts its high and ſpiry ſummit; farther on, the iſlands *Kraketau*, *Slybzee*, and *Pulo Bicie*, or the *Iron* Iſland, ſhew their mountains covered with ever-verdant woods. The oppoſite coaſt of *Java* is not inferior to this, and improves continually in appearance, as you paſs along it, affording at the ſame time good anchorage, which is not to be met with on the *Sumatra* ſide. The numerous groves of cocoanut-palms, and the rice-fields in the background, give the moſt pleaſing ideas of the fertility of the ſoil.

Twelve or thirteen leagues from *Prince*'s Iſland, in the narroweſt part of the ſtrait, and oppoſite to *Varkens*, or *Hog* Point of *Sumatra*, lies an iſland, that, on account of its ſituation, exactly in the middle of the channel, has, with great propriety, obtained the name of *Dwars in den Weg*, *Thwart the Way*, or *Middle Iſle*. It is low, and of little extent, with ſome ſmall reefs, which ſtretch out from it here and there. Like all the iſlands in theſe ſeas, it is covered with wood, and, as far as I know, it is uninhabited.

A ſtrong

A ſtrong current runs through the paſſages on either ſide of this iſland, during the whole year, ſetting, with the prevailing eaſterly or weſterly winds, either to the northeaſt or to the ſouthweſt, although it ſometimes happens, that the current runs contrary to the direction of the wind, for a ſhort time. Between *Dwars in den Weg* and the coaſt of *Java*, and farther on to the point of *Bantam*, there appears to be a ſettled current, independent of the wind; at leaſt I found, when, in the month of June, coming from *Bengal*, with the ſhip *Cornelia Hillegonda*, I lay at anchor, for a day and a half, in the bay of *Anjer*, over againſt *Dwars in den Weg*, that the current changed its courſe to a contrary direction, twice in four-and-twenty hours; that, however, which flowed towards the ſtraits, was full as ſtrong again, as that which ſet the oppoſite way: the S.E. monſoon was then at its height. I experienced the ſame thing in the month of November of the ſame year, with the ſhip *Huis ter Mye*, though it was then in the latter end of the monſoon.

Ships paſſing out through the ſtraits of *Sunda*,

Sunda, often anchor in the bay of *Anjer*, in order to take in their laſt ſupply of freſh water, from a rivulet which runs from the mountains into the ſea, at this place, cloſe to a little grove of cocoanut-trees. There is likewiſe a Javaneſe village, which is under the juriſdiction of the king of *Bantam*, and which has erroneouſly been reckoned, by ſome travellers, among the large cities of *Java*, though it has nothing that can be conſtrued into a town.

Not far from this place, there is an iſlet or rock, entirely overgrown with bruſh-wood, which is called the *Brabandſch-boedje*; and a little farther to the north, a ſimilar one, called the *Toppers-boedje* *; this laſt is ſteep and bold, having fifty fathom depth cloſe to it.

The Dutch Eaſt-India Company claim an abſolute ſovereignty over the Straits of *Sunda*, and this is acknowledged by all the other powers. The Company require the ſalute, and have the right of interdicting this paſſage to all other nations, though they

* Theſe ſmall iſlands are called the *Cap* and *Button*, by the Engliſh navigators. *T.*

do

do not put their right in force *. This right is maintained as proceeding from the circumſtance, that the land on both ſides of the ſtraits is tributary to the Company; viz. the kingdom of *Bantam* on the *Java* ſhore, and on the other ſide the land of *Lampon*, with that which lies farther weſtward, being conquered provinces belonging to *Bantam*. There is a reſolution, on this ſubject, of the council of India, and articles are included in the ſecret orders, which are given to the Company's ſhips, bound to the weſt of India, reſpecting the ſalute to be required of the ſhips of other nations; which order is not to be opened, unleſs they chance to meet with ſuch.

From *Anjer* to the point of *Bantam*, the country appears, in general, with high mountains inland, and a foreland more level. From this point, which is the northernmoſt extremity of *Java*, the land declines to the ſoutheaſt, and makes a deep bay; and in

* This claim has never been openly made by the Dutch, except indeed their putting ſundry queſtions to all ſtrange ſhips who paſs the ſtraits, as circumſtantially related in Cook's voyage in the *Endeavour*, may be conſtrued into ſuch a claim; and it would probably not be allowed, by the other nations who trade to India if inſiſted upon. *T.*

the farthest part of the bight is ſituate the city of *Bantam*, of which I have already made ſome mention, and ſhall ſay more reſpecting it hereafter.

From the point of *Pantang*, which forms the eaſtern extremity of the bay of *Bantam*, as that which we have juſt mentioned does the weſtern, the land is every where very low; yet there are high mountains inland, among which the Blue mountain towers above the reſt. Although this mountain lies at a great diſtance, towards the ſouth ſide of the iſland, and ſoutheaſt from *Batavia*, yet it is ſeen before *Bantam*. It was formerly, as is related, a volcano; but nothing of this kind is at preſent perceivable.

The navigation from this place to the road of *Batavia*, affords the moſt agreeable proſpects, by the numerous ſmall iſlands, covered with perpetual verdure, which are ſtrewed, at it were, along the ſea. The anchoring-ground is every where very good; but there are many rocks, which are from ten to eighteen feet under water, and which ſometimes occaſion much damage to the veſſels that do not carefully avoid them. The government of *Batavia*, however, have

cauſed buoys to be placed upon them, moored by heavy anchors; and upon ſome of them beacons are erected; but when theſe are waſhed away by the currents, the navigator muſt avoid the rocks, by taking the bearings of the ſeveral iſlands.

The road of *Batavia* is juſtly eſteemed one of the beſt in the world, as well with regard to the anchoring-ground, which conſiſts of a ſoft clay, as with regard to the ſafety it affords to the ſhips which anchor in it, and to the number which it can contain. Although the road is open from the N.W. to E.N.E. and eaſt, yet ſhips lie as ſecure and quiet as if they were landlocked, on account of the numerous iſlands which lie on that ſide, and break the force of the waves. Ships, therefore, are never obliged to moor ſtem and ſtern here; and the current which runs within the iſlands is not ſtrong, but without them it is very violent.

In the road, neareſt to the town, lies a guardſhip, commonly called the admiral-ſhip, with an enſign at the top, from which, both in the day and in the night, ſuch ſignals are made to the other ſhips in the road, as the commanding officer ſhall think need-

ful. For ſeveral years paſt, it has been regulated, that one of the captains of the ſhips in the road, ſhould keep guard on board this ſhip, in order that, in caſe of accident, by fire or otherwiſe, there may be always ſomebody at hand, to give the neceſſary directions, as the other captains of the veſſels generally paſs the night in the city. On ſuch occaſions, a ſignal is made from the admiral-ſhip, to give information, in order that the neceſſary aſſiſtance be immediately ſent from the ſhore.

Before I ſay any thing of *Batavia*, it will not be improper to relate how far the power of the Eaſt-India Company extends over the whole iſland of *Java*. This is divided into four empires, or kingdoms, which are, either wholly or in part, ſubject to the dominion of the Company.

The firſt, to begin from the weſt, is the kingdom of *Bantam*; this is governed by its own kings, with full power of life and death over their ſubjects; yet they are tributary to the Company, paying a yearly acknowledgment of a hundred *bhars* of pepper, or 37,500 pounds weight, Beſide which, there is a ſtrict engagement entered into

into by the king, not to ſell any pepper, or any thing elſe of the produce of his country, to other nations. It muſt all be delivered to the Company, for a certain ſtipulated price. And this does not ſolely regard the pepper, produced in his dominions in *Java*, but likewiſe all that is grown in his other territories, his conquered provinces, ſituated in the great iſland of *Borneo*, and in *Sumatra*, which likewiſe yield much pepper; and the Company have accordingly reſidencies eſtabliſhed, in the firſt, at *Banjermaſſing*, and in the laſt, at *Lampon Toulabouwa*, which ſerve, in the ſame way as Fort *Speelwyk* does at *Bantam*, to enforce the fulfilment of the treaties, and to prevent a contraband trade.

The king of *Bantam* is alſo deprived of the power of appointing his own ſucceſſor, and the Company nominate one of the royal family to ſucceed him, as latterly took place in the year 1767.

The ſpeech made, on that occaſion, by Mr. Ossenberg, ordinary counſellor of India, who was deputed thither from *Batavia*, to repreſent the united Dutch Eaſt-India Company, as lord paramount, appeared to me,

from its peculiarity, well worthy of being literally inſerted in this place, as tranſlated out of the Malay, which was the language in which it was delivered, as follows:

"His excellency the governor general, "and the honourable the council of India, "having thought fit and reſolved, to appoint "me, as their commiſſary plenipotentiary "to the court of *Bantam*, in order, at the "requeſt of the king, to propoſe and ap- "point, his majeſty's eldeſt ſon *Pangorang* "(prince) GUSTI, as hereditary prince, and "ſucceſſor to the empire of *Bantam*; and, "this deſirable period being now arrived, "in conſequence, I, the commiſſary afore- "ſaid, in the name and behalf of the ge- "neral Eaſt-India Company of the Nether- "lands, appoint the ſaid *pangorang*, to be "*pangorang ratoo*, or hereditary prince, "and heir to the crown and the whole "empire of *Bantam*, by the title of ABDUL "MOFAGIR MOHAMED ALI JOUDEEN.

"The commiſſary expects, that the ſaid "*pangorang ratoo* will, at all times, con- "ſider this, his important promotion, as a "peculiar favour, and a great benefit con- "ferred upon him by the honourable Com-

"pany;

" pany; being adopted from this moment, as " the grandſon of the Eaſt-India Company of " the Netherlands; and that he will hence- " forward, on all occaſions, and in all times, " behave with integrity and gratitude to- " wards them, obeying the commands of the " honourable Company, and of the king his " father, during his whole life."

After the appointment, this harangue was again read, by order of the commiſſary, in the Malay language, in the preſence of the king his father, of all the grandees of his court, and a number of the Company's ſervants, who had come from *Batavia*, and belonged to the retinue of the commiſſary; and the ceremony concluded with the playing of *gomgoms*, and other demonſtrations of joy.

The ſecond empire in *Java*, is that of *Jaccatra*, which is bounded, to the eaſt, by that of *Cheribon*, and to the weſt, by the kingdom of *Bantam*. *Jaccatra* was formerly governed by its own kings, but the laſt of theſe, having been ſubdued by the arms of the Company in the year 1619, they have ever ſince poſſeſſed it, by the right of conqueſt, as ſovereigns. It is under the immediate government of the governor ge-

neral, and the council of India, and all the Javaneſe of *Jaccatra*, are therefore born the Company's ſubjects. Before this revolution, *Jaccatra* was the capital of the empire, but *Batavia*, which is built very near the former, is now the chief place.

The third empire, is that of *Cheribon*. This is at preſent under the dominion of three different princes, who are independent of the Company, and ſovereigns in their reſpective diſtricts. Yet they are their allies, and, in the ſame manner as the king of *Bantam*, they are bound, by treaty, to ſell all the produce of their territories, excluſively to the Company, and not to permit any other nation than the Dutch, to enter their dominions; for the due maintenance of which conditions, the Company likewiſe take care to guard and garriſon their ſeaports.

Theſe princes would be the only ones in *Java*, who poſſeſſed not only nominal, but alſo real ſovereignty, were it not for the ſituation of their dominions, which lie between *Jaccatra*, and the empire of the *Soeſoehoenam*, or emperor of *Java*, who is alſo a dependant on the Company; of whom they muſt of courſe ſtand in awe, and whoſe wiſhes

wiſhes they muſt in every reſpect obſerve; for if they do not, the Company make no ſcruple of dethroning one prince, and eſtabliſhing another in his ſtead.

The Company exerciſed their power in this reſpect, in the commencement of the year 1769. One of theſe *Cheribon* princes, not treating his ſubjects well, was put under arreſt, by orders from the council of India, and baniſhed to the caſtle *Victoria*, in the iſland of *Amboyna*; while another prince of the blood was elevated to the vacant dignity, upon the condition, however, of his furniſhing a certain annual ſum of money, for the ſupport of his impriſoned predeceſſor.

The fourth empire, is that of the *Soeſoeboenam*, or emperor of *Java*, which is often called *Soeſoeboenam Mataram*, from the place of his reſidence. This empire, comprehended, of old, the greateſt part of the iſland: that of *Cheribon*, once formed part of it, and it was then very powerful; but, ſince our nation has been eſtabliſhed here, it has loſt much of its luſtre and importance. Yet it remained undivided till about the middle of the preſent century, when the emperor, found himſelf

ſelf ſo much embaraſſed, in conſequence of the rebellion of MANKO BOENI, a prince of the blood, that he made a ceſſion of his territories to the Company, who, in return, granted him the half back again as their vaſſal, and promiſed him their protection, engaging at the ſame time, never to make any one emperor of *Java*, who was not a prince of the imperial family.

The empire being thus ſplit into two parts, the other half, was, in the ſame manner, given to MANKO BOENI, as the Company's vaſſal, under the title of *Sultan*, with the like promiſe of protection, and the like engagement never to nominate any other than princes of his family, as ſucceſſors to his dignity. This other half, therefore, conſtitutes the fifth empire of *Java*.

To theſe may be added a ſixth, though it does not properly belong to *Java*; being a ſeparate iſland, but cloſe to it. I mean the iſland and principality of *Madura*, which is divided from *Java*, by a narrow ſtrait. It is under the government of a prince, who is equally a vaſſal of the Company, who, on this account, alſo diſpoſe reſpecting the ſucceſſion.

All

All theſe princes are under engagements (as has already been noticed with reſpect to *Bantam*, and to *Cheribon*), to deliver the produce of their reſpective countries to the Company alone, and not to ſell any of it to any other nation; likewiſe, not to enter into any connections, or treaties, with other powers; and great care is taken, to enforce theſe conditions, by the Company, whoſe numerous forts and garriſons, along the whole north coaſt of *Java*, render the contravention of them extremely difficult, if not wholly impoſſible, to the native princes.

Were they, however, all to unite againſt the Company, the latter would be in a very diſagreeable predicament; but their mutual and unceaſing jealouſies and animoſities, are ſafeguards againſt this. Though the Company's government do not perhaps foment, yet they do not extinguiſh the flames of diſcord; which being always kept ſmouldering, make one native prince prevent whatever another may deſign againſt the Company, by giving them immediate advice thereof.

It was likewiſe for very ſolid political reaſons,

reaſons, that the empire of *Java*, was allowed, or rather contrived, to be divided into two ſtates; for ſuch an extent of territory as it formerly comprehended, would always have made whoever was its ſole maſter, a dangerous neighbour to the Company, whereas being now under the dominion of two different men, who are likewiſe irreconcileable enemies, it is eaſily kept in entire ſubjection.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

Situation of JAVA. — *Climate.* — *Land and Sea Winds.*—*Monſoons.*—*Thunderſtorms.*—*Rivers.*—*Productions.*—*Pepper.*—*Rice.*—*Sugar.*—*Coffee.*—*Cotton-Yarn.*—*Salt.*—*Indigo.*—*Timber.*—*Fruits.*—*Vaſt Variety of them.*—*The Natives.*—*Their Character.* — *Dreſs.* — *Cuſtoms.* — *Dwellings.* — *Food.* — *Diverſions.* — *Religion.* — *Phyſicians.* — *Agriculture.*

JAVA is ſituated, as we have before obſerved, to the ſouth of the equator, in a climate, which was thought uninhabitable by the ancients, on account of the ſcorching heat, which they believed rendered the land there ſo arid and barren, as to be unable to produce any thing for the ſubſiſtence of man. This opinion originated from their total ignorance reſpecting the interior parts of Africa, which lie between the tropics, as well as reſpecting the Indies, and the great peninſula beyond the *Ganges*. The improvements of navigation, in modern times, have exploded this error, and proved that the lands near the equinoctial, far from

being infertile and uninhabited, on the contrary, yield the palm in nothing, to leſs torrid regions, and are able to feed full as many inhabitants, as the moſt fertile country in the temperate climates, provided the land be but properly cultivated.

The idea, that the heat muſt be utterly inſupportable in theſe parts, is not ſo abſurd, for the ſun is twice a year vertically over them, and its rays ſhoot almoſt always in a perpendicular line; ſo that it would, for certain, be nearly as bad as was ſuppoſed, if Nature herſelf did not come to their aſſiſtance, by the refreſhing land and ſea-breezes, which blow here alternately, throughout the year, and ſo far moderate the heat, as to make it bearable by moſt men. As the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, is likewiſe always nearly at the ſame hour, and ſcarcely differing more than a few minutes, the long nights conſequently cool the air ſo much, that in the morning, for an hour or two before daybreak, it may be rather ſaid to be cold than warm, eſpecially for ſuch people as have reſided here for ſome time.

From the month of July to November, which was the time of my laſt ſtay at *Bata-*

via, the thermometer of Fahrenheit was always, in the hotteſt part of the day, between 84° and 90°, excepting only one day, when it roſe to 92°; and in the greateſt degree of coolneſs in the morning, it was ſeldom lower than 76°. This thermometer was placed in the open air, in the city, ſhaded both from the rays of the ſun, and from their reflection.

The barometer undergoes little or no variation, and ſtands for a whole year at twenty-nine inches ten lines, as I was informed by the Rev. Mr. MOHR, who made daily annotations thereof.

The warmth of the air decreaſes greatly, on approaching the mountains, which lie towards the ſouthern parts of the iſland. Credible people have aſſured me, that at the country-ſeat of the governor general, which is called *Buitenzorg* (rural care), and is ſituated full ſixteen Dutch miles ſouth from *Batavia*, at the foot of the Blue mountains, the cold is ſo great in the morning, that not only thick clothes are requiſite, but it is difficult to become warm even with them *.

The

* Dr. THUNBERG, who viſited both *Buitenzorg* and the Blue mountains, ſays, that the climate there was very healthy and

The land and ſea-winds, of which mention has already been made, blow here every day, without exception. The ſea-breeze, which, in the eaſt monſoon is generally confined between E.N.E. and north, but in the weſt monſoon runs as far as N.W. and farther, begins to blow, about eleven or twelve o'clock in the forenoon. It encreaſes in the afternoon by degrees, till the evening, and then dies gradually away, till about eight or nine o'clock, it is perfectly calm. The land-wind then begins at midnight, or juſt before, and continues till an hour or two after ſunriſe, when it generally again falls calm, till the ſea-breeze comes on at its accuſtomed hour.

The year is divided into two ſeaſons, one of which is called the *eaſt monſoon* *, or dry

and refreſhing, and the air, eſpecially in the morning and evening, not only cool, but abſolutely cold, inſomuch, that, not having brought a great-coat with him, he was "chilled, "and perfectly ſhivered with the cold evening air, in a coun-"try, that lies almoſt directly under the equator." T.

* The word *monſoon* (in Dutch, *mouſſon*), is derived from *mouſſim*, which, in the Malay language, ſignifies *ſeaſon*. See VALENTYN *beſchryving van Ooſt-Indie*, vol. ii, p. 136.

Mr. MARSDEN, in his Hiſtory of *Sumatra*, page 13, ſays, that the word *moſſem*, of which the term *monſoon* appears to be a corruption, ſignifies a *year*, both in Arabic, and in Malay. T.

ſeaſon,

ſeaſon, and the other the *weſt monſoon*, or rainy ſeaſon.

The eaſt, or good monſoon *(goede mouſſon)*, commences in the months of April and May, and ends in the latter end of September, or the beginning of October. The tradewinds then blow, about four or five leagues off ſhore, and through the whole of the Indian ſeas, to the ſouth of the line, from the S.E. and E.S.E. at times, however, running as far as S.S.E. with fine dry weather, and a clear ſky.

The weſt, or bad monſoon *(kwaade mouſſon)*, generally begins in the latter end of November, or the beginning of December. The wind then often blows with great violence, and is accompanied by heavy torrents of rain, which render this ſeaſon very unhealthy, and a time of the greateſt mortality. The ſame winds are likewiſe found to prevail every where to the ſouth of the line. They continue till the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, and then are very variable, till April; in which month, as I was informed, the eaſterly winds begin to blow: hence theſe months, as likewiſe October and part of November,

are called the ſhifting months; and theſe times of the breaking up of the monſoons, are eſteemed, at *Batavia*, the moſt unhealthy of all.

It is very remarkable, that when the weſterly winds blow as far as nine or ten degrees to the ſouth of the line, the contrary takes place, at the ſame time, and to the ſame diſtance, to the north of it; and *vice verſa*, when the weſterly winds prevail to the north, the eaſterly winds blow to the ſouth of the line; which alternation is greatly helpful to the navigation weſtward of *Java*.

For ſome years paſt, it has been obſerved at *Batavia*, that the commencement of the monſoons begins to be very uncertain, ſo that, neither their beginning, nor their end, can be depended upon, with ſo much certainty, as formerly; the cauſe of which has not hitherto been diſcovered.

Thunderſtorms are very frequent at *Batavia*, eſpecially towards the concluſion of the monſoons, when they occur almoſt every evening. They, however, moſtly paſs away without doing any damage. I have noticed in my journal the only two times, during my

my reſidence there, that they did any; the one, in the month of Auguſt, 1769, when I was at the iſland *Onruſt*, where the lightning fell upon the powder-magazine, wholly deſtroying the tiled roof, while it fortunately happened, that there was no powder, at that time, in the magazine; the other, when it ſtruck the ſhip, the *Admiral de Ruiter*, in October, 1770; both which accidents were however unaccompanied by the deſtruction of any perſon.

To the beſt of my knowledge, there are no large rivers in *Java*, navigable by veſſels of even a moderate burden, but there are many ſmall ones, which flowing down from the mountains, in a northerly direction, run into the ſea, all along the north coaſt; they are, however, moſtly choaked up at the mouth, by ſands, or mudbanks, which render their entrances, at low water, very difficult to the ſmalleſt veſſels.

On the bank, or bar, before *Batavia*, the flood riſes about ſix feet, though at ſpring-tides, as every where, it is more. High and low water, likewiſe, only occur once in four-and-twenty hours.

The productions which the iſland yields,

are conſiderable, and of great importance to the Company; more particularly for the laſt thirty years, in which period, the cultivation of coffee, and other articles, has been aſſiduouſly proſecuted and encouraged.

The chief produce is pepper, which is moſtly grown in the weſtern part of the iſland. This ſpice is produced from a plant * of the vine kind, which twines its tendrils round poles, or trees, like ivy or hops. The pepper corns grow in bunches, cloſe to each other. They are firſt green, but afterwards turn black. When dried, they are firſt ſeparated from the duſt, and partly from the outward membranous coat, by means of a kind of winnow, called a *harp*, and then laid up in warehouſes. This winnow, or *harp*, is an oblong frame, with a bottom of iron wire, cloſely twiſted, ſo that the peppercorns cannot paſs through it; this is ſet ſloping, and the ungarbled pepper rolling along it, frees itſelf from moſt of its impurities.

The empire of *Bantam*, with its dependencies at *Lampon*, yield annually to the

* *Piper nigrum.*

Company,

Company, more than ſix millions of pounds of this ſpice. This pepper is eſteemed the next beſt to that which comes from the coaſt of *Malabar*. That from *Palembang*, of which likewiſe a very conſiderable quantity is delivered to the Company, as well as that of *Borneo*, is of a much inferior quality *.

The price, for which the king of *Bantam* is obliged to ſell all the pepper, produced in his dominions, is fixed at ſix rixdollars, or fourteen gilders and eight ſtivers per picol, of one hundred and twenty-five pounds †.

It has been the opinion of many, that the white pepper, is the fruit of a plant, diſtinct from that which produces the black; this, however, is not the caſe; they are both the ſame production; but the white is manufactured, by being laid in lime, which takes off its outer coat, and renders it

* See the exact quantities of the imports of pepper at *Batavia*, for one year, from all theſe places, in book iv, chap. 1, of Mr. STAVORINUS's ſecond voyage. *T.*

† Equal to about twenty-two ſhillings ſterling per hundred weight Engliſh, or nearly twopence halfpenny per pound, *T.*

whitiſh. This is done before the pepper is perfectly dry.

Rice * is the ſecond product of *Java*, and is collected in large quantities, eſpecially in the empire of *Java* proper. It grows chiefly in low, fenny ground. After it has been ſown, and has ſhot up, about two or three handbreadths, above the ground, it is tranſplanted by little bundles, of ſix or more plants, in rows; then by the damming up of the many rivulets, which abound in this country, the rice is inundated, in the rainy ſeaſon, and kept under water, till the ſtalks have attained ſufficient ſtrength; when the land is drained, by opening the dams, and it is ſoon dried, by the great heat of the ſun.

At the time of the rice-harveſt, the fields have much the ſame appearance, as our wheat and barley-fields, and afford an equally rich ſcene of golden uniformity.

The ſickle is not uſed in reaping the rice, but inſtead of it a ſmall knife, with which the ſtalk is cut, about a foot under the ear; this is done, one by one, and they are then

* *Oryza ſativa.*

bound

bound into ſheaves, the tenth of which is the reward of the mower.

The *paddee*, which is the name given to the rice, whilſt in the huſk *, does not grow, like wheat and barley, in compact ears, but like oats, in looſe ſpikes. It is not threſhed, to ſeparate it from the huſk, but ſtamped in large wooden blocks, hollowed out; and the more it is ſtamped, the whiter it becomes when boiled. The native Indians, throughout the eaſt, uſe this grain as bread, and as their principal food.

Java has been called the granary of the eaſt, on account of the immenſe quantity of rice which it produces. The other iſlands in this neighbourhood, yield little or none, except *Celebes*, where enough is grown to provide likewiſe *Amboyna* with this ſtaff of life.

In the year 1767, the quantity of ſeven thouſand laſts, or thirty-one millions of

* The following, beſides many others, are names applied to rice, in its different ſtages of growth and preparation: *paddee*, original name of the ſeed: *oaſſay*, grain of laſt ſeaſon; *bunnee*, the rice-plants before tranſplantation; *bras*, or *bray*, rice ſtripped of its huſk; *charroop*, rice cleaned for boiling; *naſſee*, boiled rice, &c. *T.*

pounds of rice *, was required, and furniſhed, for the conſumption of *Batavia*, *Ceylon*, and *Banda*, from the iſland of *Java*.

Sugar is likewiſe an article, which is produced in large quantities in *Java*, and brought to *Batavia*. The quantity of thirteen millions of pounds, manufactured in the year 1768 in the province of *Jacatra* alone, is ſufficient to ſhew, with what luxuriance the ſugarcane † flouriſhes here. Much of it is exported to the weſt of India, to *Surat* and the coaſt of *Malabar*, and the reſt to Europe. Moſt of the ſugarmills are kept and worked by Chineſe.

A fourth production of the iſland, is coffee. The plantations of it are, however, peculiarly confined to the provinces of *Cheribon* and *Jaccatra*. The tree ‡ which produces this berry, was firſt introduced into *Java* in 1722, or 1723, under the government of the governor general ZWAARDEKROON, who greatly encouraged the cultivation of it, among the Javaneſe. It is at

* 14,000 tons, or 280,000 cwt. *T.*

† *Saccharum officinarum.*

‡ *Coffea.*

preſent

preſent ſo much multiplied, that in the year 1768, *Jaccatra* furniſhed 4,465,500 pounds weight to the Company, who paid no more, according to the beſt of my knowledge, than three rixdollars and a half, or eight gilders eight ſtivers, per picol of a hundred and twenty-five pounds *.

Cotton-yarn, is likewiſe an important object of trade, which *Java* furniſhes to the Company. It is ſpun by the Javaneſe, from the cotton which is produced, in great plenty, in the interior parts. The province of *Jaccatra* yielded, in 1768, no more than 133 picols, or 16,225 pounds, which was 1875 pounds leſs than ought to have been delivered by the Indians, according to the quota impoſed upon them; but this deficiency was occaſioned by a ſeaſon of uncommon drought, by which the cotton-crop had been materially injured.

* Mr. STAVORINUS corrects this ſtatement, with reſpect to the price, in his ſecond voyage, where he informs us, that the rate at which the Company paid for the coffee, was four rixdollars per picol, being equal to about 14*s.* 5*d.* ſterling per cwt.; but other accounts, make this article ſtand them in the ſame proportion as the pepper, twopence halfpenny per pound, or about 1*l.* 2*s.* per cwt.: the firſt is probably what is paid to the cultivators, and the laſt the invoice-value, being with the addition of the charges. *T.*

Salt,

Salt, much of which is brought from *Rembang* to *Batavia*, is equally an article of trade for the company, who diſpoſe of it, for a handſome profit, at *Sumatra*'s weſt coaſt.

Another product of the country, is indigo, which is moſtly ſhipped to Europe. The culture of the plant which produces this dye *, is proſecuted with vigour in the province of *Jaccatra*. In the year 1768, the natives were aſſeſſed at 6,125 pounds, though they only furniſhed 2,875 pounds.

Large quantities of heavy timber are alſo brought from the northeaſt coaſt of *Java*, to *Batavia*. This is not, in reality, a branch of trade for the Company; but it is of great importance for ſhip-building, and other purpoſes †.

From all this, the great importance of this iſland to the Company, is very apparent. It produces ſome of their moſt conſiderable articles of commerce, and provides the greateſt part of their Indian poſſeſſions with food,

* *Indigofera tinctoria.*

† See the more ample account given of the articles of trade of *Java*, in book iv, chap. 1, of Mr. STAVORINUS's ſecond voyage. *T.*

not

not to ſay any thing of the laſt mentioned advantage, of furniſhing materials for ſhip-building.

The iſland is extremely abundant in fruit-bearing trees. In the firſt place, there is the cocoanut-palm *, which is well known. The *Suri* tree, which yields the palm-wine, or toddy. China-oranges †, of which there are two ſorts, one of a large, and the other of a ſmaller ſize. The tamarind-tree ‡, whoſe fruit conſiſts in pods, containing the tamarind, a ſpungy ſubſtance, in which the beans or ſtones are incloſed. The *pompelmoes*, or ſhaddock ||, the fruit of which is one of the moſt wholeſome, on account of its refreſhing quality and taſte.

Next the *durioon*, or *drioon*-tree §, the fruit

* *Cocos nucifera.*

† *Citrus aurantium.*

‡ *Tamarindus indica.*

|| *Citrus decumanus*; the ſhaddock is a large lemon, of the ſize of a child's head; the juice is moderately acid, and quenches thirſt; it is cooling, antiſeptic and antiſcorbutic. *T.*

§ The botanical rank of the *durioon*, though it is particularly noticed in Cook's voyage in the *Endeavour*, as well as by Dr. Thunberg, ſeems not to have been yet aſcertained; the following account of the tree which produces it, from Marsden, may perhaps be helpful to the botaniſt:

"The

fruit of which is incloſed in a hard ſhell, of the ſize of a man's head, and ſometimes larger; it has a moſt diſagreeable ſmell, which is extremely offenſive to thoſe who have never eat of it; when once, however, the fruit is taſted, the loathing which its odour is apt to excite, is quickly overcome, and uſe makes it, in the end, ſo familiar, that it is generally preferred beyond all other fruits. It is a ſtrong ſtimulative, and is therefore much prized by the Chineſe, The *Surſak*-tree * has a fruit of a ſimilar kind with the *durioon*, but it is not accompanied by ſuch a fetid ſmell.

The

" The tree is large and lofty; the leaves are ſmall in pro-
" portion, but in themſelves long and pointed. The bloſ-
" ſoms grow in cluſters, on the ſtem and larger branches.
" The petals are five, of a yellowiſh white, ſurrounding five
" bunches of ſtamina, each bunch containing about twelve,
" and each ſtamen having four antheræ. The pointal is
" knobbed at top. When the ſtamina and petals fall, the
" empalement reſembles a fungus, and is nearly the ſhape of
" a Scotch-bonnet. The fruit is not unlike the breadfruit,
" but larger and rougher on the outſide." It has by ſome been confounded with the breadfruit. Dr. THUNBERG ſays, it is conſidered as diuretic, and ſudorific, and ſerviceable in expelling wind. *T.*

* This ſeems to be the *nanca*, or jakes of COOK, and the *boa nanca* (*radermachia*) of THUNBERG; or what is commonly called

The *mango*-tree * deſerves equally to be noticed; its fruit, when ripe, has a thin, oblong ſhape, and is about the ſize of a gooſe's egg. Its coat is not thick, of a yellow colour, and ſoft. When peeled, it has a fleſhy ſubſtance. Within, it is of an orange colour, like a melon, with which its flavour has likewiſe ſome analogy; but if the *mango* be a good one, it is much more delicious. In the centre, is a large kernel. When green, it is made into *attjar* †; for this, the kernel is taken out, and the ſpace filled up with ginger, pimento, and other ſpicy ingredients, after which it is pickled in vinegar, and is ſent to all parts, as preſents, or otherwiſe.

called the jack, by the Engliſh; at *Batavia*, it is generally of the ſize of a large melon: its ſmell ſomewhat reſembles that of mellow apples, mixed with garlic; the outer coat is covered with angular prickles, and contains a number of ſeeds, or kernels (which, when roaſted, eat like cheſnuts) incloſed in a fleſhy ſubſtance, of a rich, but to ſtrangers, too ſtrong a flavour, but which gains upon the taſte. *T.*

* *Mangifera indica.*

† Articles preſerved in vinegar, with pepper and other ſpices, are called *attjar*; beſides mangos, the rind of melons, cucumbers, and in particular the aromatic roots of the bamboo-tree, with various other roots, fruits and vegetables, are made into *attjar*. *T.*

The *mango-tanges*, or mangoſteen *, is eſteemed the moſt delicicous fruit that is produced in the Indies. It is generally of the ſize of an apple, and reſembles a pomegranate in appearance, only it is larger and thicker, and its coat is not ſo tough. The fruit, when ſtripped of the outward rind, appears like a little apple, of a ſnow-white hue, compoſed of ſix or ſeven lobes, of the ſize of a joint of a finger, having a black ſtone in the inſide; they are very ſoft and juicy, and their flavour is ſo delightfully refreſhing that it is indeſcribable. The taſte ſeemed to me, to approach the neareſt to that of the peach; but it is rather more mellow to the taſte. The tree which produces it, is about the ſize of a common plum-tree. I met with people, who aſſured me, they had been cured of a dyſentery of long ſtanding, by eating large quantities of this fruit; though others were of opinion, that it produced a contrary effect. The rind has a ſtrong aſtringent power, and might perhaps be uſed as a dye, for a fine deep red colour †.

* *Garcinia manganeſta.*

† The Chineſe uſe the rind of the mangoſteen for dying black. *T.*

Lemon

Lemon * and lime-trees, are here likewiſe in great plenty. There is alſo a certain fruit called *katappa* †, which is like our walnuts, but better taſted. It grows upon a high tree, which affords an agreeable ſhade, and is incloſed in a green huſk, in which it lies in rolls, and is as white as milk.

Pineapples ‡, are produced in large quantities, and are therefore little eſteemed at *Batavia*; they are generally ſold for the value of a ſtiver (penny) apiece, and ſometimes for leſs.

Beſides theſe, there are many other kinds of fruit, produced upon the iſland, which are too numerous for me to mention here ‖.

The

* *Citrus medica.*

† *Terminalia catappa.*

‡ *Bromelia ananas.*

‖ The fruits moſt worthy of remark, beſides the above, are the following: the *piſang*, or bananas (*muſa paradiſiaca*) of which there are ſeveral ſorts, the beſt, *piſang radja*, is a delicious and wholeſome fruit, with a thin coat, and an inner pulpy part, which is ſweetiſh, and ſomewhat mealy; it is eaten both raw, and dreſſed in various ways. The *jambos* (*eugenia malaccenſis*), which is of a deep red colour, and oval ſhape; the largeſt are not bigger than a ſmall apple; it is pleaſant and cooling, though it has not much flavour. The

jambos.

The native inhabitants, are all commonly called *Javaneſe*, whether they belong to the kingdom

jamboo-eyer-mauer (eugenia jambos), which both ſmells and taſtes like conſerve of roſes. The *papaya (carica papaya)*, which is as large as a ſmall melon, and the yellow pulp within, has nearly the ſame taſte. The ſweetſop *(annona ſquameſa)*, which conſiſts of a maſs of large kernels, from which the ſurrounding pulp, which is very ſweet, and of a mealy nature, is ſucked. The cuſtard-apple *(annona reticulata)*, which derives its Engliſh name from the likeneſs which its white and rich pulp bears to a cuſtard. The *rambutan (nephelium lappaceum)*, which grows in large cluſters, and very much reſembles a cheſnut, with the huſk on; the eatable part is ſmall in quantity, but its acid is rich and pleaſant, and perhaps more agreeable than any other in the whole vegetable kingdom. The *bilimbing (averrhoa bilimbi)*, the *bilimbing belli (averrhoa carambola)*, and the *cherimelle (averrhoa acida)*, which are three ſpecies of one genus, and though they differ in ſhape, are nearly the ſame in taſte; the firſt is oblong, of the thickneſs of a finger, and ſo ſour, that it cannot be eaten alone; the bilimbing beſſe, is an egglike pentagonal fruit, about the ſize of a pear, and is the leaſt acid of the three; the laſt is extremely acid, and of a ſmall roundiſh, irregular ſhape, growing in cluſters cloſe to the branch, and containing each a ſingle ſeed; they all make excellent pickles, and ſour ſauce. The *guava (pſidium)*, which is well known in the Weſt-Indies. The *boa bidarra (rhamnus jujuba)* which is a round yellow fruit, about the ſize of a gooſeberry; its flavour is like that of an apple, but it has the aſtringency of a crab. The *nam nam (cynometra cauliflora)*, which in ſhape ſomewhat reſembles a kidney; it is about three inches long, and the outſide is very rough; it is ſeldom eaten raw. The *juntul (trichilia)* which, within a thick

kingdom of *Bantam*, or to any other part of *Java*; thoſe of *Madura*, bear the name of their iſland. They are of a middling ſize, and in general well-proportioned, of a light brown colour, with a broad forehead, and a flattiſh noſe, which has a ſmall curve downwards at the tip. Their hair is black, and is always kept ſmooth and ſhining, with cocoanut-oil. They are, in general, proud and lazy, as well as cowardly. Their principal weapon is a *kris*, which is a kind of dagger, like a ſmall-ſized *couteau de chaſſe*, and which they always carry with them. The handle, or hilt, is made of different materials, more or leſs valuable, according to

thick ſkin, contains kernels like thoſe of the mangoſteen, but which are both acid and aſtringent. The *madja* (*limoni*), which contains, under a hard brittle ſhell, a lightly acid pulp, which cannot be eaten without ſugar. The *ſalac* (*calamus rotang zalacca*), which is the fruit of a prickly buſh, and has a ſingular appearance, being covered with ſcales, like thoſe of a lizard; it is nutritious and well taſted, in flavour ſomewhat reſembling a ſtrawberry. The *fokke fokkes* (*ſolanum melongena*), which is of a purple blue colour, in ſhape like a pear, and of various ſizes; it has an agreeable taſte when boiled. Watermelons (*arbuſes*), which are in great plenty, and very good. Grapes, melons, pumpkins, pomegranates, and figs, appear to be the only European fruits to be met with at *Batavia*; though ſtrawberries, and ſome others, are ſaid to thrive in the interior parts of the country. *T.*

the wealth or dignity of the wearer. The blade is of well-hardened ſteel, of a ſerpentine ſhape, and thus capable of making a large and wide wound. It is often poiſoned, and, in that caſe, cauſes immediate death. Arrogant towards their inferiors, they are no leſs cringing with reſpect to their ſuperiors, or whoever from whom they have any favour to expect.

Their dreſs conſiſts in a piece of cotton, which they wrap round the waiſt, and drawing it between the legs, faſten it behind. They are otherwiſe naked, except that they wear a ſmall cap on the head. This is the dreſs of the common people. Thoſe of more conſideration, wear a wide Mooriſh coat of flowered cotton, or other ſtuff, and in general turbands, inſtead of the little caps. They ſuffer no hair, but that of the head, to grow, and eradicate it carefully wherever it appears elſewhere.

The dreſs of the women is little better than that of the men; it conſiſts in a piece of cotton-cloth, which they call *ſaron*, and which, wrapping round the body, juſt covers the boſom, under which it is faſtened, and hangs down to the knees, and ſometimes to

the ancles; the ſhoulders, and part of the back, remain uncovered. The hair of the head, which they wear very long, is turned up, and twiſted round the head like a fillet, faſtened with long bodkins of different ſorts of wood, tortoiſeſhell, ſilver, or gold, according to the rank or wealth of the lady. This headdreſs, is called a *condé*, and is alſo in vogue among the Batavian ladies. It is often likewiſe adorned with a variety of flowers.

Both men and women, are very fond of bathing, eſpecially in the morning. The children, of both ſexes, go entirely naked, till about eight or nine years of age. Twelve or thirteen is their age of puberty.

The Javaneſe are polygamiſts; they marry as many wives as they can maintain, and take their female ſlaves, beſides, for concubines. This, however, of courſe, does not take place with the common people, who muſt be content with one wife, becauſe they cannot afford to keep more. The women are proportionally more comely than the men; and they are very fond of white men. They are jealous in the extreme, and know how to make an European, with whom

they have had a love-affair, and who proves inconſtant, dearly repent both his incontinence, and his fickleneſs, by adminiſtering certain drugs to him, by which he is diſqualified from the repetition of either. People of the utmoſt credibility at *Batavia*, have related to me, too many examples of this refinement of female revenge, to render the circumſtance at all doubtful.

Their dwellings may, with greater propriety, be called huts, than houſes. They are conſtructed of ſplit bamboos, interlaced or matted, plaiſtered with clay, and covered with *attap*, or the leaves of the cocoa-nut-tree. The entrance is low, and is without a door or ſhutter. The whole houſe, uſually conſiſts of but one apartment, in which, huſband, wife, children, and ſometimes their poultry, of which they keep a great many, pig together on the ground. They alway chooſe a ſhady place to build in, or plant trees all round. Such as poſſeſs more property, are provided with a little more comfort and convenience; but it is always in a wretched, paltry manner.

Their chief food is boiled rice, with a little fiſh, and their drink, water. They do not, however,

however, reject a little arrack, when they can obtain it. They are almoſt continually chewing betel, or *pinang*, and likewiſe a ſort of tobacco, produced here, and therefore denominated Java tobacco, which they alſo ſmoke, through pipes made of reed; they ſometimes put opium into their pipes with the tobacco, in order to invigorate their ſpirits, but the continual uſe of it, rather deadens them; I ſaw ſome, who had been too immoderate in this indulgence, who ſat like ſtatues, with open, fixed eyes, and ſpeechleſs.

They have no tables or chairs; but ſit upon the ground, or upon mats, with their legs croſſed under them. They do not either make uſe of any knives, forks, or ſpoons, but eat with their fingers.

They have a certain kind of muſical inſtruments, called *gomgoms*, conſiſting in hollow iron bowls, of various ſizes and tones, upon which a man ſtrikes with an iron, or wooden ſtick, which do not make a diſagreeable harmony, and are not unlike a ſet of bells.

They are very fond of cockfighting, for which they keep a peculiar breed. Though

they may be ever ſo poor, they will ſooner diſpoſe of every other part of their property, than ſell their gamecocks. They are beſides, obliged to pay a tax to the company for theſe fowls; and this duty is yearly farmed at *Batavia*, and forms part of the revenues of the province of *Jaccatra*. In the year 1770, it amounted to 420 gilders per month*; it is, however, only in that province that they are liable to it.

A kind of tennis-play, is alſo a favourite diverſion among them, and they are very handy and dexterous at it. They ſtrike the ball with their feet, knees, or elbows, whither they chuſe, and receive it back, thus keeping it for ſome time in continual motion, without its touching the ground: the ball is generally of the ſize of a man's head, hollow, and made of matted reeds.

Their manner of ſalutation, conſiſts in touching the forehead with the right hand, accompanied by a ſlight inclination of the body.

The Mahometan religion, is predominant over the whole iſland. It is ſaid, that far inland, over the mountains, towards the

* About 35*l.* 10*s.* or 426*l.* per annum. *T.*

ſouth

ſouth ſide of the iſland, there are ſtill ſome of the aboriginal idolatrous natives to be met with. Moſques, or places of prayer of the Mahomedans, are erected all over the iſland; there is a very famous one near *Cheribon*, but I did not ſee it. They are very particular and nice, about the tombs of their ſaints, and will ſuffer nothing unbecoming to be done, upon or near them; an inſtance of which has been already related.

They have both male and female phyſicians, who have been known to effect very ſurpriſing cures, by means of their knowledge of the medicinal and vulnerary herbs, produced in their country. They have ſometimes greater practice, among the Europeans at *Batavia*, than thoſe phyſicians, who have been regularly bred, and come over from Europe; yet, they have no knowledge whatever of anatomy. Much friction of the affected parts, is one of their chief means of cure. This is done with two fingers of the right hand, which are preſſed down by the left, and paſſed continually downwards, after having firſt anointed the part with water mixed with fine ground wood, or with oil.

For the purpoſes of agriculture, they uſe buffaloes, inſtead of horſes, though there are enough of the laſt, but of a diminutive ſize. Theſe buffaloes are very large animals, bigger and heavier than our largeſt oxen, furniſhed with great ears, and horns which project ſtraight forward, and are bent inwards. A hole is bored through the cartilage of the noſe, and theſe huge animals are guided by a cord which is paſſed through it. They are generally of an aſh-grey colour, and have little eyes. They are ſo accuſtomed to be conducted three times a day into the water, to cool themſelves, that without it, they cannot be brought to work. The female gives milk, but it is little valued by the Europeans, on account of its acrimonious nature.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

BATAVIA.—*The River of* JACCATRA.—*The Water-fort.—The Bar at the Mouth of the River.—The Caſtle.—Buildings in, and near it.—Walls of the City.—Gates.—Admiralty-wharf.—Quarter for the Workmen—Churches.—Houſes.—Chineſe Houſes.—Maſſacre of the Chineſe, in* 1740.—*Aſſeſſment on Rents.—Bank of* BATAVIA.—*Suburbs.—The Chineſe Campon.—Character of the Chineſe.—Their Appearance.—Dreſs.—Religion.—Temples.—Divination.—Tombs.—Environs of* BATAVIA.—*Roads.—Streets.*

THE city of *Batavia*, ſtyled by our own, and foreign travellers, who have formerly viſited it, the Queen of the Eaſt, on account of the beauty of its buildings, and the immenſe trade which it carries on, is ſituated very near the ſea, in a fertile plain, in the kingdom of *Jaccatra*, upon the river of that name, which, running through the middle of the town, divides it into two parts. To the north of the city, is the ſea-ſhore; behind it, to the ſouth, the land riſes with a gentle, and ſcarcely perceptible, acclivity up to the mountains, which lie fifteen or ſixteen Dutch miles, or leagues, inland;

inland; one of theſe, which is very high, bears the name of the Blue mountain.

The ſingular circumſtances, which gave riſe to the building of this city, are too well known in hiſtory, and too circumſtantially related by VALENTYN, that I ſhould repeat them here *. I ſhall only make mention of ſuch changes, as have taken place in the city, ſince the time his work was written

* The beſt account, in the Engliſh language, of the foundation and riſe of *Batavia*, is to be found in the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. x, page 304, &c. This is compiled from VALENTYN's great work, entitled *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indie*, and from other Dutch writers. It was in 1619, that the governor general, JOHN PIETERSEN COEN, took the town of *Jaccatra*, which he in a great meaſure deſtroyed, and founded another city, not exactly on the ſame ſpot, but very near it, to which he gave the name of *Batavia*, though it is ſaid, that he much wiſhed to have called it *New Horn*, from the place of his nativity, *Horn* in North Holland. Although then an inconſiderable place, in point of ſtrength and beauty, he declared it the capital of the Dutch ſettlements in India; his choice of the ſituation was ſo juſt, his plan ſo well contrived, and every thing throve ſo faſt under his care, that *Batavia* roſe with unparalleled rapidity to that magnificence and importance, which have rendered it, both the admiration and the dread, of all the more eaſtern nations of the Indies; and which ſtill dazzle and overawe them, although the city has, for theſe laſt fifty years, greatly declined, both as to opulence and population. *T.*

(1726);

(1726); at leaſt, in ſo far as I had occaſion to obſerve them.

The city is an oblong ſquare, the ſhorteſt ſides facing the north and ſouth, and the longeſt the eaſt and weſt.

Through the middle of the city, from ſouth to north, runs, as before ſaid, the river of *Jaccatra*, over which there are three bridges, one at the upper end of the town, another at the lower part, near the caſtle, and the third about the middle, being thence called the *Middlepoint* bridge. Two of theſe are built of ſtone. Cloſe by the middlemoſt, there is a large ſquare redoubt, provided with ſome pieces of cannon, which command the river, both up and downwards.

The breadth of the river, within the city, is about 160 or 180 feet. It runs into the ſea, paſt the caſtle and the admiralty-wharf. On both ſides of the mouth, are long piers, of wood and brick-work, about 3,800 feet in length, taken from the moat of the city. The eaſtern pier, which was repaired, and in a great meaſure rebuilt, a few years ago, coſt the Company 36,218 rixdollars in timber, and 36,320 rixdollars in maſonry, making, at forty-eight ſtivers,

f. 174,

f. 174,091, 4.*; which is, in fact, a large ſum, when it be conſidered, that the timber coſts the Company but little money, as it is produced, in abundance, in *Java*.

The veſſels belonging to the free merchants, are laid up, and repaired, between theſe piers, on the weſt ſide; but along the eaſt ſide, the paſſage remains open, for the lighters, which go in and out of the city, with the cargoes of the ſhips.

At the outward point of the eaſtern pier, there is a ſhed, which ſerves for a ſtable for the horſes, which draw the ſmall veſſels and boats up and down the river.

Oppoſite to this, is a hornwork, commonly called the *Water*-Fort, which was built during the government of the governor general VAN IMHOFF, at an immenſe expence to the Company; for ſeveral large ſhips were obliged to be ſunk, on account of the depth of water on the ſpot, in order to lay a good foundation, for building the fort. It is conſtructed of a kind of coral-rock, and defended by ſeveral heavy cannon †. It

* About 16,000 *l.* ſterling. *T.*

† In 1793, when Lord MACARTNEY viſited *Batavia*, this fort had, mounted and diſmounted, fourteen guns and two howitzers. *T.*

has

has barracks within it, for the garriſon; and there is no other approach to it, than along the weſtern pier. It is at preſent very much out of repair, and the walls begin to ſink and fall down, in many places.

The objects for which this fort was erected, ſeem to have been, the defence of the road, and of the entrance of the river; yet, in both theſe reſpects, it is now of little advantage, for the anchoring-place is now ſo far removed from this fortification, by the encreaſe of the mudbank, which lies before the river, that, although its guns might reach the ſhips in the road, little damage could be done, on either ſide, at ſuch a diſtance *; and as to what regards the defence of the river's mouth, that is of very trifling importance; for the daily and continual encreaſe of the bar, renders the water much too ſhallow for large veſſels, and an enemy would never ſeek to effect a landing there, but would always prefer an eaſy, firm, ſea-

* Ary Huysers, who wrote an account of the Dutch ſettlements in India, in 1789, and had been at *Batavia* a few years before, ſays, that, in his time, a trial had been made of the heavy artillery at the mouth of the harbour, and that it was found ſufficient to command and protect the whole extent of the road. *T.*

beach,

beach, ſuch as is to be met with beyond *Ansjol* *.

The abovementioned bank, or bar, lies directly before the mouth of the river, and extends a great way to the weſt, and but a little to the eaſt, for which reaſons, ſuch veſſels as are deeply laden, muſt go round by the eaſt ſide, cloſe along the eaſtern pier, in order to get within the bar. It is continually encreaſing towards the road, by which, the place where the ſhips lie, is more and more removed from the city. To the weſtward, it is dry in ſome places.

Right before the mouth of the river, from which the ſhalloweſt part of the bank is diſtant about 600 or 650 feet, there is, at low water, no more than one, or one and a half, foot; ſo that a common ſhip's boat cannot get over it, but muſt alſo go round its eaſt end. When the ſeabreeze blows freſh, it makes a troubleſome and cockling

* At *Ansjol*, and at *Tanjongpoura*, to the eaſtward of the city, on the ſeacoaſt, there are ſtrong forts, and to the weſtward, at *Aukay*, *Tangorang*, and the *Kwal*. On the landſide, *Batavia* is further covered, by the forts at *Jaccatra*, the *Watering-place*, *Ryſwick*, &c.; though theſe are merely defences againſt the natives, and are moſt of them, little better than fortified houſes. *T*.

ſea;

ſea; and a weſt, or bad, monſoon ſeldom paſſes, without the loſs of ſome veſſels upon it.

This ſhoalneſs of the water, is ſaid to be the conſequence of a violent earthquake, which took place in *Java*, in the latter end of the laſt century, and by which the river of *Jaccatra* was partly ſtopped up. Yet the greateſt encreaſe of the bank, has been ſince the year 1730; and it is to be apprehended, that the river will, in time, become wholly unnavigable, and uſeleſs, by it.

The caſtle, or citadel, of *Batavia*, which forms the north boundary of the eaſtern diviſion of the city, is a regular, ſquare fortreſs, with four baſtions, which are connected by high curtains, except on the ſouth ſide, where the curtain was broken down during the government of Baron VAN IMHOF. The walls and ramparts, are built of coral-rock, and are about twenty feet in height. It is ſurrounded by a wet ditch, over which, on the ſouth ſide, lies a drawbridge. Between the moat and the buildings within the fort, on this ſide, there is a large area or eſplanade. In the centre of the buildings that look towards the city, is a great gate,

and

and then a broad paſſage, with warehouſes on each ſide, leading to another eſplanade, on the north ſide, encloſed between the ramparts and the buildings, all which is appropriated to the uſe of the Company *.

The government-houſe, which forms the left wing of the buildings looking to the ſouth, is provided with numerous and convenient apartments, but is at preſent uninhabited. In it, is a large hall, in which the council of India generally aſſemble twice a a week; this is adorned with the portraits of all the governors general, who have ruled in India, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the company.

Cloſe by, is a little church, or chapel,

* Captain PARISH's account of this fortreſs, in MACARTNEY's Embaſſy to China, 1793, is as follows:—"A little "above was the caſtle; a regular, ſquare fort, but without "ravelins or other outworks. It had two guns mounted on "each flank, and two, or ſometimes three, on each face; "they were not *en barbette*, nor properly *en embraſure*, but in "a ſituation between both, having both their diſadvantages, "without the advantages of either. The wall was of ma"ſonry, about twenty-four feet high. It had no ditch, but "a canal ſurrounded it at ſome diſtance. It had no cordon. "The length of the exterior ſide of the work was about 700 "feet." Some further particulars, both of the town and of the caſtle, are given in Mr. STAVORINUS's ſecond voyage. T.

uſually

uſually called the Caſtle-church, and a little more forwards, is a *corps-de-garde*, where a party of dragoons always mount guard.

Over the caſtle-bridge there is a great plain, or ſquare, planted with tamarind-trees, which afford a very agreeable ſhade. The entrance to it from the city, is over a bridge, and through a large and ſtately gate. This is mounted by a bold cupola, from which an octagon turret riſes, containing a large clock, which is the only public one to be met with at *Batavia*. It was built under the government of Baron VAN IMHOF, as appears by an inſcription over the gateway, and forms no trifling embelliſhment of the city.

On the left ſide of the gate, is a large building, which ſerves as a *corps-de-garde*, having in front a long gallery, reſting upon a row of pillars. A captain's guard of grenadiers, are generally poſted here.

On the weſt ſide of the ſquare, ſtand the Company's artillery-houſe, and the diſpenſary, or proviſion-magazine, both of which reach behind, to the river ſide, ſo that the goods are taken in and out of the lighters, with the greateſt eaſe. This is an advan-

tage which is poſſeſſed by almoſt all the Company's warehouſes and repoſitories in *Batavia.*

On the oppoſite ſide, is the iron-magazine, and what is termed the graſs-plat, being the place of execution for criminals: this is an artificial ſquare eminence, upon which there is a gallows, and ſome poſts, behind it is a ſmall building, with windows, looking towards the place of execution, whence the counſellors of juſtice behold the completion of their ſentences*.

There are a number of pieces of artillery, both iron and braſs, and of all ſorts and ſizes, together with other warlike implements, ranged upon the plain. Any one may ride through the gate we have juſt mentioned, as far as the drawbridge of the caſtle, but not over it, unleſs he have the rank of ſenior merchant, or higher.

The city is encircled by a wall of coral-

* It is cuſtomary throughout Holland, and its dependencies, for the magiſtrates, or judges, who have paſſed ſentence upon criminals, to preſide at the execution of it. This is, in Europe, generally done upon ſome open place before their townhalls, from the windows of which, the magiſtrates, dreſſed in their robes of ceremony, behold the execution. T.

rock,

rock *, defended by twenty-two baſtions, or bulwarks, all provided with artillery, and ſurrounded by a broad moat, in which there is ſeldom any want of water, that being conveyed into it out of the river.

Batavia has five gates; one at the eaſt ſide, which is called the *Rotterdam* gate; two to the ſouth, the *New* gate, and the *Dieſt* gate; one to the weſt, the *Utrecht* gate; and one on the north ſide, to the weſt of the river, called the *Square* gate.

Near to the laſt-mentioned gate, and oppoſite to the caſtle, is the admiralty-wharf; and not far off, the warehouſes for naval ſtores, as likewiſe the workſhops of the carpenters, coopers, ſailmakers, and ſmiths, with other offices that relate to the ſhipping. Here are alſo the houſes of the commandants, and comptrollers of equipment, who were formerly obliged to reſide upon the wharf; but for ſome years paſt, this regulation has not been obſerved, and they now live in other, and more pleaſant, parts of the town.

* Sir GEORGE STAUNTON ſays, that part of the town-wall is conſtructed of lava, which is of a dark blue colour, of a very hard, denſe texture, emits a metallic ſound, and reſembles very much ſome of the lava of Veſuvius. *T.*

In the ſoutheaſt corner of the city, cloſe to the ramparts, lies what is called the *Ambagtſkwartier*, or the workmen's quarter, in which all the mechanics and labourers, who are employed by the Company in their buildings, have their abode. The journeymen work here, under maſters of their reſpective trades, carpenters, ſmiths, plumbers, braziers, maſons, and others, who are all accountable to the chief of the quarter, who is called *fabriek*, or head workman, and has generally the rank of merchant. Beſides a great number of Europeans, who are employed here, there are full a thouſand ſlaves, who belong to this quarter, by which the Company incurs an enormous expence, with little benefit from their labour, which generally turns to the advantage of individual members of the government.

There are three churches for the reformed religion, within the city, in which ſervice is performed in the Dutch, Portugueſe, and Malay languages, and one without the gates, which is called the outer Portugueſe church. Beſides theſe, there is a Lutheran church, which was built during the government of Baron VAN IMHOF, not far

far from the caſtle; this laſt is provided with a fine organ, and a very handſome pulpit.

The town-hall, and other public buildings, are circumſtantially deſcribed by VALENTYN, and I ſhall not, therefore, make further mention of them.

The houſes at *Batavia*, are moſtly of brick, run up in a light and airy manner, and ſtuccoed on the outſide, with ſaſh windows. Within, they are almoſt all built upon a ſimilar plan, the fronts being, in general, narrow, though there are a few that are more extended.

On entering the door, there is a narrow paſſage, and on one ſide a parlour, then you come into a large and long room, that receives its light from an inner court, which trenches upon this apartment, and renders its form irregular. This is called the gallery, and is the place where the family uſually live, and dine. The floors are of large, ſquare, dark red ſtones. No hangings are to be ſeen; but the walls are neatly ſtuccoed, and whitened. The furniture conſiſts in, ſome armchairs, two or three ſofas, and a great many looking-glaſſes, which the Europeans, in theſe regions, are

very fond of. Several chandeliers and lamps, are hung in a row, along the length of the gallery, which are lit up in the evening. The ſtairs leading to the upper rooms, are generally at the end of this apartment. Six or ſeven ſteps up, there is one which ſtands over the ſtoreroom, or cellar, in which the ſtock of wine, beer, butter, &c. is kept. Up ſtairs, the houſes are diſtributed almoſt ſimilarly as below. They are, in general, but poorly provided with furniture; and the ſetting out of rooms in order, is not ſo much in vogue here, as in Holland: nothing is added that is ſuperfluous, or more than is wanted for uſe. Behind the gallery, are the lodgings for the ſlaves, the kitchen, &c. There are but few houſes, which have gardens, contrary to what SALMON erroneouſly aſſerts, in his *Preſent State of all Nations*; and there are not even the leaſt veſtiges left, of there having ever been gardens behind the houſes. In ſeveral, the windows are cloſed with a lattice-work of rattans, in the room of being glazed, for the ſake of air.

The above relates only to the houſes of Europeans, which are the greateſt in number,

ber. The few Chineſe, who live at preſent within the city, have very wretched houſes, the inſide of which is very irregularly diſtributed. Moſt of them dwell in the ſouthern and weſtern ſuburbs, which are called the Chineſe *Campon*. Before the revolt of the year 1740, they had the beſt quarter of the city allotted to them, to the weſt of the great river; but when, in that commotion, all their houſes were burnt to the ground *, the whole

* Several relations have been given to the public, at different times, of the horrid tranſaction here alluded to; of which the moſt circumſtantial is in the *Modern Univerſal Hiſtory*, b. xiv, chap. 7. No two, however, agree; and the following account, extracted from a very recent and intelligent Dutch writer, ARY HUYSERS, who was long reſident at *Batavia*, may therefore not be unacceptable. It is to be found in his *Life of Reinier de Klerk*, 1788.—"A little before the "perpetration of this maſſacre, ſeveral thouſand Chineſe adventurers and fortune-hunters had reſorted to *Batavia*, allured by the proſperity of their countrymen already ſettled "there. The great number of theſe new coloniſts, together "with the robberies and murders which were committed by "them, excited no little degree of juſt apprehenſion. The "famous VAN IMHOF, who was, at that time, a member of "the council, propoſed, in order to get rid of theſe uſeleſs "and dangerous new-comers, that every Chineſe who could "not prove that he had an honeſt livelihood, ſhould be "ſeized, and tranſported to *Ceylon*, there to be employed in "mining, or other labour, for the ſervice of the Company.

whole quarter was made into a *paſſar*, or market, where, at preſent, all kinds of proviſions are every day expoſed to ſale.

The

" This advice was approved of, and immediately followed. " A great number of Chineſe were ſeized, and put in irons; " but imprudently ſeveral Chineſe of property were ſecured " by the under-officers, charged with the execution of the " order, and were only liberated on paying large ſums of " money. This occaſioned great murmurings, and led the " reſt of the nation to credit a report which was ſpread abroad, " that thoſe who were unable to pay, would be drowned, or other- " wiſe put to death. They in conſequence retired, by thouſands, " from the city, towards the interior parts, and ſtrengthened them- " ſelves ſo much, as to render the fate of *Batavia* itſelf precarious. " In this dilemma, the council firſt offered an amneſty to the " diſcontented Chineſe, but this they rejected with ſcorn; " and purpoſing to exterminate the whole chriſtian ſettlement, " began by ravaging the country in the wildeſt manner, " burning the ſugar-works, and marching down to the gates " of the city. Here, however, they met with a ſevere rebuff. " The civil and military inhabitants united in repelling them, " and drove the rebels back again into the country. During " theſe commotions, the Chineſe who reſided within the town " kept themſelves perfectly quiet; and in order that theſe in- " nocent people might not be expoſed to inſult, the govern- " ment iſſued an order, prohibiting them from leaving their " houſes, after ſix o'clock in the evening, and ordering them " to keep their doors ſhut. This prudent precaution was not, " however, ſufficient to protect them from the fury of the " irritated ſoldiery and ſailors, who were in the city, and had " witneſſed the devaſtations of the Chineſe without the gates. " On a ſudden, and unexpectedly, an inſtantaneous cry of " murder and horror, reſounded through the town, and the

" moſt

The poundage, or aſſeſſment, which is paid annually by every houſe, conſiſts in half

" moſt diſmal ſcene of barbarity and rapine, preſented itſelf " on all ſides. All the Chineſe, without diſtinction, men, " women, and children, were put to the ſword. Neither " pregnant women, nor ſucking infants, were ſpared by the " relentleſs aſſaſſins. The priſoners in chains, about a hun- " dred in number, were, at the ſame time, ſlaughtered like " ſheep. European citizens, to whom ſome of the wealthy " Chineſe had fled for ſafety, violating every principle of " humanity and morality, delivered them up to their ſan- " guinary purſuers, and embezzled the property confided to " them. In ſhort, all the Chineſe, guilty and innocent, " were exterminated. And whence did the barbarous order, " by which they ſuffered, emanate? Here a veil has in- " duſtriouſly been drawn, and the truth will probably never " be known, with certainty. The governor general, VAL- " KENIER, and his brother-in-law, HELVETIUS, were ac- " cuſed by the public voice, of directing the maſſacre; but it " was never proved upon them." It is remarkable, that, when VALKENIER was afterwards condemned to impriſon- ment for life, at *Batavia*, among the numerous charges brought againſt him for maleadminiſtration during his govern- ment, no notice was taken of his preſumed inſtrumentality in this dreadful maſſacre. Much apprehenſion was entertained that this occurrence would excite the indignation of the empe- ror of China, and deputies were ſent to him the following year, to apologiſe for the meaſure. The letter written to the emperor on the occaſion, is given at length by HUYSARS; the only remarkable circumſtance in which it differs from the above relation, is the allegation, that ſome Chineſe within the city had ſet fire to it in different places, and were preparing to riſe upon the Europeans; but the extermination of the inno- cent

half a month's rent. This money is expended, in dragging and cleanſing the canals, and in repairing the townhall, and other buildings belonging to the city. Permiſſion muſt be requeſted, every year, of the Company's government to levy this aſſeſſment, in behalf of the city, which is ſeldom refuſed.

The houſes are not let by the year, but by the month; the rents run from five to forty rixdollars per month. A good houſe, in an agreeable ſituation, may be hired for twenty or twenty-five rixdollars *.

The churches are repaired out of the duties levied upon funerals.

A bank of circulation, has been eſtabliſhed here for ſome years, which is united with the lombard, or bank for lending money on pledges. It is under the adminiſtration of a director, who is generally a counſellor of

cent with the guilty is acknowledged, and attempted to be excuſed on the plea of neceſſity. Theſe deputies were agreeably ſurpriſed on finding that the emperor calmly anſwered, that "he was little ſolicitous for the fate of unworthy ſubjects, "who, in the purſuit of lucre, had quitted their country, "and abandoned the tombs of their anceſtors." *T.*

* A rixdollar, at *Batavia*, is worth forty-eight ſtivers, or about 4*s.* 4*d.* ſterling. *T.*

India,

India, two commiſſaries, a caſhier, and a bookkeeper.

A fee of five rixdollars is given, at the opening of an account, and ſtamped bank-bills, ſigned by the director and commiſſaries, are delivered for the money placed in the bank. Its capital is computed to amount to between two and three millions of rixdollars *.

The ſuburbs of *Batavia*, are remarkable, on account of their conſiderable extent, uncommon pleaſantneſs, and great population. They are inhabited by Indians of various nations, and by ſome Europeans. The Chineſe quarter is the moſt populous of all, and ſeems itſelf a city, with numerous ſtreets; yet their houſes are mean, and little. It is crouded with ſhops, containing all kinds of goods, as well thoſe of their own manufacture, and ſuch as they receive annually from *China*, as what they buy up of thoſe imported from Europe. The number of the Chineſe, who live both within and without the walls of the city, cannot be determined with preciſion; but it muſt be very conſiderable, as the Company receive a poll-

* Or between 435,000*l.* and 650,000*l.* ſterling. *T.*

tax

tax from them of more than forty thouſand rixdollars.

Every Chineſe, who has a profeſſion, is obliged to pay a monthly poll-tax of half a ducatoon*; women, children, and thoſe who have no trade, are exempted from the tax: ſo that their number can only be gueſſed at. They are under a chief of their own nation, who is known by the appellation of Chineſe Captain; he lives within the walls, and has ſix lieutenants under him, in different diſtricts. A flag is hoiſted at his door, on the firſt or ſecond day in every month, and the Chineſe liable to the tax, are then obliged to come to him, to pay it.

Like the Jews in Europe, they are very cunning in trade, both in the largeſt dealings, and in the moſt trifling pedlery. They are ſo deſirous of money, that a Chineſe will run three times from one end of the city to the other, if he have but the proſpect of gaining one penny. In doing any buſineſs with them, the greateſt care muſt be taken, to avoid being cheated.

Their ſtature is rather ſhort than tall, and they are, in general, tolerably ſquare. They

* A ducatoon is 66 ſtivers, or 6s. ſterling. T.

are

are not ſo brown as the Javaneſe. They ſhave their heads all round, leaving a bunch of hair, on the middle of the crown, which is twiſted with a ribbon, and hangs down the back. Their dreſs conſiſts in a long robe of nankeen, or thin ſilk, with wide ſleeves, and under it they wear drawers of the ſame, which cover their legs.

In every houſe, there is a niche, or place, where the image is hung up, of one of their *joofjes*, or idols, painted on Chineſe paper. Before it they keep one or more lamps, always burning, as alſo, a kind of incenſe, which is made into little thin tapers. This idol is generally depicted as an old man, with a ſquare cap upon his head, and a female, deſigned for his wife, next to him. About an hour's walk out of the city, juſt beyond Fort *Ansjol*, they have a temple, ſtanding in a grove of cocoanut-trees, by the ſide of a rivulet, and in the midſt of a moſt pleaſant ſcenery. The building is about twenty feet in length, and twelve or thirteen in breadth. The entrance is through a railing, into a ſmall area, and then into a hall, behind which is the ſanctuary. In the middle, juſt within

in the door, is a large altar, on which tapers, made of red wax, are kept burning, night and day. There is alſo an image of a lion, richly gilt. In a niche behind the altar, are repreſentations of an old man and woman, both with crowns upon their heads, and about two feet in height, which are their idols; and as they look upon their *jooſtje* to be an evil ſpirit, they continually ſupplicate him, not to do them any harm. In their adorations, they proſtrate themſelves before him, and endeavour to expreſs the awe and reverence they entertain, by ſtriking their head continually againſt the ground.

They likewiſe conſult their idol, when they are about any important undertaking. This divination is done, by means of two ſmall longitudinal pieces of wood, flat on one ſide, and round on the other. They hold theſe with the flat ſides towards each other, and then, letting them fall on the ground, augur of the effect of their prayers, and the good or bad reſult of their purpoſed enterprize, by the manner in which they lie, with the round or flat ſides upwards. If the preſage be favourable, they offer a wax-candle to their god, which the prieſt,

prieſt, or bonze, who attends at the temple, immediately turns into ready money.

In this temple I ſaw a Chineſe, who let theſe little ſticks fall, above twenty times before they promiſed him ſucceſs: he ſeemed to be but very little pleaſed with theſe repeated evil prognoſtications, and ſhaking his head, at every time, with a moſt diſcontented look, he threw himſelf upon the ground, and thumped his head againſt it, till at laſt, the omen proved agreeable to his wiſhes; and he then joyfully lighted a thick wax-candle, and placed it upon the altar of his *jooſtje*.

Beſides this temple, the Chineſe have ſeveral others, which are tolerated by the government; but it is worthy of obſervation, that whilſt the practice of the moſt abominable idolatry is allowed, the exerciſe of the Roman Catholic religion is obſtinately prohibited.

The Chineſe are of a very luſtful temper. They are accuſed of the moſt deteſtable violations of the laws of nature; and it is even ſaid, that they keep ſwine in their houſes, for purpoſes the moſt ſhameful and repugnant.

Their

Their tombs, on which they expend a great deal of money, are partly built above, and partly under ground. They are arched over. The entrance, which is made like a doorway, is closed with a large stone, covered with engraved Chinese letters. They are to be seen in great numbers, about half an hour's walk from *Batavia*, on the road to *Jaccatra*.

They visit the graves of their ancestors and relations, from time to time: they strew them with odoriferous flowers; and when they depart, they leave a few small pieces of silk or linen, before the entrance, and sometimes boiled rice, or other victuals; which is speedily made away with at night.

The environs of *Batavia* are very pleasant, and are almost every where, intersected with rivulets, by which the circumjacent rice-plantations, are inundated, and fertilized in the proper season.

There are five principal roads, which lead from the city, towards the country, and which are all planted with high and shady trees.

That which runs to the eastward, to *Ansjol* and the seacoast, is laid along the side of a

rivulet, the ſtream of which running down an imperceptible ſlope, is very ſlow, which makes it reſemble the canals for inland navigation, in Holland. Both ſides of it, are adorned with gardens; but they are beginning to be neglected, ſave one or two, belonging to the director general.

At no great diſtance from the ſeaſhore, whither this road finally leads, there is an oyſterbed; and on the beach ſtands a houſe of entertainment, which is reſorted to by the Europeans, for the purpoſe of eating this ſhellfiſh.

The ſecond road has the appellation of the *Mango-doa*, from its having been formerly planted with a double row of mango-trees. This runs more ſouth than the former one, and farther inland. Along this road there are likewiſe many gardens, but they are none of them ſo ſplendid and pleaſant as thoſe which border and embelliſh the road to *Jaccatra*; for there, the fineſt picture that can be conceived, preſents itſelf to the delighted eye, both with reſpect to the grandeur of the buildings, and the elegance of the grounds. Moſt of the houſes belonging to them, have their fronts towards the road, and

from the backrooms they have a proſpect of the river of *Jaccatra*.

This road is nearly two hundred feet broad, and is cloſely planted with trees. I do not know, that I ever beheld a more delightful avenue. It terminates at a ſmall fort, which is called *Jaccatra*, ſituated about half a Dutch mile from *Batavia*, and though the road is continued, thence to *Weltevreeden*, the country-ſeat of the governor general, and beyond it farther into the country, it aſſumes, on the other ſide of *Jaccatra*, the name of *Goenong Sari*.

The fourth, is called the *Molenvliet*, or Mill-drain, becauſe part of the water of the great, or *Jaccatra*, river, is diverted through a channel, along this road, for the purpoſe of turning a powdermill, which ſtands ſcarcely ten minutes' walk from the city. The road leads along the canal, for full half a Dutch mile up the country, and is equally adorned on both ſides, with handſome houſes, and pleaſant gardens. It then proceeds to *Tanabang*, where a large market is held every Saturday, for all kinds of proviſions, which are brought thither from the interior parts.

The fifth road leads through the Chineſe *Campon*,

Campon, alſo along a river, to Fort *Ankay*, and is, in like manner, bordered on both ſides with gardens.

None of theſe roads, nor any of the ſtreets in the city, are paved; the ground conſiſts of a hard clay, which is made very ſmooth and plain; only in the city, along the ſides of the ſtreets, by the houſes, are ſtone footpaths, of about three or four feet in breadth *.

* The ſtreets and canals, at *Batavia*, are planted on each ſide with large trees; generally the *anophyllum calophyllum* and *calaba*, the *canarium commune*, and ſome others ſtill ſcarcer. *T.*

CHAPTER IV.

Government of BATAVIA.—*Council of India.*—*Governor General.*—*Director General.*—*Counſellors of India.*—*Council of Juſtice.*—*Board of Scheepens.*—*Puniſhments.*—*Impalement.*—*Macks.*—*Orphan-Chamber.*—*Society for the Opium-Trade.*—*Chief of the Marine.*—*Commandant and Upper Comptroller of Equipment.*—*Vice-Commandant.*—*Military.*—*Militia.*—*Of Ranks and Precedency.*—*Sumptuary Laws.*—*Clergymen.*—*Coins.*—*Weights.*—*Meaſures.*

THE chief government of *Batavia*, and of all the poſſeſſions of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company in Aſia, is veſted in the council of India, with the governor general at their head.

This council conſiſted, when I was there, beſides the director general, of five ordinary counſellors, including the governor of the *Cape of Good Hope*, nine extraordinary counſellors, and two ſecretaries.

Five of the extraordinary counſellors, were governors of the out-factories of *Java*'s *Northeaſt Coaſt*, *Coromandel*, *Amboyna*, *Ceylon*, and *Macaſſer*.

This

This council determines affairs, of every kind, thoſe which relate to the adminiſtration of juſtice alone excepted. Yet in civi matters, an appeal may be made from the ſentence of the council of juſtice, to the council of India.

All appointments and promotions to offices, are effected by the council of India, not excepting that of the governor general; but this muſt be confirmed by the aſſembly of ſeventeen, in the Netherlands *.

The

* Eccleſiaſtical preferments, and the appointment of the miniſters of juſtice, proceed immediately from the direction in Holland. In the council of India, the governor and director general, and the five ordinary counſellors, alone, conclude upon moſt matters that are brought before them; the other nine members are properly only aſſeſſors, who may give their advice, but have no votes, except in the queſtion of war or peace with the Indians, in the pardoning of criminals condemned to death, in the election of a governor general, and in a few other important points. The power and influence of this body in the Indies, are unbounded. It is the repreſentative of the ſtate, and of the Company, and millions of Indians are ſubject to its ſway. Kings and princes, are crowned and dethroned by its mandates. "I have been witneſs," ſays ARY HUYSERS, a writer, to whom we have before had occaſion to refer, "to the depoſition of two powerful kings of "the *Molucca's*, and the hereditary prince of *Tidore*. One of "theſe died miſerably in a little village, near the place of my "reſidence. I ſaw the venerable old man before his death;

The authority of the governor general is almoſt unbounded; and although he is obliged to give cognizance to the council, and conſult them on ſome matters, he poſſeſſes a moſt arbitrary and independent power in all: for there are few or no members of the council, who do not ſtand in need of his good offices, in ſome inſtance or other, for example, in order to obtain lucrative employments for their relations or favourites *; and if this be not ſufficient, to make them obey the nod of the governor, he is not deſtitute of the

" he was ſeventy-two years of age. When I expreſſed my " commiſeration at the deep humiliation he had undergone, he " anſwered, with a ſigh, in the Malay language, pointing to " heaven, '*It is the will of God.*'" Other inſtances of the tyranny of the Dutch Company over the native princes, are related in the preſent work. *T.*

* By the ſecond article of the oath taken by the governor general, as likewiſe by the counſellors of India, on their appointment, they engage " never to receive any gifts or preſents, " directly or indirectly, from any one under their authority; " neither in reſpect, or in the hope, or expectation thereof, " nor of any advantage, favour, or other private conſidera- " ration, either of relationſhip, friendſhip, or otherwiſe, to ap- " point, or cauſe to be appointed, any other individual to an " office, place, or ſtation, than ſuch as they believe and find " to poſſeſs the moſt experience, the moſt integrity, the moſt " fidelity, and the moſt ability, for the ſame." So much do men regard oaths! *T.*

means

means of tormenting them, in every way, under various pretences; nay, of ſending them priſoners to Europe: as was done, with reſpect to M. M. VAN IMHOF, DE HAAZE, and VAN SCHINNEN, in the year 1740, by the governor general VALKENIER *. As, therefore, thoſe who are immediately next to him in rank, depend upon, and ſtand in awe of him, it follows, that the ſervants of the Company, who are in inferior ſtations, feel ſtill deeper reverence, and tremble before him, as in the preſence of one, from whoſe arbitrary will and power, their happineſs or miſery wholly depends: the ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion with which his commands are received and executed, is, in conſequence, ſcarcely credible; for how is it poſſible that freeborn Hollanders, ſhould bow themſelves ſo low, beneath the ignominious yoke!

His excellency the governor general, at preſent, uſually reſides at his country ſeat,

* VALKENIER, who was the perſonal enemy of the above gentlemen, tyrannically abuſed his authority in ſo far, that, when the council of India refuſed to ſanction this arbitrary meaſure, he ſurrounded the council-table with a body of armed men, and thus conſtrained them to aſſent to his wiſhes. T.

called *Weltevreeden*, about an hour and a quarter's walk from *Batavia*, and which is a ſuperb manſion.

He gives public audience here, every Monday and Thurſday; and on Tueſdays, and Fridays, at another ſeat, ſituated nearer to the city, on the *Jaccatra* road. On the other days of the week, he is inacceſſible to every body, and can not be ſpoken to, unleſs on affairs of the greateſt importance and urgency. Nobody goes thither, without having ſome buſineſs to call him; for it would be taken extremely ill, if any one was to pay a viſit of mere ceremony. The time of audience is from ſix o'clock in the morning till eight. Every one waits, in the open air, in the court, before the houſe, till he is called in by one of the body-guards.

When the governor rides out, he is always accompanied by ſome of his horſe-guards. An officer and two trumpeters precede his approach, and every perſon who meets him, and happens to be in a carriage, muſt ſtop, and ſtep out of it, till he has rode by *.

A com-

* This humiliating homage, as well as that paid to the *edele heeren*, or counſellors of India, as will be preſently noticed, are

A company of dragoons always mount guard at *Weltevreeden*. He has beſides ſome halberdiers, who are employed in carrying meſſages and commands, and who always are attendant on the governor's perſon, wherever he goes. They are dreſſed in

are equally required from foreigners. Theſe ceremonies are generally complied with by the captains of Indiamen, and other trading ſhips; "but," ſays Captain CARTERET, who was at *Batavia*, in 1768, "having the honour to bear his "majeſty's commiſſion, I did not think myſelf at liberty to "pay to a Dutch governor, any homage which is not paid "to my own ſovereign: it is, however, conſtantly required "of the king's officers; and two or three days after my arri-"val, the landlord of the hotel where I lodged told me, "he had been ordered by the *ſhebandar*, to let me know that "my carriage, as well as others, muſt ſtop, if I ſhould meet "the governor, or any of the council; but I deſired him to "acquaint the *ſhebandar*, that I could not conſent to perform "any ſuch ceremony; and upon his intimating ſomething "about the black men with ſticks, who precede the approach "of theſe great men, I told him, that if any inſult ſhould be "offered me, I knew how to defend myſelf, and would take "care to be upon my guard, at the ſame time, pointing to my "piſtols, which happened to lie upon the table; upon this he "went away, and about three hours afterwards returned, and "told me he had orders from the governor to acquaint me, "that I might do as I pleaſed." Since that time, the Engliſh officers, have never been required to comply with this degrading cuſtom; yet when they have been in an hired carriage, nothing has deterred the coachman from ſtopping and alighting, in honour of the Dutch grandee, but the moſt peremptory menace of immediate death. *T.*

ſhort

ſhort coats of ſcarlet cloth, richly laced with gold, and follow in rank upon the junior enſign in the Company's ſervice.

When his excellency enters the church, all perſons, both men and women, the counſellors of India not excepted, ſtand up, in token of reſpect *. His lady receives the ſame honours, and is equally eſcorted by a party of horſe-guards, when ſhe rides out.

The governor general, who was in office at that time, was Mr. PETER ALBERT VAN DER PARRA, a native of *Colombo*, the chief ſettlement of the Dutch in *Ceylon*. He was a man, inimical to all pomp, and in this reſpect very different from moſt of his predeceſſors. He was remarkably temperate, generally drinking pure water, and ſeldom taking any wine or beer. He was commonly occupied the whole day; and when he did not aſſiſt at the council-table, he was cloſeted with his ſecretary and clerks.

The director general, who is the eldeſt counſellor of India, is the next in rank. The direction and controul, over the trade of the

* This etiquette was aboliſhed upon the acceſſion of R. DE KLERK to the government in 1777, as appears in the ſequel. *T.*

Company, throughout all India, and to Europe, together with every thing that relates to it, is excluſively entruſted to him. The governor general does not in the leaſt meddle in theſe matters, if the director have but the needful ability.

Next in order, follow the ordinary and extraordinary councellors of India. Thoſe who reſide at *Batavia*, are alſo uſually preſidents of different boards or courts. Every counſellor of India, has likewiſe the correſpondence with one of the out-factories, allotted to him; the general himſelf has that of one or two ſettlements, and no one is excuſed, in this reſpect, but the director, on account of his multifarious other avocations.

Although every member of the council, lies under this obligation, there are but few of them, who take the trouble of the charge upon themſelves; moſt of them cauſe it to be effected by perſons of a lower rank; and the beſt inſtitutions are thus perverted by ſelfiſhneſs and ſloth.

When a counſellor of India, or his lady, enters a church, all the men ſtand up, in the ſame manner as for the governor general, but the women remain ſitting. On meeting

meeting one of them in a carriage, every body muſt ſtop, riſe up, and bow to them, and ſtay till they are gone by. When they go out, they have two ſlaves, who run before them with ſticks, while other people are allowed but one.

There are always two ſecretaries of the government, who take down in writing, all the propoſitions, or reſolutions, which have been diſcuſſed in the council, and lay them before the governor general, when the aſſembly is broke up. He examines them, and gives directions what is to be made into decrees, and what is only to be inſerted in the journals for notification. The reſolutions being then drawn up in writing, by the firſt ſecretary, they are again preſented to the governor, who makes ſuch alterations in them as he thinks fit; and at the enſuing ſeſſion of the council, they are read over, and approved.

The ſalary of a counſellor of India, is a thouſand rixdollars per annum; beſides which he has ſix hundred rixdollars for houſerent, ſeven hundred for his trouble in ſigning diſpatches, three hundred towards providing his table, together with a conſiderable

rable allowance of proviſions from the Company's warehouſes. Taking every thing together, he can reckon upon a yearly income of four thouſand rixdollars, or nine thouſand ſix hundred gilders *. Beſides the above, the firſt ſecretary has the emoluments attending the making out of the commiſſions, which do not amount to a trifle, eſpecially when many appointments of governors, directors, or commandants occur, who pay liberally for their commiſſions; ſometimes giving fees to the amount of a thouſand rixdollars. Yet none of them can ſave any thing from this income, which they amply want for their houſehold expences; for which reaſon, they are generally favoured with the government or directorſhip of an out-ſettlement, after they have been three or four years in the council.

The private ſecretary of the governor general, is uſually promoted to be ſecretary to the council, upon a vacancy.

Thirty-ſix or forty clerks, are daily employed in the ſecretary's office, which is next to the government-houſe, in the caſtle.

* About 875*l.* ſterling. T.

They

They have, for the moſt part, the rank of junior merchants; nevertheleſs, they are not able to earn more than a bare ſufficiency to ſubſiſt on.

Juſtice is adminiſtered to the ſervants of the Company, by an aſſembly, having the appellation of council of juſtice. This body is, by its conſtitution, independent of the council of India; but as the members of which it conſiſts, have equally many wants and wiſhes to be fulfilled, they likewiſe endeavour to be near the fountain-head of promotion and advantage; and, as well as all others, follow the inclinations of their ſovereign ruler, in all caſes that are brought before them. This council conſiſts of a preſident, who ranks next to the junior counſellor of India, eight ordinary members, and two adjutors, taken from the Company's ſervants. Their ſalary is, as I was informed, no more than two thouſand two hundred rixdollars; which is ſcarcely ſufficient for the ſupport of their eſtabliſhments: they are, beſides, obliged to ſerve the office of counſellor of juſtice, for the ſpace of ten years, before they may be candidates for any other office.

There are two fiſcals belonging to this council,

council, one of which bears the title of advocat-efiſcal, or attorney general, but whoſe office relates only to the perſons in the Company's ſervice, both by ſea, and by land. The other is ſtiled the water-fiſcal, and through whom, all indictments relative to navigation are made. This was formerly one of the moſt lucrative employments of all India, and it is ſtill very advantageous, though not ſo much ſo as before, becauſe the private trade, is nothing like ſo flouriſhing as it was in former times. The methods by which fortunes were made in this office, will eaſily be conceived by ſeafaring people. The ſecretary of the council of juſtice, has the rank of merchant.

The citizens, and free merchants of *Batavia*, who are not in the Company's ſervice, are amenable to a ſeparate municipal court of juſtice, being what is called the board of *ſchepens*, or aldermen, who are eight in number, with a preſident, who is a member of the council of India.

To this court belong a ſheriff, for the matters which relate to the city, and a conſtable of the territory of *Batavia*; both of which

which are very lucrative offices, and are never beſtowed but on great favourites.

The puniſhments inflicted at *Batavia*, are exceſſively ſevere, eſpecially ſuch as fall upon the Indians. Impalement is the chief, and moſt terrible.

In the year 1769, I ſaw an execution of this kind, of a Macaſſer ſlave, who had murdered his maſter; which was done in the following manner. The criminal was led, in the morning, to the place of execution, being the graſs-plat, which I have before taken notice of, and laid upon his belly, being held by four men. The executioner then made a tranſverſe inciſion at the lower part of the body, as far as the *os ſacrum*; he then introduced the ſharp point of the ſpike, which was about ſix feet long, and made of poliſhed iron, into the wound, ſo that it paſſed between the backbone and the ſkin. Two men drove it forcibly up, along the ſpine, while the executioner held the end, and gave it a proper direction, till it came out between the neck and ſhoulders. The lower end was then put into a wooden poſt, and riveted faſt; and the ſufferer was lifted up,

thus

thus impaled, and the poſt ſtuck in the ground. At the top of the poſt, about ten feet from the ground, there was a kind of little bench, upon which the body reſted.

The inſenſibility, or fortitude, of the miſerable ſufferer, was incredible. He did not utter the leaſt complaint, except when the ſpike was rivetted into the pillar; the hammering and ſhaking occaſioned by it, ſeemed to be intolerable to him, and he then bellowed out for pain; and likewiſe once again, when he was lifted up and ſet in the ground. He ſat in this dreadful ſituation, till death put an end to his torments, which fortunately happened the next day, about three o'clock in the afternoon. He owed this ſpeedy termination of his miſery, to a light ſhower of rain, which continued for about an hour; and he gave up the ghoſt half an hour afterwards.

There have been inſtances at *Batavia*, of criminals who have been impaled, in the dry ſeaſon, and have remained alive for eight, or more days, without any food or drink, which is prevented to be given them, by a guard who is ſtationed at the place of execution,

for that purpoſe. One of the ſurgeons of the city aſſured me, that none of the parts immediately neceſſary to life, are injured by impalement, which makes the puniſhment the more cruel and intolerable; but that as ſoon as any water gets into the wound, it mortifies, and occaſions a gangrene, which directly attacks the more noble parts, and brings on death almoſt immediately.

This miſerable ſufferer continually complained of unſufferable thirſt, which is peculiarly incident to this terrible puniſhment. The criminals are expoſed, during the whole day, to the burning rays of the ſun, and are unceaſingly tormented by numerous ſtinging inſects.

I went to ſee him again, about three hours before he died, and found him converſing with the byſtanders. He related to them, the manner in which he had murdered his good maſter, and expreſſed his repentance, and abhorrence of the crime he had committed. This he did with great compoſure; yet an inſtant afterwards, he burſt out in the bittereſt complaints of unquenchable thirſt, and raved for drink, while no one

was

was allowed to alleviate, by a ſingle drop of water, the excruciating torments he underwent.

This kind of puniſhment, notwithſtanding its great cruelty, is aſſerted by many, to be of the higheſt neceſſity, in a country, where a treacherous race of men, unreſtrained by any moral principles from the perpetration of the greateſt crimes, perform the daily menial and houſehold ſervices of the Europeans. The ſlaves that come from the iſland of *Celebes*, and eſpecially the Bougineſe, are guilty of the moſt horrid murders: moſt of thoſe who run *mucks* belong to that nation.

Theſe acts of indiſcriminate murder, are called by us *mucks*, becauſe the perpetrators of them, during their frenzy, continually cry out, *amok*, *amok*, which ſignifies, *kill*, *kill*. When, by the ſwallowing of much opium, or by other means, they are raiſed to a pitch of deſperate fury, they ſally out with a knife, or other weapon, in their hand, and kill, without diſtinction of ſex, rank, or age, whoever they meet in the ſtreets of *Batavia*; and proceed in this way, 'till they are either ſhot dead, or taken priſoners. Their

intoxication continues till death; they run in upon the arms oppoſed to them, and often kill their opponents, even after they are themſelves mortally wounded.

In order, if poſſible, to take them alive, the officers of juſtice are provided with a pole, ten or twelve feet in length, at the end of which there is a kind of fork, made of two pieces of wood, three feet long, which are furniſhed within with ſharp iron ſpikes; this is held before the wretched object of purſuit, who, in his frenzy, runs into it, and is thus taken priſoner.

If he happen to be mortally wounded, he is immediately broken alive upon the wheel, without any form of trial, in the preſence of two or three of the counſellors of juſtice.

Many inſtances of *mucks* occurred, during my reſidence at *Batavia*; they were moſtly done in the evening *.

The

* It is remarkable, that at *Batavia*, where the aſſaſſins, juſt now deſcribed, when taken alive, are broken on the wheel, with every aggravation of puniſhment, that the moſt rigorous juſtice can inflict, the *mucks* yet happen in great frequency; whilſt at *Bencoolen*, where they are executed in the moſt ſimple and expeditious mannner, the offence is extremely rare. Exceſſes of ſeverity in puniſhment, may deter men from deliberate,

The orphan-chamber at *Batavia*, ſerves, at the ſame time, for the whole of the Dutch

rate, and intereſted, acts of villany, but they only exaſperate ſtill further, the atrocious enthuſiaſm of deſperadoes. The Indian who runs a *muck* is always firſt driven to deſperation by ſome outrage, and always firſt revenges himſelf upon thoſe who have done him wrong: they are generally ſlaves; who indeed are moſt ſubject to inſults, and leaſt able to obtain legal redreſs. It has been uſual to attribute *mucks* to the conſequences of the uſe of opium; but the words of Mr. STAVORINUS, who ſays that they are occaſioned "by the ſwallowing of opium, or *by other means*," ſeem to confirm the opinion entertained by MARSDEN, that this ſhould probably, rank with the many errors that mankind have been led into, by travellers addicted to the marvellous. That theſe furious quarrels, and ſanguinary attacks, do actually, and frequently take place in ſome parts of the eaſt, cannot be controverted; but it is not equally evident that they proceed from any intoxication, except that of their unruly paſſions; and many *mucks* might, upon ſcrutiny, be found to be of the nature of one, which Mr. MARSDEN particularizes, of a ſlave, who probably never indulged in the uſe of opium in his life, a man of ſtrong feelings, driven, by exceſs of injury, to domeſtic rebellion; or of that related in Lieut. COOK's voyage in the *Endeavour*, of a free inhabitant of *Batavia*, whoſe brain was fired more by the maddening fury of jealouſy, than by any adventitious intoxication. It is true that the Malays, when bent upon any daring enterprize, fortify themſelves with a little opium, in order to become inſenſible to danger; as the people of another nation are ſaid to take a dram; but it muſt be obſerved, that the reſolution for the act precedes, and is not the effect of the intoxication. They take the ſame pre-

Dutch poſſeſſions in India. Every out-factory has, it is true, its own orphan-chamber, but they muſt render account of their adminiſtration, to that of the capital, and remit the effects which are not claimed, or the heirs to which do not reſide on the ſpot. That of *Batavia* correſponds with the orphan-chambers of the different cities where the chambers of the Eaſt-India Company are eſtabliſhed *.

The board conſiſts of a preſident, who is a counſellor of India, and ſix *weeſmeeſters*, or regents, who are appointed by the coun-

caution, previous to being led to public execution; but on theſe occaſions, ſhew greater ſigns of ſtupidity, than of frenzy. Upon the whole it may reaſonably be concluded, that the ſanguinary achievements, for which the Malays have been famous, or infamous rather, are more juſtly derived from the natural ferocity of their diſpoſition, than from the qualities of any drug whatever. At *Batavia*, if an officer take one of theſe *amoks*. or mohawks, as they have been called by an eaſy corruption, alive, his reward is very conſiderable, but if he kill them, nothing is added to his uſual pay; yet ſuch is the fury of their deſperation, that three out of four, are of neceſſity deſtroyed in the attempt to ſecure them. *T.*

* *Weeſkamers*, or orphan-chambers, are eſtabliſhments which are diſperſed throughout the United Provinces, for the adminiſtration of the eſtates of all who die inteſtate, and the apportionment of them among the heirs. *T.*

cil

cil of India; with a ſecretary, and a ſworn clerk. The capital ſtock, remaining in the hands of the orphan-chamber, amounted in the year 1766, to *f.*2,393,566 *.

There are ſeveral other courts, or boards, as the commiſſioners of dikes and ſluices, thoſe of bankruptcies, a court of common pleas, a board of controul over marriages, and others.

A ſociety was eſtabliſhed at *Batavia*, during the government of Baron VAN IMHOF, for the opium-trade, which is ſtill in exiſtence.

The ſtock of the ſociety is divided into ſhares, of two thouſand rixdollars each, on which the half has hitherto only been furniſhed, but the remainder may be required at any time.

The dividends are unequal, yet very large, and the ſhares are ſold at a high premium; they are generally in the hands of the counſellors of India.

The management of this trade, is entruſted to a director, who is a counſellor of India, two acting proprietors, a caſhier, and a bookkeeper.

* About 220,000*l.* ſterling. T.

Every cheſt of opium ſtands the Company in two hundred and fifty, and ſometimes in three hundred rixdollars, and is delivered to the ſociety for five hundred, and ſometimes more. On the other hand, the Company is bound to ſell this drug to no other. The retail of it, produces large profits, as the ſociety make eight or nine hundred rixdollars, and more, of every cheſt. The gain would be more conſiderable, if this monopoly could be ſtrictly enforced, for the whole quantity of opium, conſumed in the eaſtern parts of India; but, notwithſtanding the Company have interdicted this trade to their ſervants, and eſpecially to the ſeamen, upon pain of death, and have prohibited the importation into any of their poſſeſſions, by foreign nations, upon pain of confiſcation of ſhip and cargo, yet very great violations of theſe laws are daily practiſed in ſecret, on account of the important profit which this branch of trade affords; by which the ſociety is much injured, although, on their part, they do all they can, on the arrival of ſhips from the *Ganges*, to diſcover if any contraband opium be on board: but thoſe who engage in this illicit trade,

trade, take too many precautions, to run any danger of detection. The ſmuggling trade which the Engliſh carry on, in this article, in the eaſtern iſlands, and by way of *Malacca*, is alſo extremely detrimental to the ſociety.

When any ſhips arrive in the road of *Batavia*, from ſuch places, whence contraband goods can be brought, two of the members of the council of juſtice, with the waterfiſcal, and the provoſt-marſhal, are diſpached the next day, in order to examine, whether any prohibited wares are on board; the examination, however, is only perſonally done by the laſtnamed officer, who reports the reſult to the others.

A chief of the marine, or port-admiral, has been eſtabliſhed at *Batavia*, ſince the year 1762. This office was filled by Mr. N. HOUTINGH, vice-admiral of Holland, of the northern diviſion. He is in rank equal to a counſellor of India, but takes place after the junior counſellor. He has the ſame privileges; has equally the ſtyle of *edele heer*, and may be preſent at their aſſemblies; but may not deliver his ſentiments, except

except in matters relative to his department.

His chief occupation conſiſts in ſuperintending the reparation of ſhips; in examining the ſhips' journals; in ſigning the ſailing-orders, and the warrants for delivery of ſtores to the ſhips; and further, in keeping all that relates to maritime affairs in due order.

Upon this officer, follows the commandant and upper comptroller of equipment, to whom the management of the ſtores is confided. He has likewiſe the ſuperintendence over the diſcharging and loading of the ſhips, the manning of them, and the furniſhing them with proviſions. This is alſo one of the moſt lucrative, but, at the ſame time, one of the moſt troubleſome, employments at *Batavia*. Since he has a head placed over him; however, the former quality has greatly decreaſed, while the latter, has remained in full force. He is aſſiſted by a vice-commandant, and under comptroller of equipment, to whom he generally delegates the ſuperintendence of the loading and unloading of the ſhips, and who ſupplies his place,

place, in caſes of ſickneſs, or abſence. This gentleman has the rank of poſt-captain.

The Company have granted to theſe three officers, as an emolument, the privilege of ſhipping ſome tons of goods (contraband wares excepted) by every ſhip that ſails to India, according to the ſize of the veſſels; and if a ſhip's captain do not buy up theſe goods of them, at a very high rate, he is ſure to find very ſcanty opportunities of diſpoſing of his own.

The commanders of veſſels, with their lieutenants and mates, follow next in order; the firſt rank equal with merchants: when I was at *Batavia*, in 1770, there were thirty-nine of them, who reſided there, or commanded country-ſhips.

The whole of the land-forces of the Dutch in India, are under the command of one head, who was formerly ſtyled captain-major, but has now the title of brigadier. In rank he follows upon the chief of the marine. He has two lieutenant-colonels under him; one of whom has the command of the military at *Batavia*, and the other at *Ceylon*; there are beſides ſix majors, two of whom reſide at *Ceylon*,

Ceylon, one on the *Malabar* coaſt, one at the *Cape of Good Hope*, and two at *Batavia*; one of theſe laſt is, at the ſame time, chief of the artillery.

There is a regiment of dragoons, which ſerve as a body-guard to the governor general. The infantry are divided into two batallions, and are quartered within and without the city.

Beſides theſe regular troops, two companies, called *penniſts*, are embodied, conſiſting in merchants, junior merchants, book-keepers, and aſſiſtants. One Company are called *penniſts* of the caſtle, and the other, *penniſts* of the city. The former are commanded by the firſt ſecretary of the government, and the latter by one of the ſenior merchants of the caſtle. They are reviewed once a year, by the governor general, and the council; and each company have a diſtinct uniform.

The other Company's ſervants are alſo formed into two companies; one conſiſting in the marines, and others, belonging to the admiralty-wharf, with the commandant and upper comptroller of equipment at their head;

head; the other of the workmen of the *ambagts kwartier*, with the *fabriek* as their captain.

Independently of theſe, all the free inhabitants, or citizens, are likewiſe enrolled in two companies of horſe, and of foot, which are commanded by a counſellor of India, as colonel, and mount guard every night at the townhall.

All the practitioners of ſurgery, are ſubordinate to a chief, who has the controul over all the ſurgeons, and ſurgeons' mates, as well on board of the ſhips, as in the hoſpitals; and who has the rank of ſenior merchant.

It will not be unſuitable in this place, to make ſome mention of the diſtinctions of precedency and rank, which are ſo minutely attended to in all the Company's poſſeſſions in India, and which may, on no account, be neglected; more eſpecially in all public companies, and aſſemblies. Every individual is as ſtiff and formal, and is as feelingly alive to every infraction of his privileges, in this reſpect, as if his happineſs or miſery depended wholly upon the due obſervance of them. Nothing is more particularly

ticularly attended to, at entertainments, and in companies, by the maſter of the houſe, than the ſeating of every gueſt, and drinking their healths, in the exact order of precedency. The ladies are peculiarly prone to inſiſt upon every prerogative attached to the ſtation of their huſbands; ſome of them, if they conceive themſelves placed a jot lower than they are entitled to, will ſit in ſullen and proud ſilence, for the whole time the entertainment laſts. It does not unfrequently happen, that two ladies, of equal rank, meeting each other, in their carriages, one will not give way to the other, though they may be forced to remain for hours in the ſtreet. Not long before I left *Batavia*, this happened between two clergymen's wives, who chancing to meet in their carriages, in a narrow place, neither would give way, but ſtopped the paſſage for full a quarter of an hour, during which time, they abuſed each other in the moſt virulent manner, making uſe of the moſt reproachful epithets, and whore and ſlave's brat, were bandied about without mercy: the mother of one of theſe ladies, it ſeems, had been a ſlave, and the other, as I was told, was not a little

a little ſuſpected, of richly deſerving the firſt appellation: they, at laſt, rode by one another, continuing their railing till they were out of ſight; but this occurrence was the occaſion of an action, which was brought before the council, and carried on with the greateſt virulence and perſeverance.

To provide againſt theſe diſputes on the ſubject of precedency, the reſpective ranks of all the Company's ſervants were aſcertained by a reſolution of government, which was renewed in 1764; and a regulation reſpecting the pomp of funeral proceſſions, was, at the ſame time, added to it, which is ſtill in force.

Regulations were likewiſe introduced with reſpect to dreſs, during the government of the governor general Mossel; by which, perſons of a certain condition, were alone allowed to wear embroidered, or laced, clothes; but this is but little attended to at preſent, for almoſt every one who chooſes, now goes dreſſed in this forbidden finery, and ſumptuary laws ſoon grow into diſuſe here, as well as in other places. Velvet coats are, however, not common, and they

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are abſolutely prohibited to be worn by any one under the rank of ſenior merchant*.

When

* The act by which theſe regulations were eſtabliſhed, is compoſed, together with a ſupplement, of a hundred and thirty-one articles, and relates to all the Dutch ſettlements in India. It enters into the moſt minute detail reſpecting the carriages, horſes, chairs, ſervants, dreſs, &c. of the Company's ſervants, and exhibits a ſtrange picture of meanneſs and illiberality in the midſt of affected grandeur. By the 8th article, little chaiſes for children, drawn by the hand, muſt not be gilt, or painted, but in the exact proportion of the rank of the parents. By the 31ſt, it is ordained, that no one lower in rank than a merchant ſhall make uſe of a paraſol, or umbrella, in the neighbourhood of the caſtle, except when it rains. Ladies, whoſe huſbands are below the rank of counſellors of India, may not wear at one time, jewels of more in value than ſix thouſand rixdollars; wives of ſenior merchants, are limited to four thouſand, others to three thouſand, and a thouſand. Article 49th, permits ladies of the higher ranks to go abroad with three female attendants, who may wear "ear-rings of "ſingle middle-ſized diamonds, gold hair-pins, petticoats of "cloth of gold, or ſilver, or of ſilk, jackets of gold or ſilver "gauze, chains of gold, or of beads, and girdles of gold, but "neither pearls, nor diamonds, nor any other kind of jewels, "in the hair." Wives of ſenior merchants may have two, and ladies in an inferior ſtation, one, maid, who may wear "ear-rings of ſmall diamonds, gold hair-pins, a jacket of fine "linen, and a chintz petticoat, but no gold or ſilver ſtuffs or "ſilks, or any jewels, true or falſe pearls, or any other ornaments "of gold." By article 65, none but perſons of the higheſt rank are allowed to have any trumpets, clarions, or drums, among the muſic, with which it is cuſtomary to entertain gueſts during dinner. There is a wiſe recommendation in the

When their number is complete, there are twelve clergymen of the reformed religion, at *Batavia*, ſix of whom preach in the Dutch, four in the Portugueſe, and two in the Malay, languages; there are likewiſe three Lutheran miniſters, who preach in Dutch.

Service is performed every Sunday, in the above three languages; in Dutch, at two churches in the morning, but only at one

the 83d article, to the officers of the Company in Bengal, not to ſurpaſs their predeceſſors in pomp of dreſs, or appearance, and eſpecially not the governors or chiefs of the other European ſettlements. Perhaps the 110th article, is the moſt curious of all. It allows to the director at *Surat*, when he goes out in ſtate, among other things, four fans, made, according to the faſhion of the country, with the feathers of birds of paradiſe, and cow-hair, with golden caſes and handles. It is in this ſame act of the council, that the orders before noticed, reſpecting the homage to be paid by every one, on meeting the members of the government in their carriages, or when they enter the churches, are inſerted. It likewiſe fixes the duties to be paid upon all carriages, horſes, &c. It is worthy of obſervation, that thoſe upon carriages encreaſe downwards, from the higher to the lower ranks; members of the government pay 50 rixdollars per annum, captains of the military, merchants, &c. 100, junior merchants, &c. 125, book-keepers, &c. 180, citizens of no ſpecial rank, and native inhabitants of conſideration, 200, and the common natives, 300 rixdollars, for keeping of carriages. Larger or ſmaller fines, are the penalties attached to the infraction of almoſt all theſe ſumptuary regulations. Where wealth and pride unite, they are, therefore, of little avail, to reſtrain an exceſs of luxury. T.

in the afternoon. An examination of catechumens takes place every Wedneſday evening. So that upon the whole, theſe reverend gentlemen need not complain, when their number is complete, of too ſevere labour in the vineyard of the Lord. The morning-ſervice commences at half paſt eight o'clock, and is generally over by ten, when the greateſt heat of the day begins to come on.

Eccleſiaſtical diſputes, are never heard of here. The Company's government, who are extremely anxious to avoid every thing that could interrupt the public tranquillity, would ſoon terminate the quarrel, by the ſummary argument of force, an example whereof is to be met with in VALENTYN.

It is much to be wiſhed, that upright and learned clergymen, were alone ſent hither. Yet that this is not always the caſe, appears from a reſolution taken by the government there, in the year 1768, earneſtly to requeſt that the aſſembly of ſeventeen, would diſpatch ſome miniſters of the goſpel, poſſeſſed of virtue and learning, to *Batavia*, with an augmentation of ſalaries and emoluments. Their ſalary was then one thouſand eight hundred gilders per annum, but with their allowances

allowances for houſerent, board, &c. they could reckon upon three thouſand *, which is certainly not enough to live upon at *Batavia*, with a family, and on an equal footing with the ſenior merchants.

Once in every year, or ſometimes only once in two years, one of the clergymen of *Batavia*, go upon a viſitation, to the Company's poſſeſſions, on *Sumatra*'s weſt coaſt. Some of them, well know how to avail of ſuch occaſions, to the advantage of their pockets, by taking with them as much merchandize for ſale, as they can find room for in the ſhip, by which they take their paſſage.

The coins current at *Batavia*, are the following:—the milled Dutch gold ducat, which is worth ſix gilders and twelve ſtivers: the Japan gold *coupangs*, of which the old, go for twenty-four gilders, and the new, for fourteen gilders and eight ſtivers: the Spaniſh dollar, or piaſter, riſes and falls, according to the quantity in circulation, or the degree of demand; its value is generally between ſixty-three and ſixty-ſix ſtivers: the milled ſilver ducatoon, which is the current

* About 27*5l.* ſterling. *T.*

coin of the Company, throughout their poſſeſſions, except on the continent of India; its proportionate value, according to the other coins, is ſixty-ſix ſtivers; but in Indian money it goes for eighty, at which rate it is current at *Batavia*; at the *Cape of Good Hope*, it is worth ſeventy-two, and at *Cochin* ſeventy-five ſtivers: the unmilled ducatoon, is two ſtivers leſs at *Batavia*: the milled *Batavia* rupee, called the ſilver *derham d'Java*, which was formerly coined at *Batavia*, is made good in the Company's books at twenty-four ſtivers, and in circulation it is taken at thirty; it is the only rupee that goes for ſo much at *Batavia*, and is current at *Amboyna*, *Banda*, *Ternate*, *Macaſſar*, and *Malacca*, at the ſame rate, but on the coaſt of *Malabar*, it is eight per cent. leſs in value, than the *Surat* rupee; all other rupees generally go for twenty-ſeven ſtivers; the Perſian rupees are the moſt current; there are alſo half and quarter rupees in circulation: the ſmaller coins are ſkillings, *dubbeltjes*, or twopenny-pieces, and doits; there are two ſorts of ſkillings, the old, which are the ſame as are current in Holland, go for ſix ſtivers, but the new, which

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are here called ſhip-ſkillings, are worth ſeven and a half: twopenny-pieces, which are old and worn, go for two ſtivers, but the new, for two ſtivers and a half; no other doits are taken in change, than thoſe that are ſtamped with the mark of the Eaſt-India Company, and theſe are equal to a farthing in value: the rixdollar, which is the money uſed for accounts in private trade, is a coin, which is worth forty-eight ſtivers, thus three new or milled ducatoons, are equal to five rix-dollars *.

Moſt merchants' goods are calculated at *Batavia*, by *picols* of one hundred and

* The following is a table of the value in ſterling money, of the above coins, at the par exchange of *f.*11 per pound; viz.

					£.	*s.*	*d.*
The old Japan gold coupang		*f.*24	0	or	2	3	7¾
The new ditto		14	8		1	6	2¼
The milled Dutch ducat		6	12		0	12	0
The ſilver milled ducatoon		4	0		0	7	3¼
The unmilled ditto		3	18		0	7	1
The Spaniſh dollar	from	3	3		0	5	8¾
	to	3	6		0	6	
The rixdollar		2	8		0	4	4¼
The Batavia rupee		1	10		0	2	8¾
Other rupees, about		1	7		0	2	5¼

twenty-five pounds, Amſterdam weight *, and theſe are ſubdivided into a hundred *cattis*, each weighing one pound and a quarter.

Rice, and other grain, is meaſured by *coyangs*, which differ in weight. On the receipt of the rice by the Company at *Java*, they muſt weigh three thouſand five hundred pounds. They are ſhipped to *Batavia* for three thouſand four hundred, and landed there for three thouſand three hundred. The warehouſe-keepers, diſpatch them for the out-factories for three thouſand two hundred, where they are unloaden for three thouſand one hundred, and, finally, they are delivered for conſumption for three thouſand pounds at the out-factories, namely, thoſe that receive their rice from *Batavia*, as *Malacca*, the *Cape of Good Hope*, *Ceylon*, *Sumatra*'s weſt coaſt, &c. thus every *coyang* loſes five hundred pounds in weight †.

Sugar

* Ricaup, in his *Traité de Commerce*, makes the *picol*, at *Batavia*, equal to 118½ *lb.* Amſterdam weight. *T.*

† This deficiency is an allowance which is made to the Company's ſervants who reſpectively have the management of the rice, for inſtance, for every 3,300 received at *Batavia*, the warehouſe-keepers are only bound to deliver 3,200, &c. Out of this difference they muſt make good all loſs, by duſt, &c. and what they can keep over is a perquiſite to themſelves.

Similar

Sugar is taken by *canaſſers*, of three *picols*, or three hundred and ſeventy-five pounds, neat, each: the groſs weight is about four hundred or four hundred and five pounds.

The *ganting*, is a ſmall rice-meaſure, of thirteen pounds and a half in weight.

Every bag of coffee, which is ſhipped from *Batavia* to Holland, weighs two hundred and fifty-two, and a bale of cinnamon, eighty pounds.

Similar allowances are made on moſt of the goods in which the Company trade, and they are all very particularly fixed by a reſolution of the council. They form a very material part of the income of the Company's ſervants; who, however, are bound to ſell again to the Company, what they have gained in this way, of all ſpices, coffee, ſaltpetre, japan copper, and tin; the other articles they are allowed to diſpoſe of as they pleaſe. *T.*

CHAPTER V.

Mode of living of the Europeans at BATAVIA.—*Women.—Their early Marriages.—Complexion.—Temper.—Manner of Life.—Education of Children.—Bathing.—Exceſſive Jealouſy of the Indian Ladies.—Cruelty to their Female Slaves.—Short Widowhoods.—Their Dreſs.—Diverſions.—Carriages.—Norimons.—Carts drawn by Buffaloes.—Further Particulars of the Management of the Company's Trade.—Senior Merchants of the Caſtle.—Adminiſtrators or Warehouſe-keepers.—Commiſſaries at the Warehouſes.—Exportation of Gold and Silver to India.*

EUROPEANS, whether Dutch, or of any other nation, and in whatever ſtation they are, live at *Batavia*, nearly in the ſame manner. In the morning, at five o'clock, or earlier, when the day breaks, they get up. Many of them, then go and ſit at their doors; but others ſtay in the houſe, with nothing but a light gown, in which they ſleep, thrown over their naked limbs; they then breakfaſt upon coffee or tea; afterwards they dreſs, and go out, to attend to the buſineſs they may

may have. Almoſt all, who have any place or employment, muſt be at their proper ſtation at, or before, eight o'clock, and they remain at work till eleven, or half paſt. At twelve o'clock they dine; take an afternoon's nap till four, and attend to their buſineſs again till ſix, or take a tour out of the city in a carriage. At ſix o'clock they aſſemble in companies, and play, or converſe, till nine, when they return home; whoever chooſes to ſtay to ſupper is welcome; and eleven o'clock is the uſual hour of retiring to reſt. Convivial gaiety ſeems to reign among them, and yet it is linked with a kind of ſuſpicious reſerve, which pervades all ſtations, and all companies, and is the conſequence of an arbitrary and jealous government. The leaſt word, that may be wreſted to an evil meaning, may bring on very ſerious conſequences, if it reach the ears of the perſon who is aggrieved, either in fact, or in imagination. I have heard many people aſſert, that they would not confide in their own brothers, in this country.

No women are preſent at theſe aſſemblies, they have their own ſeparate companies.

Married men, neither give themſelves much

much concern about their wives, nor ſhew them much regard. They ſeldom converſe with them, at leaſt not on uſeful ſubjects, or ſuch as concern ſociety. After having been married for years, the ladies are often, therefore, as ignorant of the world and of manners, as upon their wedding-day. It is not that they have no capacity to learn, but the men have no inclination to teach.

The men generally go dreſſed in the Dutch faſhion, and often wear black.

As ſoon as you enter a houſe, where you intend to ſtop for an hour or more, you are deſired by the maſter, to make yourſelf comfortable, by taking off ſome of your clothes, &c. This is done, by laying aſide the ſword, pulling off the coat, and wig (for moſt men wear wigs here), and ſubſtituting in the room of the laſt, a little white night-cap, which is generally carried in the pocket, for that purpoſe.

When they go out, on foot, they are attended by a ſlave, who carries a ſunſhade (called here *ſambreel* or *payang*) over their heads; but whoever is lower in rank than a junior merchant, may not have a ſlave behind him, but muſt carry a ſmall ſunſhade himſelf.

Moſt

Moſt of the white women, who are ſeen at *Batavia*, are born in the Indies. Thoſe who come from Europe at a marriageable age, are very few in number. I ſhall, therefore, confine my obſervations to the former.

Theſe are either the offspring of European mothers, or of oriental female ſlaves, who having firſt been miſtreſſes to Europeans, have afterwards been married to them, and have been converted to chriſtianity, or at leaſt have aſſumed the name of chriſtians.

The children produced by theſe marriages, may be known, to the third and fourth generation, eſpecially by the eyes, which are much ſmaller than in the unmixed progeny of Europeans.

There are likewiſe children, who are the offspring of Portugueſe, but theſe never become entirely white.

Children born in the Indies, are nicknamed *liplaps* by the Europeans, although both parents may have come from Europe.

Girls are commonly marriageable at twelve or thirteen years of age, and ſometimes younger. It ſeldom happens, if they are but tolerably handſome, have any money,

ney, or any to expect, or are related to people in power, that they are unmarried after that age.

As they marry while they are yet children, it may eaſily be conceived, that they do not poſſeſs thoſe requiſites which enable a woman to manage a family with propriety. There are many of them, who can neither read nor write, nor poſſeſs any ideas of religion, of morality, or of ſocial intercourſe.

Being married ſo young, they ſeldom get many children, and are old women at thirty years of age. Women of fifty, in Europe, look younger and freſher, than thoſe of thirty at *Batavia*. They are, in general, of a very delicate make, and of an extreme fair complexion; but the tints of vermillion which embelliſh our northern ladies, are wholly abſent from their cheeks; the ſkin of their face and hands, is of the moſt deadly pale white. Beauties muſt not be ſought amongſt them; the handſomeſt whom I ſaw, would ſcarcely be thought middling pretty, in Europe.

They have very ſupple joints, and can turn their fingers, hands, and arms, in almoſt every direction; but this they have

in common with the women in the Weſt-Indies, and in other tropical climates.

They are commonly of a liftleſs and lazy temper; but this ought chiefly to be aſcribed to their education, and the number of ſlaves of both ſexes, that they always have to wait upon them.

They riſe about half paſt ſeven, or eight o'clock, in the morning. They ſpend the forenoon in playing and toying with their female ſlaves, whom they are never without, and in laughing and talking with them, while a few moments afterwards, they will have the poor creatures whipped unmercifully, for the mereſt trifle. They loll, in a looſe and airy dreſs, upon a ſofa, or ſit upon a low ſtool, or upon the ground, with their legs croſſed under them. In the mean time, they do not omit the chewing of pinang, or betel, with which cuſtom all the Indian women are infatuated; they likewiſe maſticate the Java tobacco; this makes their ſpittle of a crimſon colour, and when they have done it long, they get a black border along their lips, their teeth become black, and their mouths are very diſagreeable, though it is pretended that this uſe purifies the

I ſhall refrain from the recital of inſtances, which I have heard, of the moſt refined cruelty practiſed upon theſe wretched victims of jealouſy, by Indian women, and which have been related to me by witneſſes worthy of belief; they are too repugnant to every feeling of humanity, and ſurpaſs the uſual bounds of credibility.

Having thus ſatiated their anger upon their ſlaves, their next object is to take equal revenge upon their huſbands, which they do in a manner leſs cruel, and more pleaſant to themſelves.

The warmth of the climate, which influences ſtrongly upon their conſtitutions, together with the diſſolute lives of the men before marriage, are the cauſes of much wantonneſs and diſſipation among the women.

Marriages are always made at *Batavia*, on Sundays, yet the bride never appears abroad before the following Wedneſday evening, when ſhe attends divine ſervice; to be ſooner ſeen in public, would be a violation of the rules of decorum.

As ſoon as a woman becomes a widow, and the body of her huſband is interred, which

which is generally done the day after his deceaſe, if ſhe be but rich, ſhe has immediately a number of ſuitors. A certain lady, who loſt her huſband while I was at *Batavia*, had, in the fourth week of her widowhood, a fourth lover, and at the end of three months, ſhe married again, and would have done it ſooner, if the laws had allowed of it.

Their dreſs is very light and airy; they have a piece of cotton cloth wrapped round the body, and faſtened under the arms, next to the ſkin; over it they wear a ſhift, a jacket, and a chintz petticoat; which is all covered by a long gown or *kabay*, as it is called, which hangs looſe; the ſleeves come down to the wriſts, where they are faſtened cloſe, with ſix or ſeven little gold, or diamond buttons. When they go out in ſtate, or to a company where they expect the preſence of a lady of a counſellor of India, they put on a very fine muſlin *kabay*, which is made like the other, but hangs down to the feet, while the firſt only reaches to the knees. When they invite each other, it is always with the condition of coming with the long, or the ſhort *kabay*. They all go with their

heads uncovered; the hair, which is perfectly black, is worn in a wreath, faſtened with gold and diamond hairpins, which they call a *condé* *: in the front, and on the ſides of the head, it is ſtroked ſmooth, and rendered ſhining, by being anointed with cocoanut-oil. They are particularly ſet upon this head-dreſs, and the girl who can dreſs their hair the moſt to their liking, is their chief favourite among their ſlaves. On Sundays they ſometimes dreſs in the European ſtyle, with ſtays and other faſhionable incumbrances, which however they do not like at all, being accuſtomed to a dreſs ſo much looſer, and more pleaſant, in this torrid clime.

When a lady goes out, ſhe has uſually four, or more, female ſlaves attending her, one of whom bears her betel-box. They are ſumptuouſly adorned with gold and ſil-

* The Engliſh travellers who have viſited *Batavia*, have all admired the taſte of this head-dreſs, which they have thought inexpreſſibly elegant. When the ladies pay their evening-viſits to each other, the wreath of hair is ſurrounded by a chaplet of flowers, in which the grateful fragrance of the *nyctanthes ſambac*, or Arabian jeſſamine, unites with the modeſt ſweetneſs of the *poliantbes tuberoſa*, and is beautifully intermixed with the golden ſtars of the *mimuſops elengi*. *T.*

ver,

ver, and this oſtentatious luxury, the Indian ladies carry to a very great exceſs *.

They ſeldom mix in company with the men, except at marriage-feaſts.

The title of my lady is given excluſively to the wives of counſellors of India.

The ladies are very fond of riding through the ſtreets of the town, in their carriages, in the evening. Formerly, when *Batavia* was in a more flouriſhing condition, they were accompanied by muſicians: but this is little cuſtomary at preſent, no more than rowing through the canals that interſect the town, in little pleaſure-boats; and the going upon theſe parties, which were equally enlivened by muſic, was called *orangbayen*.

When I came to *Batavia*, there was a theatre there; but it was given up before my departure.

The coaches uſed at *Batavia*, are ſmall and light. No one is reſtrained from keeping a carriage, but all are limited with reſpect to its decoration and painting. Theſe are ſcrupulouſly regulated, according to the

* See the note in the foregoing chapter, relative to the ſumptuary regulations introduced at *Batavia*, of which this ſeems to be a notorious infraction. *T.*

reſpective ranks. Glaſs windows to coaches, are alone allowed to the members of the government, who have alſo the privilege of painting or gilding their carriages agreeable their own taſte.

It is ordained, that a ſlave ſhall run before every wheel-carriage, with a ſtick in his hand, in order to give notice of its nearneſs, and prevent all accidents; for the ſtreets not being paved, the approach of the carriage cannot be otherwiſe eaſily perceived.

A yearly tax is paid to the Company for keeping a carriage; but moſt people hire one, at the rate of ſixty rixdollars a month, of the licenſed ſtablekeepers, by whom the duty is paid *. Counſellors of India, and a few others, of the Company's upper ſervants, are exempted from it.

Sedan-chairs are not in uſe here. The ladies, however, ſometimes employ a conveyance, that is ſomewhat like them, and is called a *norimon*. This is a kind of box, narrower at the top than the bottom, and

* The annual tax paid by the ſtablekeepers, is 80 rixdollars, if living within, and 50, if without, the city. On a former occaſion, the different rates of the duty on carriages, paid by different perſons, have been noticed. *T.*

carried

carried by a thick bamboo pole, faſtened over the top. They ſit in it, with their legs croſſed under them, and have then juſt room enough to ſit upright, without being ſeen.

The carts, drawn by buffaloes, which ſerve to convey goods inland, are of a very ſimple, and no leſs clumſy, conſtruction. A long pole, which ſerves for a beam, goes through an axletree, which turns two wheels, or rather round blocks like quoits, which are ſawn out of the trunk of a thick tree, being about four feet in diameter, and having a round hole in the center, through which the end of the axletree is inſerted. At the farther end of the beam, there is a croſs piece of wood, of four or five feet in length, with four ſtout pegs, which is laid upon the ſhoulders of two buffaloes, in the manner of a yoke, ſo that their necks fit between the pegs, and this ſerves both to bear the weight of the cart, and to drag it along. The carts themſelves are ſmall, and cannot carry a great weight; they have a covering made of leaves, to preſerve the load from the rain.

The trade of the Company, as we have before ſaid, is managed by the director general. The burthenſome duty of his office, is greatly alleviated by two aſſiſtants, who are ſenior merchants of the caſtle. Their buſineſs conſiſts chiefly, in ſuperintending the houſing in the Company's warehouſes of all goods which are brought to *Batavia* by their ſhips, and the delivery of them again; all returns on this ſcore, are firſt made to them. The ſenior of them has the ſuperintendence over all the goods that arrive, and the other, over thoſe that are diſpatched. Deliveries are made on warrants ſigned by one of them. All papers, relative to trade, which are received from the out-factories, are examined by them, and they report their contents to the director. They are both likewiſe adminiſtrators of the great treaſury, but derive little emolument from it. Their office is one of the moſt troubleſome of any in the Company's civil ſervice at *Batavia*, and is not equally lucrative in compariſon with others, to which leſs labour is attached, and whence much greater profits accrue; yet

yet it is an office of much conſideration, as it gives the precedency before all other ſenior merchants.

All merchandize is houſed in the Company's repoſitories, which are ſituated partly in the city of *Batavia*, and partly on the iſland of *Onruſt*, under the direction of adminiſtrators, or warehouſe-keepers, who muſt render account of the ſame.

This branch of buſineſs is divided into ſeveral departments, each of which has two adminiſtrators, two commiſſaries, and a book-keeper. Some of theſe adminiſtratorſhips are very lucrative employments, eſpecially that of the iſland *Onruſt*, on account of the large quantities of goods, which are laid up there. A certain per centage is allowed to all the adminiſtrators, upon the whole of the goods which they deliver, for waſte, loſs in weight, and damage, when the delivery is effected within a twelvemonth after the receipt; but when the goods have lain more than a year in the warehouſes, he allowance is greater.

The occupation of the commiſſaries at the warehouſes, is to take care that the Company ſuffer no prejudice at the receipt

or delivery of goods. They are obliged to be preſent at the weighing of every thing, and to be attentive to the accuracy of the weight; an oath of fidelity in the diſcharge of their duty, is adminiſtered to them, annually, by the council of juſtice.

The quantity of goods ſent from Europe to India, is inconſiderable, in compariſon with thoſe which are conveyed from one part of the Indies to another, or to Europe. The chief article of exportation to India, is gold and ſilver, both bullion, and coined *.

* The annual exportation of the precious metals to India, by the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, has been calculated at *f.*6,000,000, or nearly 550,000*l.* T.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VI.

A ſhort Account of the Out-factories.—AMBOYNA.—BANDA.—TERNATE.—MACASSER.—TIMOR.—BENJERMASSING.—MALACCA.—*The Northeaſt Coaſt of* JAVA.—*Coaſt of* COROMANDEL.—CEYLON.—BENGAL.—SURAT.—*Coaſt of* MALABAR.—*Weſt Coaſt of* SUMATRA.—BANTAM.—PALEMBANG.—CHERIBON.—*Trade to* JAPAN.—*To* CHINA.—*Abandonment of ſeveral Factories, and Tradingplaces.—Decay of the Company's Trade in the Weſt of India, chiefly owing to the Preponderance of the Engliſh.—Premiums to the Ship's Crews that return from India.—Decay of* BATAVIA, *by the Decreaſe of private Trade.—Unhealthineſs of the Place.—Adminiſtration of the Province of* JACCATRA.—*Imports at* BATAVIA.—*The Iſland* ONRUST.—DE KUIPER.—PURMEREND.—EDAM.

THE Company's poſſeſſions in India, are diſtinguiſhed into thoſe ſituated to the eaſtward, and thoſe to the weſtward of *Batavia*. To the eaſtward, the government, or province of *Amboyna*, holds the firſt rank; to it belong the neighbouring iſlands, and part of the iſland of *Ceram*. The Company's

pany's ſervants appertaining to *Amboyna*, are in number about eight or nine hundred.

The only article of trade produced here, is cloves; theſe are grown in ſuch quantities, that the government at *Batavia*, ſometimes order a large number of clove-trees to be extirpated, and that no more than a certain fixed number ſhall be planted.

Thus, by a reſolution of the year 1768, they ordered that the propagation of the clove-trees ſhould ceaſe, till their number was reduced to 550,000; the number of trees, both young, and fruit-bearing, was then 759,040. In the year 1770, an extraordinary fine crop, produced upwards of 2,200,000*lbs.* of cloves; each pound ſcarcely ſtands the Company in more than five ſtivers *.

Banda is the ſecond government to the eaſtward. It conſiſts of ſeveral ſmall

* On Mr. STAVORINUS's ſecond voyage he viſited *Amboyna*, and has there, in book ii. given a very copious account of it. We refrain, therefore, from making any additions, to his ſhort notice of it in this chapter; and ſhall only enlarge on thoſe ſettlements, which he did not himſelf touch at, and of which he gives no further, or a very ſlight account. *T.*

iſlands.

iſlands *. The number of Europeans in garriſon, or otherwiſe in the ſervice of the Com-

* The province of *Banda* is about three or four weeks' ſail from *Batavia*; it conſiſts of ſix ſmall iſlands, which lie cloſe to each other; upon *Neira*, which is ſituate in 4° 30′ ſouth latitude, ſtands the chief ſettlement of the province; it has a ſpacious and commodious harbour, but very difficult to be entered; ſhips anchor under the cannon of two forts, called *Belgica* and *Naſſau*; the firſt ſtands upon an eminence, and commands the whole extent of the iſland, and of the harbour, as well as fort *Naſſau*; it would however, at leaſt require a garriſon of 400 men to be capable of defence, and the whole number of military in all the iſlands, ſcarcely ever exceeds 300; the next iſland is that of *Lantoir*, or *Banda* proper. The reſidencies of *Wayer* and *Orien*, are on this iſland, and it has a fort, and two or three redoubts; the third and fourth in importance, are *Puloway* and *Pulo-run*; upon the firſt of which there is a ſmall fort, and upon the other a redoubt; and theſe four iſlands, are the only places where the cultivation of the nutmeg-tree is allowed by the Company; the other two are, *Rozingin*, on which there is a redoubt, and to this iſland the Company often baniſh their ſtate-priſoners; and *Gunung-api*, which has a volcano, conſtantly emitting ſmoke, and often flames. To this government likewiſe belong ſeveral other iſlands in the neighbourhood, known by the appellations of the ſouth-eaſtern, and the ſouthweſtern iſles. Their inhabitants are in alliance with the Company, and furniſh a conſiderable quantity of proviſions, conſiſting of wild boars, ſtags, ſea-cows, and other articles of food, which they barter at *Neira* for piece-goods, and other neceſſaries. This trade, however trifling, is of much benefit to the inhabitants of *Banda*; and

it

Company there, does not much differ from that at *Amboyna*.

It has little to fear from enemies, being, as it were, fortified by nature, and almoſt every where inacceſſible, on account of its ſteep ſhores. The violent currents, and narrow paſſages likewiſe make the navigation very dangerous *. The Company's ſhips

it is ſuppoſed that the province would reap greater advantages from it, if the Company would allow *Neira* to become a more commercial place; but the ſuſpicious policy of the government, has always been directed to prevent the frequency of communication with the ſpice-iſlands, that as little opening might be left, as poſſible, for the proſecution of a clandeſtine trade, or for the knowledge of the ſituation, and ſtate of defence of theſe poſſeſſions. *T.*

* The eſtabliſhment at the iſles of *Banda*, conſiſted, in 1776 and 1777, of 55 perſons in civil employments, 3 clergymen, 16 ſurgeons and aſſiſtants; 35 belonging to the artillery; 82 ſeamen and marines employed on ſhore; 283 ſoldiers, and 40 mechanics: in all 514 Europeans, beſides 21 of the natives in the Company's ſervice: yet the orders of the Company require that the garriſon here ſhould amount to 700 men. Beſides the uſual ſalaries, the Company allow their ſervants at *Banda*, five per cent on the ſale of goods imported, and ſeven per cent ſurplus-weight on the nutmegs collected; $\frac{21}{50}$ of which emoluments belong to the governor, $\frac{1}{28}$ to the ſecond in command, and the reſt is diſtributed by fixed portions among the other Company's ſervants; ſix per cent is likewiſe allowed on the nutmegs, and

ſhips are obliged to be warped in with the aſſiſtance of many boats.

The produce conſiſts in nutmegs and mace; the former, ſtand the Company in about one and a quarter ſtiver per pound, and the latter in about nine ſtivers *.

The

and twelve per cent on the mace, ſhipped off, for loſs in weight by drying, crumbling, &c.; the profit accruing by which, is divided equally between the governor, and the warehouſe-keepers; the governor has likewiſe an allowance of *f.*240, or about *22l.* per month, for table-money. When the Engliſh Admiral RAINIER took poſſeſſion of the iſlands of *Amboyna* and *Banda*, in February and March, 1796, the firſt, and indeed the only article of the capitulation, was, that "the ſenior and junior officers of the civil eſtabliſh-"ment, the clergy, the military, and the marines, ſhould "continue to receive their uſual pay." Notwithſtanding the natural means of defence of theſe iſlands, they fell an eaſy prey to the Engliſh; no reſiſtance was made, either here, or at *Amboyna*, nor was there a ſhot fired, or a man killed, on either ſide. *T.*

* This is nearly conformable to the prices ſtated by Abbé RAYNAL, who ſays that the Company paid nine ſtivers per pound for the mace, and one and an eighth for nutmegs; but the fact is, that the planters were formerly obliged to furniſh all their ſpice to the Company, upon pain of death for ſelling to any other, at 14 pennings, or $\frac{7}{8}$ of a ſtiver, for the ſound nutmegs; half as much for thoſe which were worm-eaten; 8 ſtivers $5\frac{1}{2}$ pennings for the mace; and half as much for the duſt of mace; but in the year 1778 a violent hurricane

The third government is that of *Ternate*, to which the iſland of *Tidore* is ſubordinate.

The

hurricane having ruined moſt of the plantations, the price was advanced to $3\frac{1}{2}$ ſtivers for the nutmegs, and 10 ſtivers for the mace; the charges of ſhipping both articles, are about one gilder per cwt.; and taking into calculation, the per centages allowed on the weight, as before mentioned, the invoice-value of each, would be as follows:

1000 *lb.* nutmegs, delivered by the planters.
70 *lb.* for 7 per cent allowed upon the collection

930 *lb.* paid to the planters, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ *ſt.* per *lb.* *f.*162. 15
56 *lb.* for 6 per cent allowed upon the ſhipment.

874 *lb.* neat. Charges of ſhipping, *f.*1. per cwt. 8. 15

874 *lb.* nutmegs, therefore, ſtood the Company in *f.*171. 10

or 15*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* ſterling, being about $4\frac{3}{11}d.$ per pound.

1000 *lb.* mace, paid to the planters, at 10 *ſt.* per *lb.* *f.*500. 0
120 *lb.* for 12 per cent allowed upon the ſhipment.

880 *lb.* neat. Charges of ſhipping, *f.*1 per cwt. 8. 16

880 *lb.* mace, therefore, ſtood the Company in *f.*508. 16

or 46*l.* 5*s.* ſterling, being about $12\frac{7}{11}d.$ per pound.

The real quantity of theſe precious ſpices, produced in the *Banda* iſles, has never been exactly known. The largeſt quantity of nutmegs ſold by the Eaſt-India Company in Holland, at one time, was 280,964*lb.* in the year 1737; in 1756, was ſold 241,427*lb.*; and, in 1778, 264,189*lb.*; the

average

The garriſon is computed to amount, altogether, to ſeven hundred men. *Ternate* is not

average has been taken at 250,000*lb.* annually, ſold in Europe at ſeventy-five ſtivers per pound, beſides about 100,000*lb.* diſpoſed of in the Indies, at no leſs a rate. Of mace, the average ſold in Europe has been 90,000*lb.* annually, at *f.*6 per pound, and 10,000*lb.* in the Indies. Againſt, however, the amazing profits accruing upon theſe articles, muſt be conſidered, the important expences of the eſtabliſhment at *Banda*. Three large ſhips are diſpatched thither, every year, from *Java*, with rice and other neceſſaries. In the year 1779, the charges amounted to *f.*146,170, and the revenues proceeding from the duties on imports, &c. to *f.*9,350, leaving a ſurplus in the charges of *f.*136,820, or about 12,440*l.* ſterling; although the able and intelligent governor general Mossal, in his plan of reform of the Company's affairs in India, calculates, that the revenues of *Banda*, could be encreaſed to *f.*90,000, taking, at the ſame time, the charges of the eſtabliſhment at *f.*155,000, by which the ultimate expence would be reduced by one half. Theſe iſlands, however, can never be expected to yield any advantage, beſides that derived from the ſpice-trade. Entirely cut off from all the other parts of India, and deprived of all commerce, ſave the trifling bartering-trade we have noticed with the indigent natives of the ſoutheaſtern and ſouthweſtern iſlands, they are even deſtitute of the means of ſubſiſtence for their own inhabitants, and muſt be ſupplied with every neceſſary from without. Nature, who has laviſhly beſtowed upon them, articles of luxury and ſuperfluity, has denied them thoſe of indiſpenſable neceſſity. *Banda* is likewiſe accounted a moſt unhealthy place, eſpecially at the chief ſettlement of *Neira*. Some attribute this circumſtance to the neighbourhood of the volcano,

not a ſubject of ſo much ſolicitude as the iſlands juſt mentioned, for all the ſpice-trees which it poſſeſſed, are extirpated, and no others may be planted in their ſtead *.

This

volcano, in the iſland of *Gunung Api*, and others to a deleterious quality in the water.

When Admiral RAINIER took poſſeſſion of *Banda*, he found in the treaſury 66,675 rixdollars, and in ſtore 84,777*lb.* nutmegs, and 19,587*lb.* mace. The Engliſh Eaſt-India Company ſold 0,000*lb.* nutmegs, and 25,000*lb.* mace, at their laſt ſpring-ſale, which was the firſt public ſale in England of theſe valuable articles. *T.*

* The province of *Ternate*, includes the iſlands of *Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Motir*, *Machian*, and *Bachian*; which are what are properly the *Moluccas*; they are the original places of growth of the finer ſpices, and larger nutmegs are ſtill found in the woods of *Ternate*, than any that are produced at *Banda*. On the iſland of *Ternate*, in one degree north latitude, is ſituate Fort *Orange*, which is the reſidence of the governor. The Spaniards had a footing in the *Moluccas*, as late as the year 1663, at which period they abandoned their eſtabliſhment at *Gammalamma*, which was formerly the reſidence of the kings of *Ternate*; and the Dutch Eaſt-India Company proving the ſtrongeſt in their wars, in 1680, with the confederated kings of the *Moluccas*, the king of *Ternate* became tributary to them, and the kings of the other iſlands were ſo far rendered dependent upon them, that, in the year 1778, upon ſuſpicion of their having ſet ſome machinations on foot againſt the Company, the two powerful kings of *Tidore* and *Bachian*, were depoſed, and ſent in exile to *Batavia*, and their thrones given to other princes, upon condition of their becoming the vaſſals of the Company. Some places, ſituated in the eaſtern part of

This province coſts more to the Company, than any profits that accrue from it.

the iſland *Celebes*, belong likewiſe to this government; the chief of them are *Gorontalo* and *Manado*; and the object of the Company in ſettling there, is principally to furniſh proviſions for *Ternate*, that part of *Celebes* being very fruitful in rice, and other neceſſaries. They alſo yield a conſiderable quantity of gold, about 24,000 taels, of a dollar and a half in weight, yearly, amounting, at 5*l.* per tael, to 120,000*l.* and eſculent birds' neſts, which are eſteemed a great delicacy by the orientals, and eſpecially by the Chineſe, in exchange for which the inhabitants take opium, Indoſtan piecegoods, chiefly blue cloth, fine Bengal coſſaes and hummums, together with ſome cutlery. *Ternate* does not, in general, require any ſupply of proviſions from *Java*, as the iſles of *Banda* do. Some have given as a reaſon for this difference, that, from the commencement of the dominion of the Dutch in the *Molucca* iſlands, the lives of the inhabitants have been ſpared; whereas in *Banda*, they were all exterminated, under the pretence that they were a perfidious nation, upon whoſe engagements no dependence could be placed; and now that the cultivation of the ſoil there has fallen into the hands of a mixture of Europeans and Indians, either as proprietors or leſſees of the ſpice-plantations, they have not been able to attend to the propagation of rice or other articles of food. In 1776—1777, the eſtabliſhment of *Ternate* conſiſted of fifty-nine perſons in civil employments, three in eccleſiaſtical ſituations, ten ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, thirty-eight belonging to the artillery, 214 ſeamen and marines employed on ſhore, 456 ſoldiers, and ſixty-ſeven mechanics, in all 847. In addition to his ſalary, the governor has a yearly allowance of *f* 2,400, or about 220*l.* ſterling, for the expence of entertaining the native princes; the governor and the ſecond in command, have five per cent divided

it. It is, however, of great importance, to defend the ſpice-iſlands, to which, together with five or ſix other ſmall iſlands, it ſerves as a key. Theſe are properly the *Molucca* iſlands.

A few years ago, the Engliſh eſtabliſhed themſelves at a ſmall iſland, not far diſtant from *Ternate*, which is called *Sullock*, but they abandoned it again in 1766.

The charges which the Company incur at *Ternate*, amount to about one hundred and forty thouſand gilders per annum, and the profits on the goods which are conſumed among the natives, to ſixty or ſeventy thouſand *.

This

equally between them, on the ſale of all goods imported; and one per cent is allowed on the collection of gold, to be divided between the governor and the collector. *T.*

* The Company pay a yearly ſum of *f.*32,250, or nearly 3,000*l.* ſterling, to the kings of the *Moluccas*, in conſideration of which, they engage to deſtroy all the ſpice-trees, which are diſperſed through the woods of their extenſive iſlands, and detachments of Europeans are ſent out from time to time, to ſee that this extirpation be duly executed. The Company do not retain poſſeſſion of the *Moluccas* on account of their intrinſic value, but for political reaſons, in order to keep other nations from the neighbourhood of *Amboyna* and *Banda*, to the ſecurity

This iſland ſuffered greatly in the month of Auguſt, 1770, by earthquakes. More than ſixty violent ſhocks were felt in the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours, and the fortifications were much injured.

Macaſſer is the fourth government; it is ſituated on the iſland of *Celebes*, part of which is under the dominion of the Company, while they are in alliance with moſt of the native ſovereigns of the remainder. The eſtabliſhment here is equal to thoſe of the beforementioned governments. There are fortreſſes, which are diſperſed over the iſland, to keep the natives in awe; but the chief power of the Company, conſiſts in the policy of fomenting the mutual jealouſy of

ſecurity of which the poſſeſſion of *Ternate* was ſuppoſed greatly to contribute. The expences of government at the *Moluccas*, were calculated by the governor general Mossel, at *f.*144,500 per annum, and the revenues at *f.*90,000; but, in 1779, after the revolution mentioned in a preceding note, the former were found to amount to *f.*229,406, and the latter to *f.*114,997, leaving a deficit of *f.*114,409, or about 10,400*l.* ſterling, which is a large ſum, when we conſider that the mother-country derives no advantage from this ſettlement; for the profits on the gold and birds' neſts, beforementioned, are conſumed in India, and ſcarcely ſuffice to make good the charge of ſending a ſhip thither, as is done every year from *Batavia*, with ſtores and neceſſaries for the government. *T.*

the Indian princes, their allies, by which they are prevented from uniting, and are, in conſequence, unable to undertake any thing againſt the Dutch.

The profits of the Company amounted, in the year 1755, to eighty thouſand, and their charges to one hundred and fifty-five thouſand gilders.

Slaves and rice, are the chief objects of traffic here; but the eſtabliſhment is likewiſe conſidered of great importance, for the ſecurity of the *Moluccas*, and the ſpice-iſlands *.

Upon the iſland of *Timor*, part of which belongs to the Portugueſe, and part to the Dutch, the Company have a ſmall ſettlement, the profits and expences of which are nearly equal †.

At

* See the further ample account of the ſettlement at *Macaſſer*, in Mr. STAVORINUS's Second Voyage. *T.*

† *Timor* is an iſland lying in the direction of N.E. between 8° 40′, and 10° 30′, ſouth latitude; the Dutch ſettlement is at a fort called *Coupang*, at the S.W. part of it, in latitude 10° 12′ ſouth, and in longitude, according to the Dutch charts, 121° 51′, eaſt, but according to Captain BLIGH, in 124° 41′, eaſt. The chief of the ſettlement has the rank of merchant, with an additional ſalary of *f.*2,000, and the eſtabliſhment conſiſted in 1776—1777, of ten perſons in civil, and

At *Banjermaſſing*, ſituated on the ſouth ſide of the great iſland of *Borneo*, the charges and revenues are equally nearly upon a par. Its chief product is pepper *.

Malacca

and two in eccleſiaſtical employments, two ſurgeons, five belonging to the artillery, eight marines, forty ſoldiers, and three mechanics, in all, ſeventy Europeans. The N.E. and ſouth ſides of the iſland belong to the Dutch, whoſe governor has equally the controul over the neighbouring ſmall iſlands of *Rotti*, *Savu*, and ſome others, which are governed by their own native princes, but who are dependent of the Company, and pay yearly acknowledgments of ſmall value, conſiſting principally in wax, which is the chief article produced in their domains. The Portugueſe have a ſmall factory, called *Liſſau*, on the north ſide of *Timor*. The charges of the Dutch eſtabliſhment here, amounted, in 1779, to *f.*11,712, and the receipts to *f.*13,619. And upon the whole, they have been computed to be nearly upon a par. *Timor* furniſhes a number of ſlaves for private uſe, who are of a pliant diſpoſition and temper, and are much employed at *Banda*, in the cultivation and preparation of nutmegs and mace. The Company likewiſe receive from *Timor* a conſiderable quantity of ſandal-wood and beeſwax (though the former article is now ſcarce), in exchange for piecegoods, on the ſale of which five per cent is allowed, in equal proportions, to the two firſt officers; the profits on this little trade are more than adequate, to make good the charges of the ſhip, which is annually diſpatched from *Batavia*, for the purpoſes of fetching them, and of carrying a cargo of neceſſaries to the government. *T.*

* The factory at *Banjermaſſing*, lies in 3° ſouth latitude. There is a ſmall fort, where a junior merchant, as reſident, with about twenty-five or thirty ſoldiers, are ſtationed. The

Malacca is the fifth government, and a place of great importance, for it commands the

object of this eſtabliſhment, is chiefly the collection, or purchaſe, of the pepper and rough diamonds, produced in the country. Five per cent on the pepper collected, is allowed to the reſident. The contract entered into with the king, obliges him to deliver 600,000 pounds, at three ſtivers per pound; and this is the only article which induces the Company to retain this poſſeſſion, for the profits on the rough diamonds, gold, wax, canes, and ſago, would not be ſufficient to make good the charges. The reſpective qualities of theſe latter articles are alſo ſo inferior, that the trade of the Company in them, is confined to a mere trifle. The circumjacent Indian nations, and the Chineſe, carry on a great trade with *Borneo*. The Engliſh have ſome eſtabliſhments on the north coaſt of *Borneo*, but their ſettlement at *Balambangan*, was deſtroyed, in 1775, by the Soloos, and we know not whether it has been reeſtabliſhed. They have endeavoured to rear the nutmeg at theſe places. They ſucceeded tolerably in the beginning, but either their plants have degenerated, or they had not originally the genuine kind, for the nutmegs they now produce are much leſs in value, than thoſe which are grown at *Banda*, and are, in fact, what are called wild nutmegs, being of an oblong ſhape, and a leſs ſpicy nature than the true ones. *Banjermaſſing* is of no importance to the Company as a ſource of revenue, for they do not poſſeſs a foot of land, without their fort, and are obliged to be conſtantly on their guard againſt the inſidious attacks of the natives; though, in 1769, an order, which was made in 1754, for all captains of veſſels going thither, "not to land all the "caſh they had on board for the factory, at one time," was withdrawn; the fort being then thought ſufficiently ſtrong to withſtand

the paſſage through the ſtraits of that name to the eaſtern parts of Aſia, as all ſhips

withſtand any aſſault of the Indians. The charges of this eſtabliſhment, were, in 1779, *f.*12,091, about 1,100*l.* ſterling, which, together with thoſe of conveying the pepper to *Batavia*, are ſcarcely covered by the profits accruing on this ſcanty trade.

Landak and *Succadana*, are poſſeſſions which the Dutch Company have obtained in *Borneo*, by grant from the king of *Bantam*, to whoſe crown they were appendages, being provinces formerly conquered by the Bantameſe; in the year 1778, he ceded the entire property of them to the Company, who immediately ſent a ſhip from *Batavia*, with an adequate force to take poſſeſſion of them, and enter into a treaty with the ſultan of the country. Both theſe objects having ſucceeded, the Company ſettled themſelves in a ſmall fort, called *Puntiana*, ſituated on a river of the name of *Lava*. The eſtabliſhment, as may be conceived, is not large, it remaining yet to be proved whether the commerce that may be carried on here, will anſwer the expence. Between thirty and forty men, are garriſoned here; and, in 1779, the charges amounted to *f.*9,726, about 884*l.* and the profits, which had then been made upon the ſale of piecegoods, and other trifles, were no more than *f.*1,764, about 160*l.* but hopes have been entertained that theſe places will, in future, be of great advantage to the Company, grounded upon the various articles of trade, which *Borneo* is known to produce, namely, rough diamonds, camphor, benzoin, canes, iron, copper, bezoar, ſago, wax, birds' neſts, gold, &c. Yet, taking into conſideration the propenſity of the Borneans to theft, and to illicit trade, as well as that ſeveral of the above productions are not to be met with, within twenty days' journey, up the country, it may well be doubted, whether any benefit can be ſpeedily, or ultimately, derived from theſe ſettlements. *T.*

going to *China*, *Tonquin*, *Siam*, the *Molucca*, and *Sunda* iſlands, muſt either paſs by here, or elſe through the ſtraits of *Sunda*; both which paſſages can be blocked up, by means of the Company's poſſeſſions. The whole eſtabliſhment at *Malacca*, is computed to amount to five hundred men *. The revenues and charges of the government are each about one hundred thouſand gilders †.

The

* In 1776—1777, the eſtabliſhment at *Malacca*, conſiſted of thirty-nine perſons in civil, and three in eccleſiaſtical employments, ſeven ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, ſixteen belonging to the artillery, 129 ſeamen and marines, 262 ſoldiers, and forty-three mechanics, in all 499 Europeans. The city is ſituated in 3° 10′, north latitude, and was taken from the Portugueſe by the Dutch, in 1640, after a moſt obſtinate defence. It is repreſented as a ſtrong place. It was taken poſſeſſion of by the Engliſh in Auguſt, 1795.

† Governor Mossel ſtated the charges of this ſettlement in his time at *f.*102,000, and the revenues at *f.*89,000 per annum; in 1779, however, the former amounted to *f.*113,235, and the latter to *f.*162,520, leaving a balance in favour of the colony of *f.*49,285, or about 4,480*l.* ſterling. This revenue proceeds from the duties laid on imports and exports, a great trade being carried on here by the Indians, and free European merchants of all nations, and from the profits on the goods vended by the Company. Of the export-duty of ſix per cent one fourth is allowed, as a perquiſite, to the Company's ſervants, of which, the governor has forty per cent, the ſecond in command fifteen, and the reſt is diſtributed, in different proportions, to the inferior officers. The governor has alſo an

The ſixth government in order, is that of the *Northeaſt Coaſt of Java*; the head of which generally reſides at *Samarang*. The Company draw almoſt all their rice and timber from this province. All the ſeaports along this coaſt, as far as *Cheribon*, where chiefs, or reſidents, are ſtationed by the Company, belong to it. This is ſaid

allowance of one gilder, about 1*s*. 9*d*. per picol, on all the tin collected. A large quantity of this article, 3 or 400,000*lb*. weight, is purchaſed here every year, at about *f*.30 per 100*lb*. equal to about 56*s*. ſterling per *cwt*. which is generally diſpoſed of in Aſia. In 1778, however, 100,000*lb*. was ſold in Holland at *f*.40 per 100*lb*. This ſettlement likewiſe yields ſome gold, areca, brimſtone, and roſin, together with very good maſts, for the ſmall veſſels which are built at *Rembang*, and at the iſland *Onruſt*. Upon all theſe, the profits are not inconſiderable, as the whole of theſe articles are in great requeſt throughout the Indies. The commiſſioners for the trade on both ſides of the ſtrait, have five per cent on all purchaſes and ſales, and one per cent on the gold they collect, out of which they muſt defray their own travelling expences. The territorial extent of this government is not very great; it is confined to the city of *Malacca*, and the neighbouring ſmall province of *Pera*, where the Company have a fort, for protecting the collection of the tin, which is dug there. In 1783, *Rio*, or *Riow*, ſituated near *Malacca*, which was the reſort of a notorious neſt of ſmugglers, was ſubdued by Commodore VAN BRAAM, and has ſince been added to the juriſdiction of *Malacca*. *T*.

to

to be at preſent, the moſt lucrative of all the goverments in India *.

The ſeventh, is that of the coaſt of *Coromandel*. Beſides the head ſettlement, *Negapatnam* †, all the Company's other factories along this coaſt, belong to it, Theſe are *Sadraſpatnam*, *Paliçol*, *Jagernakpouram* and *Bemelipatnam* ‡. The articles of

* We refer the reader to the ſecond voyage of Mr. STAVORINUS, for particulars reſpecting the Dutch ſettlements along the northeaſt coaſt of *Java*. *T.*

† *Negapatnam* is a ſtrong fortreſs, and walled town, in the kingdom of *Tanjore*, and 11° north latitude. It was formerly the chief ſettlement of the Dutch, on this coaſt, and coſt them much money in maintaining the garriſon and fortifications. In the war of 1780, it was, however, taken by the Engliſh, and ceded to them by the treaty of peace in 1783. The ſtatements adduced below, both of the eſtabliſhment on the coaſt, and of the revenues and expences, are taken from dates preceding this event; none ſubſequent to it, have been attainable; nor has it been poſſible to aſcertain the ſpecific proportion of *Negapatnam*, in either: ſo that greater uncertainty muſt prevail on this ſubject, than in any of our other additions. *T.*

‡ Our author here omits the ſettlement of *Palliacatta*, where the Dutch eſtabliſhed themſelves as early as 1609, when they built a ſquare fort, called *Geldria*, and whither, ſince the loſs of *Negapatnam*, the chief government of their ſet-

of trade which it furniſhes, are all ſorts of cotton piece-goods.

Ceylon

ſettlements on the coaſt, has been tranſpoſed. The fort is in 13° 30′ north latitude, the city which adjoins to it lies in the dominions of the Nabob of *Arcot*. The trade here, and indeed all along the *Coromandel* coaſt, in arack, ſugar, Japan copper, ſpices, and other articles brought from *Batavia*, is very briſk. *Sadraſpatnam* is a town, equally in the dominions of the nabob of *Arcot*, from whom the Company have farmed it; they have a fortified lodge here, and have frequented this place, ſince 1647: it lies in 12° 40′ north. *Palicol* is a village belonging to the Company, in 16° 40′ north, and in the country of *Narſepore*; together with the two following places, it is ſituated in the kingdom of *Golconda*. *Jagerna pouram*, lies in 17° 20′ north; the territory upon which it ſtands, together with the factory at *Daatijerom*, and two villages near it, which are uſed for the bleaching of callicoes and other piecegoods, are the property of the Company; the factory is defended by ramparts of earth. *Bemelipatnam*, the north latitude of which is nearly 18°, is a place, which the Company hold in farm; they have a new fort here, and the road before it, as well as that at *Jagernaikpouram*, is practicable, from December to September. The Dutch Company likewiſe carry on a conſiderable trade at *Maſulipatnam*, and they have a reſident at *Porto-novo*, which is under the nabob of *Arcot*, for the purchaſe of cottons, on which they pay an export-duty of one per cent. In 1776—1777, their eſtabliſhment on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, conſiſted of 1,175 Europeans; namely, 142 in civil, and nine in eccleſiaſtical employments; fourteen ſurgeons and aſſiſtants; ſeventy-nine belonging to the artillery; 184 ſeamen and marines, employed on ſhore; 736 ſoldiers, and

Ceylon is the eighth government, to which likewiſe belongs *Madura*, ſituate on the oppoſite ſhore *.

This

eleven mechanics, beſides 137 natives. The revenues, and the profits on the merchandize diſpoſed of, amounted in 1779, for all theſe ſettlements, *Negapatnam* included, to *f.*427,131, and the charges to *f.*452,133. The intelligent MOSSEL, who was particularly acquainted with the local circumſtances of this coaſt, as he was five years governor of the Company's *Coromandel* ſettlements, calculated that the former might be made to amount to *f.*520,000, and the latter reduced to *f.*260,000. One or two ſhips are annually diſpatched direct to Europe, with piecegoods, and caliatour-wood, the reſt go firſt to *Batavia*. The value of the piecegoods, ſold in 1778, in Holland, was *f.*2,000,000, about 181,818*l.* ſterling; and of caliatour-wood 200,000 *lb.* were ſold at *f.*20 per 100 *lb.* It is computed that twenty-five per cent is gained on both articles. The whole of the Dutch ſettlements on this coaſt are now in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. *T.*

* *Ceylon* lies between 6° and 9½° north. The ſtruggles between the Dutch and Portugueſe, for this iſland, laſted from 1638 to 1655, in which laſt year the latter were entirely driven from it, by the loſs of *Colombo*. This place, which is well fortified, is the chief ſettlement, and the reſidence of the governor; it is ſituated on the weſt ſide of the iſland, and at the broadeſt part of it. *Candy*, the metropolis of the iſland, and the ſeat of the emperor, lies about ſixteen Dutch miles, inland, from *Colombo*; it was taken in 1764, by the Dutch, but reſtored to the emperor by the ſubſequent peace. The diſtrict of *Colombo* extends about twenty leagues in length, and eight

in

This extenſive iſland may be ſaid to be entirely under the dominion of the Company ſince

in breadth; it abounds in cinnamon-groves and rice-fields, black cattle and poultry, and is very populous. There is a ſeminarium at *Colombo*, for the propagation of the chriſtian religion; and it is computed, that there are 300,000 native chriſtians in *Ceylon*. The road of *Colombo* is unſafe, and only practicable for a few months in the year. Five leagues north of *Colombo* is *Negombo*, a fortreſs of leſs conſideration, but the cinnamon produced in its diſtrict is the beſt of the iſland; it likewiſe yields a large quantity of *coir* for cordage. *Jaffnapatnam* is a place of conſequence, ſtrongly fortified, lying oppoſite to, and not far from, the continent of Indoſtan; it is the capital of what was formerly a kingdom, nearly ſixty leagues in circumference: elephants form the only object of trade of this country for the Company; this, however, yields, in general, a profit of *f.*50,000, about 4550*l.* ſterling, yearly. A conſiderable number of theſe animals are delivered annually to the Company, by the native princes in this diſtrict, who are, on that conſideration, left in poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty over the country, and the inhabitants. *Trinconomale* is on the oppoſite ſide of the iſland, thirty-five leagues from *Jaffnapatnam*. Fort *Ooſtenburg*, which ſtands upon a cliff, projecting about 1500 paces into the ſea, was built by the Portugueſe, with the materials of a famous pagoda which ſtood there, and was deſtroyed by them; the Dutch poſſeſſed themſelves of it in 1639, and, notwithſtanding its ſeeming natural ſtrength, it has not proved ſufficient to reſiſt the attack of an European enemy, having been taken twice in the preſent century; its harbour is celebrated as one of the moſt commodious and extenſive in the world, and it is peculiarly favourably ſituated for keeping up a correſpondence with the king of *Candy*, and, of courſe, for engroſſing the trade of the cinnamon grown in his dominions.

ſince the treaty of peace, concluded, in 1766, with the emperor of *Candy*; for they now poſſeſs, in ſovereignty, all the ſeacoaſts and harbours round the iſland: nothing but the interior parts has been left to the emperor, and he is wholly incloſed in them, without any acceſs to the ſea, except by paſſing over the territory of the Company. This is, in fact, the chief, if not the ſole, advantage derived from that expenſive war, which, it has been computed, coſt the Company more than eight millions of gilders *. The Dutch

dominions. About eighteen leagues farther is *Batticaloa*, which is a fort of but little ſtrength, but on account of the fertility of its diſtrict in all kinds of proviſions, of ſome importance to the Company. *Punto Gallo* is a ſecure harbour, at the ſouthern extremity of the iſland, in the fertile province of *Mature*, where ſome coffee and pepper are produced; in this harbour, all the ſhips for Holland are loaden in November and in February, with the various products of *Ceylon*, and thoſe taken in trade at *Colombo*, all which muſt be conveyed to *Punto Gallo*, to be ſhipped to Europe: beſides theſe, there are ſeveral ſmaller forts, *Caliture*, *Kalpetty*, *Putelang*, *Chilaw*, and *Manaar*, which ſerve chiefly to cover the moſt open parts of the coaſt; and the factories, on the oppoſite ſhore of India, appertain alſo to the government of *Ceylon*; theſe are, *Tutucorin*, *Kilcaré*, *Ponnecail*, *Cape Comorin*, and *Mannapaar*, where a quantity of piecegoods is collected, and ſent to *Ceylon*. In September and October, 1795, *Ceylon*, and its dependencies, were reduced by the Britiſh forces. *T.*

* About 727,300*l.* ſterling. *T.*

embaſſadors,

embaſſadors, who were ſent to the court of *Candy*, were formerly obliged to conform to the oriental ceremony, of approaching the throne upon their knees; but it was made a condition of the treaty of peace, that this ſervile cuſtom ſhould no more take place, and that they ſhould remain ſtanding in the preſence of the king.

The chief, and almoſt the only, produce of this iſland, is cinnamon*. The pearl-fiſhery likewiſe,

* Of the various ſpecies of the cinnamon-tree, and the manner of ſtripping the bark, preparing, and ſhipping it off, Dr. THUNBERG has given an ample and curious account, in the fourth volume of his Travels. It is grown chiefly in the diſtricts of *Colombo*, *Gale Corle*, *Negombo*, and in the dominions of the king of *Candy*; it uſed formerly never to be regularly planted, but was always ſought for in the woods, by the *choulias*, one of the loweſt caſtes of the Cingaleſe, whoſe peculiar occupation was the barking of cinnamon: it is, however, now cultivated by the Dutch Company, who have laid out extenſive plantations of it, in the diſtricts of *Colombo* and *Gale Corle*. They have proceeded with greater ardour in this plan, ſince the laſt war with the king of *Candy*, on account of the great decreaſe in the quantity collected ſince, compared with that uſually procured before. Notwithſtanding the acquiſition of a large extent of territory, at the concluſion of peace, it has been found that, inſtead of 8000 or 10,000 bales of cinnamon, of 88 *lb.* each, which was the quantity uſually drawn from *Ceylon* before that war, only 6000 or 7000 bales have been furniſhed. This deficiency has been aſcribed to the illwill of

likewiſe, however, yields the Company, in general, a benefit of one hundred thouſand

of the court of *Candy*, on account of the humiliation to which it was reduced by that war; and although the king is bound, by the conditions of peace, to deliver all the cinnamon produced in his country to the Company, for five pagodas (an Indian gold coin of ninety ſtivers, or about 8*s.* 2*d.* ſterling) per bale of 88 *lb.* he either neglects to have the cinnamon duly collected, or ſends a great part of it, of an inferior quality, or in an adulterated, or ſpoiled ſtate. The cinnamon which the Company collect, or cultivate themſelves, is computed to ſtand them in nearly the ſame rate. Beſides this precious ſpice, ſome coffee and cardemoms are the only articles of the produce of the iſland, which are exported to Europe; piecegoods from the factories on the oppoſite coaſt, pepper from the coaſt of *Malabar*, cowries from the *Maldives*, ſaltpetre from *Bengal*, and ſome *Surat* goods, help to form, however, the cargoes of the veſſels which are diſpatched from *Punto Gallo*; and in 1778, the ſales in Europe, of the imports from *Ceylon*, were as follow:

600,000*lb.* cinnamon, at about *f.* 6 (11*s.* ſterling) per *lb.*
4,000*lb.* cardemoms, at 33 ſtivers (3*s.*)
5,000*lb.* coffee, at 10 —
300,000*lb.* cowries, at 7½ —
20,000*lb.* cotton-yarn, and piecegoods to the amount of *f.* 200,000 (about 18,180*l.*)

A conſiderable quantity of cinnamon is alſo yearly ſent to *Batavia*, for the conſumption of the eaſt. The cinnamon found at *Ceylon*, in 1795, was purchaſed of the captors, by the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, for 180,000*l.* ſterling. In the latter end of 1797, the quantity of 13,893 bales, containing 1,238,968 *lb.* of cinnamon, was brought to England; and the Eaſt-India Company ſold 350,000 *lb.* at their enſuing ſpring-ſale. *T.*

rixdollars,

rixdollars, annually. No pearls uſed formerly to be fiſhed, but upon the oyſter-beds of *Tutocorin*; but they are now likewiſe got from thoſe on the *Ceylon* ſide, near *Manaar*, and *Aripo*. The fiſhery, however, does not take place, for certain, every year; for this depends upon the condition in which the beds are found. When the fiſhing-ſeaſon approaches, the oyſters are examined by the *Ceylon* council, and if they are found of a proper ſize, publication is made, of the time when the pearl-fiſhery is to commence, and the number of boats and men, to be employed in it, are determined upon: the number of divers, is, at preſent, uſually fixed at ninety-ſix. A certain percentage is allowed, to the governor of *Ceylon*, on what the Company receive from the farming of this fiſhery *.

The

* The advantages which accrued from this ſource, amounted only to one hundred thouſand gilders, not rixdollars, annually; but the Company have been deprived of them entirely, ſince the year 1771; at that period, the nabob of the Carnatic, attacked and took poſſeſſion of *Marrua*, near *Tutucorin*, whoſe prince was in alliance with the Dutch; the nabob immediately laid claim to the pearl-fiſhery, and the Company thought fit to give up the point, and have abandoned it ever ſince. The famous VAN IMHOF, in his poſthumous elabo-

The trade of the Company in *Bengal*, is intruſted to a director, as they poſſeſs only a very ſmall territory there, by permiſſion of

rate memorial reſpecting the ſtate of India, conſiders *Manaar*, as an important barrier or frontier-place of *Ceylon*. Many precious ſtones are found in *Ceylon*, the principal of which are, rubies, ſapphires, topazes, and garnets; different kinds of chryſtals, and quartz, are ſold there under the pompous denominations of diamonds, amethyſts, &c. Dr. THUNBERG has given a curious liſt of all the kinds which he met with at *Ceylon*. The digging of them is farmed out by the government; and though trifling, is one of the objects of revenue of the iſland. Theſe amounted, in 1779, altogether, to *f.*611,704, while the charges of the whole eſtabliſhment were *f.*1,243,038, which makes the expence of the Company in maintaining *Ceylon*, ultimately amount to *f.*631,334, or 57,394*l.* ſterling, but this is eaſily borne by the immenſe profits attached to the excluſive cinnamon-trade, and the other articles brought from this iſland, as before noticed. In 1755, however, when MOSSET drew up his ſtatements, *Ceylon* appeared in a very different light; he made the revenues and profits amount to *f.*1,168,000, and the charges only to *f* 902,500, by which it appears, that the iſland was then fully able to maintain itſelf. Yet there are many cauſes which may be ſuppoſed to contribute to this difference: the failure of the revenue from the pearl-fiſhery; the augmentation of the territory of the Company by the peace of 1766, and conſequent increaſe of their military force, &c. In 1776—1777, the eſtabliſhment at *Ceylon*, conſiſted of, 416 perſons in civil, and 33 in eccleſiaſtical, offices, 54 ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, 315 belonging to the artillery, 615 ſeamen and marines employed on ſhore, 2,397 ſoldiers, and 243 mechanics, in all, 4,073 Europeans, beſides 1,225 natives. *T.*

the

the emperor of *Indoſtan*, or the Great Mogul. It is the ſame at *Surat*, where, as in *Bengal*, they have a lodge, or factory, for the ſecurity of their goods, and their juriſdiction does not extend far beyond its limits. From *Bengal*, they receive piecegoods, ſaltpetre, and opium. From *Surat*, piecegoods, various ſorts of Indian dreſſes, &c.

The Company's poſſeſſions on the coaſt of *Malabar*, are under a commandant. The chief produce is pepper, which is eſteemed the beſt of all India *.

From the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*, are brought, gold, camphor, and pepper †.

Bantam

* Mr. STAVORINUS enlarges, reſpecting *Bengal*, in the next book; reſpecting *Surat*, in the 2d and 3d books of his ſecond voyage; and reſpecting the coaſt of *Malabar*, in the 13th and 14th chapters of the 4th book. *T.*

† Beſides *Lampon*, which has been mentioned among the dependencies of *Bantam*, the Dutch have a ſettlement at *Padang*, on the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*, to which the factories at *Pulo Chinco*, *Priaman*, and *Adgerbadja*, are ſubordinate. At *Padang*, there is a fort, with a garriſon of fifty or ſixty men, and the chief of the ſettlement has the rank of merchant. Some pepper, camphor, and benzoin, are furniſhed from this coaſt, but ever ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh ſettlement at *Bencoolen*, in this neighbourhood, the Dutch complain that pepper is procured in very ſmall quantities; they, however, likewiſe collect and export annually to *Batavia*, about two thouſand

Bantam is a commmandery, from which the Company draw the greateſt quantity of pepper.

On the inner, or eaſtern, coaſt of *Sumatra*, they have a ſettlement at *Palembang*, whence they receive pepper and tin *.

Moſt

five hundred tials of gold, the quantity never exceeds three thouſand tials, nor falls ſhort of two; a tial is twenty-ſix penny-weights twelve grains; the purchaſe price is high, being nearly 3*l.* 5*s.* ſterling, per ounce. There is a vein of gold which runs cloſe to *Padang*, and, ſome years ago, it was worked, but not finding returns adequate to the expence, the Company let it to farm, and, in a few years, it fell into ſuch low repute, as to be diſpoſed of at a rent of two Spaniſh dollars, by public auction. In 1779, the books of *Padang* ſhewed a balance in favour of the eſtabliſhment of *f.*20,902, about 1,900*l.* ſterling, the charges being *f.*53,675, and on the other hand, the profits accruing on the ſale of piecegoods, ſalt, &c. *f.*74,577: which is ſufficient to defray the expence of ſending a ſhip thither annually from *Batavia*, with neceſſaries for the ſettlement. *Padang*, and its dependencies, are, at preſent, in the hands of the Engliſh. The whole eſtabliſhment of the Dutch on the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*, including *Lampon*, was, in 1776--1777, thirty perſons in civil employments, five ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, two belonging to the artillery, thirteen marines, 104 ſoldiers, and twenty-one mechanics, in all, 175 Europeans, beſides ninety-ſeven natives in the ſervice of the Company. *T.*

* *Palembang* lies about ten or twelve days' ſail from *Batavia*. The dominions of the king of *Palembang* are extenſive; they reach as far as the hills of *Lampon* to the ſouthward, and comprehend

Moſt of the coffee ſold by the Company, is brought from their ſettlement at *Cheribon* in *Java*.

One

prehend the iſland of *Banca*, which lies oppoſite to the river of *Palembang*. This iſland is celebrated throughout Aſia, for the ſame cauſe, its tinmines, to which England owed its celebrity in Europe, in very ancient times, before its arts and arms had ſpread its fame around the globe. The tinmines in *Banca*, which were firſt diſcovered in 1710 or 1711, have yielded immenſe quantities of ore, and appear inexhauſtible. There are ſeven chief places where it is dug, which are under the direction of Chineſe managers, who provide and pay for the labour of the miners, who are alſo, in general, of that nation. The tin is delivered by theſe chiefs, to the king of *Palembang*, for five rixdollars per 125 pounds, and by him to the Dutch for fifteen rixdollars, equal to about 58*s*. ſterling per *cwt*. Engliſh. The Company do not, however, always take all that is brought; for in 1770, the government at *Batavia*, reſolved, "not to "receive more than 25,000 picols, of 125*lb*. each, from "*Palembang* every year, and as 5,000 picols more, had been "delivered that year, no more than 20,000 ſhould be ac- "cepted in the next, of which due notice ſhould be given to "the king." And yet the Dutch endeavour to prevent the tin from being diſpoſed of to any others, and keep veſſels continually cruiſing along the ſhores, to prevent the ſmuggling of it; but their vigilance is eluded, and the commerce is largely participated by private adventurers. RAYNAL and others, ſtate the quantity of tin, received by the Dutch Company, at 2,000,000*lb*.; but from the above, it appears, that they take, at leaſt, 3,000,000*lb*. But very little of it comes to Europe; in 1778, 700,000*lb*. were ſold in Holland at *f*.42 per 100*lb*.; the greateſt part goes to the China-market, where it is pre-

One of their moſt advantageous branches of commerce, is that which they carry on to *Japan*; they ſend one or two ſhips thither every year, and are admitted to trade there, excluſively of all other nations, the Chineſe alone excepted.

A ſmall iſland, called *Decima*, in the

ferred to European tin, and the profit upon it, is ſuppoſed, by a late intelligent traveller, Sir GEORGE STAUNTON, not to be leſs, any year, than 150,000*l.* ſterling, though, by the Dutch account of their China-trade, which is given a little farther on, this ſeems to be an extravagant computation. The king is under ſtrict engagements to the Dutch, to allow them an excluſive trade throughout his dominions, and to deliver all the tin, and pepper, produced in them, at *Batavia*, ſending them thither in his own ſhips, and at his own expence. The quantity of pepper brought annually from *Palembang*, is about 2,000,000*lb.* which is purchaſed at the rate of two ſtivers per pound. The Company likewiſe take about 1000 carats of rough diamonds, and a conſiderable quantity of canes and rattans. Very few goods are given in exchange for theſe articles, and a large ſum in ſpecie is yearly required to balance with the king. In 1779, the profit on the few things diſpoſed of at *Palembang*, amounted only to *f.* 3,922, and the charges of the ſettlement were *f.* 49,677, making it ſtand the Company for one year in *f.* 45,755, or about 4,160*l.* ſterling. In 1771, they rebuilt their old ruinous fort, in a pentagonal form, and the coſt of the new one was computed to be *f.* 80,546, about 7,322*l.* ſterling. Their eſtabliſhment here, conſiſted, in 1776—1777, of 115 Europeans, viz. ſix in their civil ſervice, one clergyman, two ſurgeons, ſixty-one ſeamen and marines, twenty-nine ſoldiers, and ſixteen mechanics. *T.*

harbour,

harbour of *Nangaſakki*, has been ceded to them; and the merchandize they import is landed and houſed there *.

This trade is confided to a chief, who is ſent out from *Batavia* every two years.

The charges of this eſtabliſhment, amount to full one hundred thouſand gilders every year; the half of which, is the value of the annual preſents to the emperor of *Japan* †.

* *Decima*, is ſituated in 42° north latitude. The voyage from *Batavia* to *Japan* generally laſts about thirty days. The navigation is very dangerous, and the Dutch have, for the laſt hundred years, loſt one out of every five ſhips that go thither. For an account of the exceſſive jealouſy and ſuſpicion of the Japaneſe, and their treatment both of the Dutch and of the Chineſe, as well as of numerous other particulars relative to *Japan*, and before little known in Europe, the reader cannot be better referred, than to the ample and curious relations, to be found in the third and fourth volumes of Dr. THUNBERG's travels. *T.*

† The Company have only about ten or twelve of their ſervants reſident in *Japan*. The charges amounted, in 1779, to *f.*96,356; the greateſt part whereof conſiſts, as above, of preſents to the emperor, and the expences of the journey undertaken yearly to *Yedo*, for the offering of them: on the other hand, the profits ariſing from the ſale of goods were *f.*106,802, leaving a ſurplus of full *f.*10,000, or nearly 1,000*l.* ſterling; ſo that nothing remains to be deducted from the profits on the returns (for which, ſee the next note) but the expences of the ſhips ſent, and the calculated loſs, as before mentioned, of one veſſel in five. *T.*

The principal articles that are ſhipped to *Japan*, are tortoiſe-ſhells, Baros camphor from *Sumatra* and *Borneo*, Dutch woollens, and ſugar; in return for which, we receive *Japan* camphor, copper, china, and lacquered ware *.

The trade to *China*, generally employs four ſhips every year; theſe are diſpatched directly from Holland, and only touch at

* The two ſhips which go yearly to *Japan*, uſually take the value of *f.*500,000, about 45,450*l.* in ſugar, ſapanwood, elephants' teeth, tortoiſe-ſhell, camphor, tin, lead, quickſilver, chintzes, cottons, Dutch woollens, vermillion, wax, cloves, nutmegs, pepper, china-root, and ſome ſilver in ducatoons. Their returns conſiſt, for the greateſt part, in Japan copper, which is in ſmall bars, of about ſix inches long, and about one-third of a pound in weight; of theſe they receive eight or nine thouſand boxes, each containing 125*lb.* which they pay at the rate of *f.*31 per box, and diſpoſe of it in *Bengal*, at *Surat*, and on the coaſts of *Coromandel* and *Malabar*, for *f.*90, and *f.*91: they likewiſe take about 50,000*lb.* Japan camphor, two-fifths of which is retailed in India, and the reſt comes to Europe; and alſo a trifling amount in ſoy, china, lacquered ware, and large ſilk nightgowns. The private trade of the Dutch officers and ſhips' crews to Japan, is alſo very conſiderable, as well as profitable; they carry out, camphor, china-root, ſaffron, Venice treacle, Spaniſh liquorice, raiſins, ſpectacles, looking-glaſſes, watches, manufactured glaſs, and unicorns' horns (the horn of the *monodon monoceros*), and receive in return, ſoy, ſilks, ſilk nightgowns, china, lacquered ware, fans, and fine rice. *T.*

Batavia,

Batavia, in going out, in order to take in a cargo of Banca tin, which is diſpoſed of to much advantage in China: but when they return to Europe, they only anchor at *North* Iſland, not far from the ſtraits of *Sunda*, to take in water, without touching at *Batavia*. The time when they ſet ſail from *Batavia* for *China*, is generally about the beginning of July *.

The

* The Dutch factory at *Canton*, is not, like all their other ſettlements, and places of trade, in India, ſubordinate to the government at *Batavia*, but has, for upwards of forty years, been under the management of a ſpecial committee of directors in Holland; yet every thing relative it, is communicated to, and tranſacted in concert with, the government at *Batavia*. The cargoes of the four or five ſhips, which the Dutch ſend annually to *China*, amount in value to *f.*2,400,000; or *f.*2,500,000, about 225,000*l.* ſterling, one half of which conſiſts in ſilver, either in bars, or Spaniſh dollars, and the other half in tin, lead, pepper, cloves, and nutmegs, upon which articles a profit of, at leaſt, *f.*660,000, about 60,000*l.* ſterling, is made. For the above capital, the Company's agents purchaſe between four and five millions pounds of tea, of all ſorts, and a quantity of ſilks, nankeens, china, turmeric, &c. We ſubjoin a liſt of the quantities of tea, exported in Dutch ſhips from China, for the twenty years between 1776 and 1795:

Years.	Ships.	*lbs.* tea.
1776	5	4,923,700.
1777	4	4,856,500.

1778

The Company uſed formerly to trade to *Cochinchina*, *Tonquin*, *Siam*, *Pegu*, *Aracan*, *Perſia*, and *Mocha*; but they have now abandoned all commerce with theſe places. Their connections are, at preſent, limited to thoſe I have before ſhortly noticed; and among theſe, there are ſeveral, which, in my opinion, are more prejudicial than advantageous to the Company; eſpecially thoſe in the weſt of India; which muſt be aſcribed to a change of times, and of circumſtances.

Years.	Ships.	*lbs.* tea.
1778	4	4,695,700.
1779	4	4,553,100.
1780	4	4,687,800.
1781	4	4,957,600.
1782, 1783, 1784	none, on account of the war.	
1785	4	5,334,000.
1786	4	4,458,800.
1787	5	5,943,200.
1788	5	5,794,900.
1789	4	4,179,600.
1790	5	5,106,900.
1791	3	1,328,500.
1792	2	2,051,330.
1793	3	2,938,530.
1794	2	2,417,200.
1795	4	4,096,800.

When

When the Company eſtabliſhed their commerce in thoſe parts, their rivals were very inconſiderable; the Engliſh were not a match for them, and the Indian princes traded rather with the Dutch, than with their neighbours. But this is now entirely altered.

The Engliſh, who did not then come into any conſideration, are now as ſtrong, and perhaps ſtronger, in the weſt of India, than the Dutch Company are in the eaſt. They have preſcribed laws to the emperor of Indoſtan, and are, in conſequence, maſters of the whole trade of his dominions, eſpecially at *Surat* and in *Bengal*, where the Company uſed to make important profits, both by the goods which they imported, and thoſe which they exported.

If the ſea-riſk, the ſhips' charges, and the intereſt of the money employed, were accurately computed, their preſent gains, would, perhaps, be found to be extremely trifling.

Not only the Engliſh, but almoſt all the naval powers of Europe, have at preſent ſhips trading to the Indies, and eſtabliſh-

ments

ments of more or leſs conſequence, in the weſtern parts.

The trade in piecegoods, which in former times, produced ſuch conſiderable benefit to the Company, is now almoſt entirely in the hands of the Engliſh; at leaſt they are very detrimental to the portion of it that ſtill remains with us, by their competition for purchaſes.

I ſhall not ſay any thing of the honeſty and fidelity of the Company's chiefs at their out-factories: that is out of the line I propoſe following: when I was in *Bengal*, I had an opportunity of obſerving ſome inſtances, not very conſonant with the above virtues; and it is not many years ago, that the Company had proofs of the like, in the government of the *Coromandel* coaſt.

On the other hand, the number of officers, and their appointments, remain the ſame; and a numerous body of uſeleſs placemen, and too many military, are maintained by the Company.

If the trade in *Bengal*, at *Surat*, and on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, were reduced to the ſame regulations, as that to *China* and *Japan*;

Japan; and if, inſtead of expenſive fortifications, trading-houſes, or factories, were only retained, the profits, which are actually made, would remain, and the preſent charges, would be amazingly diminiſhed. It cannot, in my opinion, be of any real advantage to the Company, that they pretend to appear as a ſovereign ſtate, where they have not an excluſive trade, and where they cannot interdict the trade of every other nation. At *Ceylon*, *Java*, and the other iſlands in the eaſtern parts, where they have the territorial property, and the ſovereign power, it is neceſſary both to diſplay, and to maintain, their dominion; for there they can, and juſtly, diſpute the right of all others, whether authorized traders or interlopers; but it is money thrown away, to pretend to make a ſhew of ſovereignty, at the before-mentioned places, for it augments neither their commerce, nor their reſources.

The goods which they carry thither, and which cannot be furniſhed by any other nation, the Dutch being the ſole dealers in them, ſuch as the finer ſpices, and Japan copper, are of a nature, which renders them indiſ-

indiſpenſable in the weſt of India. Their ſhips loaden with theſe articles, would be, with pleaſure, ſucceſſively received, and they would ſpeedily and gladly be bartered for cargoes of other commodities.

Moreover, there would be the advantage, that the conductors, having to ſuperintend a leſs extenſive concern, would the better be enabled to diſcover, and reform, all errors and abuſes: whereas the extent of the object under their controul, affords, at preſent, innumerable openings for miſconduct and miſtakes, which undermine the whole ſuperſtructure.

The Engliſh have not only been very prejudicial to the trade of the Company in the weſt of India, but have alſo endeavoured, if not to ſupplant them in the entire poſſeſſion of *Ceylon*, at leaſt to participate in the advantages of that rich iſland.

At the time of the laſt war in *Ceylon*, when the Company had blocked up all the harbours, with their ſhips, and the emperor was nearly reduced to be beſieged in his capital, the Engliſh ſent an embaſſador from *Madras* to the emperor, with an offer of aſſiſtance to expel the Dutch from his dominions,

minions, for which purpoſe they would provide a large number of ſhips. But their own pertinacity was the reaſon that the alliance was not formed in time; for the embaſſador would not comply with the oriental cuſtom of addreſs, which is eſpecially prevalent in *Ceylon*, and to which the Dutch were uſed to conform; that is, he refuſed to proſtrate himſelf upon the ground, or fall upon his knees, when he was firſt introduced into the preſence of the emperor. Several weeks thus elapſed before he had an audience; and in the mean time, matters had taken a ſtill more decided aſpect in our favour, ſo that, the clandeſtine attempts of our ſecret enemies, were, in this inſtance, fruſtrated.

I was exceedingly ſurprized when I ſaw at *Batavia*, that, although the trade in piece-goods, and in opium, was prohibited to private individuals of our own nation, the Engliſh were not only allowed to bring whole cargoes to *Batavia*; and to diſpoſe of them there, but were facilitated in every reſpect, in the diſpoſal. Theſe indulgences were not confined to the above, but were extended to all ſorts of commodities, both

Indian

Indian and European, to the great detriment of our own ſhips' officers and crews, who were not allowed to import their wares; and they who did bring ſome privileged goods, were forced to ſell them at a loſs, on account of the glut occaſioned by the quantities imported by the Engliſh. The exportation of ſugar too, was likewiſe prohibited to our own people, but the Engliſh were furniſhed with as much as they aſked for, out of the Company's warehouſes. Their ſhips, upon paying for the work done, were allowed to be repaired by the Company's ſervants at the iſland *Onruſt*. In Auguſt, 1769, I ſaw eight Engliſh ſhips, lying at that iſland, and three more in the roads of *Batavia*. In the following year, however, the government ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, to have a different opinion; for they then reſtricted the Engliſh to the taking in of water and wood; which every one hoped might be of long continuance.

The Company have another object of expence, ſince the year 1742, which did not perhaps then appear in ſo detrimental a light, as at preſent. I mean the premiums which are given to the ſhips' crews returning

returning home, and which were allowed as an indemnification for the articles of trade, which, before that time, they were permitted to bring home with them from India; but this was ſo much abuſed, that the Company's ſhips were crammed with the private property of the crews, in ſo far, that now and then, a ſhip was loſt in conſequence of being too deeply loaden.

In how far, by putting a ſtop to this private trade, ſuch accidents have, in reality, been prevented, may be beſt ſeen, by comparing the number of the ſhips loſt, for thirty years, before the year 1742, with thoſe loſt ſince. For my own part, I believe, that very little difference would be found. It is of courſe, that the veſſels, loſt in Table Bay, or other roads, which cannot be attributed to overloading, muſt not be taken into the account. The Company have already expended the ſum of eighteen millions of gilders, in theſe premiums, as will appear from the rough calculation ſubjoined, in which I have taken rather too little than too much.

The premiums for every ſhip returning home (eſtimating the crews, one with another,

other, at one hundred and twenty hands, for each ſhip) amount to full *f.*18,000, as follows:

1	captain, receives for premium	*f.*2,000
1	captain's mate . . .	500
1	ſecond mate . . .	400
1	ſurgeon	400
2	other mates, *f.*300 each .	600
1	chaplain	300
20	under-officers, one with another, *f.* 200 each .	4,000
24	ſeamen, earning upwards of *f.*10 monthly wages, *f.*150 each	3,600
66	ditto, and boys, under *f.*10 *f.*100 each . .	6,600
117	men	
3	ſuppoſed to have died on the other ſide of the *Cape of Good Hope*, who receive nothing.	
120	men	
	So that every ſhip's crew receive for premiums . .	*f.*18,400

Which,

Which, however, in order to make a round ſum, I only take at . . .	*f.*18,000
And computing that ſince the year 1742, twenty-five ſhips have annually returned from India, conſidering one year with another, the whole amount in premiums, for one year, is	*f.*450,000
Since the navigation has been put upon this footing, that is, from 1742 to 1771, twenty-nine years have elapſed; ſo that during that period, the Company have paid premiums to the amount of .	*f.*13,050,000
The intereſt of this capital for twenty-ſeven years, at three per cent per annum, which is annually augmented by *f.*13,500, amounts to * .	5,103,000

So

* Inſtead of ſimple intereſt, at three per cent per annum, for twenty-ſeven years, we ſhould take compound intereſt,

So that the Company have loſt
a ſum, for which they have
no adequate benefit, of . *f.*18,153,000

May not the decay of *Batavia*, whoſe chief ſupport is the free trade of its inhabitants, be, in ſome meaſure, likewiſe aſcribed to this cauſe? People well worthy of credit, who have lived for forty years, and more, at *Batavia*, have aſſured me, that there is an inconceivable difference between the actual ſtate of the city, with reſpect to trade, and its flouriſhing ſituation, before the year 1740. Free inhabitants, who had never been in the ſervice of the Company, uſed then to return to Europe loaden with riches, very few inſtances of which occur at preſent. Here in Holland, we may, in conſequence, plainly perceive, that there is little chance of making money at preſent, at *Batavia*, by private trade, and it is well known, that it grows worſe from day to day.

at the ſame rate, for twenty-nine years, which would amount to *f.*7,316,500, and the whole ſum loſt to the Company, during that period, by this regulation, would be *f.*20,366,500, or about 1,851,500*l*. *T*.

It

It is true, that the Company at home, are unable to reform all the abuſes, which have crept in, from time to time, in ſuch an extent of territory, as they poſſeſs in the Indies; but they are too well acquainted with the actual ſtate of *Batavia*; and the proſperity, or decay of that city, which is the center, and, as it were, the pivot of all their poſſeſſions, is of too great and real importance to their intereſts, than that they ought not to endeavour to raiſe it out of that languid ſtate, into which it is progreſſively falling.

Another thing, which is a great drawback upon the proſperity of *Batavia*, is the unhealthineſs which has been perceived there, for ſeveral years back. The moſt probable cauſe hereof, may be ſought, in the great encreaſe of the mudbanks, along the ſeacoaſt; the water only juſt covers them; or they are flooded by the tide, which, when it recedes, leaves a thick ſlime behind it, together with a great deal of animal matter, thrown up by the ſea, various kinds of blubber, and other marine productions, which immediately putrify, by the burning heat, and contaminate the air,

uniting with the noxious exhalations of the ſwamps and moraſſes near the town. The opinion, that the unhealthineſs of the place may be chiefly attributed to this cauſe, ſeems to be corroborated by the circumſtance, that the ravages of ſickneſs and death, are much leſs in the upper parts of the city, which lie the fartheſt from the ſea, than in and near the caſtle, which is cloſe to the mudbanks, and ſwamps. The mud thus thrown up, already reaches, on the eaſt ſide of the river, more than two thouſand feet out from the dry ground.

I have already ſaid ſomething of the province of *Jaccatra*; namely, that it is a poſſeſſion of the Company, ſubdued by their arms, whoſe natives are their immediate ſubjects, governed by the council of India, and more particularly under the eye of the governor general.

A perſon is appointed by the governor, under the title of commiſſary of inland affairs, who repreſents the ſovereign, in the interior of the country.

He adjuſts all differences which ariſe between the native grandees, with the preknowledge of the governor general, and exacts all

all penalties and fines which are laid upon them, the greateſt part of the profits by which, accrue to him. He is feared and reſpected, like a prince, in the interior parts, as the happineſs of every individual, is almoſt entirely in his power.

The regents, who are his coadjutors in the adminiſtration of the land, are taken from among the natives. The firſt in rank, are the *adapatis*, to whom the government of a large diſtrict is entruſted. Then follow the *tommagongs*, who are, however, much lower in rank, having the direction over a proportionate ſmaller extent of country; although each of them ſtands alone in his local juriſdiction. Theſe have *inghebées* under them, who are as much as lieutenants, and before whom diſputes of little importance, between the inhabitants of their diſtricts, are ſettled; yet the parties may appeal to the commiſſary.

It is only when very important matters occur, in which the Company have a particular intereſt, that they are brought to the cognizance of the government at *Batavia*, and ſettled by them; but this does not often happen.

The commiſſary, who reſides without the city, has a guard of natives every night at his houſe, and twenty, or twenty-four armed attendants, who are Javaneſe, and ſtand ready to execute his commands; all being in the pay of the Company.

The chief productions yielded by this province, are ſugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton-yarn. The revenues which the Company draw from it, amount annually to full one million of gilders.

The original letters, which are written by the council of India, to the Indian princes, are compoſed in the Dutch language, and ſigned by the governor general, and by the ſecretary, in the name of the government; but tranſlations are always added, in the Malay, Javaneſe, or whatever other language be that of the prince, to whom the letter is addreſſed. For this purpoſe, there are ſeveral tranſlators at *Batavia*, who are well paid, and have the rank of merchants.

The letters, which are ſent by the Indian princes, to the government, are written upon

upon gold, or ſilver, flowered paper *, and are brought to the council with much ceremony.

The letter which the emperor of *Candy*

* In the eaſtern parts of India, paper is prepared from the bark of trees; at *Ceylon*, and on the adjacent continent, the leaves of the boraſſus palm-tree (*boraſſus flabelliformis*), and ſometimes of the talpat-tree (*licuala ſpinoſa*), are uſed inſtead of paper. The leaves of both theſe palm-trees, lie in folds, like a fan, and the ſlips ſtand in need of no further preparation, than merely to be ſeparated, and cut ſmooth with a knife. Their mode of writing upon them, conſiſts in engraving the letters with a fine pointed ſteel: and in order that the characters may be the better ſeen and read, they rub them over with charcoal, or ſome other black ſubſtance. The iron point made uſe of for a pen, is either ſet in a braſs handle, and carried about in a wooden caſe, of about ſix inches in length, or elſe it is formed entirely of iron; and together with the blade of a knife, deſigned for the purpoſe of cutting the leaves, and making them ſmooth, ſet in a knife-handle, common to them both, and into which it ſhuts up. When a ſingle ſlip is not ſufficient, ſeveral are bound together, by means of a hole made at one end, and a thread on which they are ſtrung. If a book be to be made, they look out principally for broad and handſome ſlips of talpat-leaves, upon which they engrave the characters very elegantly, and accurately, with the addition of various figures, by way of ornament. All the ſlips have then two holes made in them, and are ſtrung upon a ſilken cord, and covered with two thin lacquered boards. By means of the cords, the leaves are held even together, and by being drawn out when they are wanted to be uſed, they may be ſeparated from each other at pleaſure. *T.*

ſent

ſent to the government at *Batavia*, after the concluſion of peace, containing the full powers of his embaſſadors to negociate concerning certain matters, which could not be adjuſted at *Ceylon*, was written upon a leaf of beaten gold, in the ſhape of a cocoa-leaf; the letters were engraved upon it, with a ſteel pen, in a moſt curious manner. This leaf was rolled up, and inſerted in a cylindrical caſe of gold, which was wound all round with a row of pearls, ſtrung upon gold thread. This caſe was in a box of maſſy gold, and this again in one of ſilver, which was ſealed with the emperor's great ſeal, impreſſed in red wax. The ſilver box was incloſed in one of ivory, which was put in a bag of rich cloth of gold; and finally, a bag of fine white linen, ſealed up, with the emperor's leſſer ſignet, encircled the whole.

When theſe embaſſadors had their audience of the council of India, they were received with extraordinary honour; all the members of the aſſembly ſtanding up, both when they came in, and when they went out, though without uncovering their heads. When the embaſſadors left *Batavia*, they were

were each preſented with a gold chain, by the council.

All goods, which are carried into, or out of *Batavia*, are ſubject to duties, which are levied at the bar, at the entrance of the city. Theſe, as well as the other taxes and impoſts, are annually farmed out, generally to Chineſe. The whole of them amount together, upon an average, to 32,000 rix-dollars, or *f.*76,800 per month, making *f.*921,600 per annum *.

Of the ſeveral iſlands which lie before *Batavia* †, there are no more than four, which are made any uſe of, by the Company, and of theſe, that of *Onruſt* is the principal. This iſland lies about three leagues N.W. from *Batavia*; it is nearly round; it riſes ſix or eight feet above the ſurface of the water, and is of ſmall extent, being about

* About 83,800*l.* ſterling. *T.*

† They are, in all, fifteen in number, and have the following names given to them: *Onruſt*, *de Kuiper*, *Purmerend*, *Engels Onruſt*, *Rotterdam*, *Schiedam*, *Middleburgh*, *Amſterdam*, *Horn*, *Harlem*, *Edam*, *Enkhuizen*, *Alkmaar*, *Leyden*, and *Vader Smit*. The two firſt are the innermoſt, and are fronting, and within ſight of the city. *T.*

four

four thouſand eight hundred feet in circumference. In the center of the iſland, and within a fort, conſiſting of four baſtions, and three curtains, ſtand the warehouſes and other buildings. On theſe fortifications, and on three ſmall outworks, which are conſtructed at the water's edge, the walls of all which are whitened with lime, are mounted ſixteen pieces of cannon, of various ſizes *.

In the year 1730, under the government of the governor general DURVEN, a ſmall church, with a ſteeple, was erected here; where ſervice is performed on Sundays by a

* "The fortified iſland of *Onruſt*," ſays Captain PARISH, "is well ſituated to command the channel that affords the "principal paſſage into the road. The work upon that iſland "was of a pentagonal form; its baſtions were ſmall and low, "not more than twelve feet the higheſt; and not always "connected by curtains. A few batteries were lately con-"ſtructed on the outſide of this work, that bore towards the "ſea. On theſe, and on the baſtions, about forty guns "were mounted, in different directions. South of this, was "another iſland" (this muſt be that called *de Kuipe*), "at "the diſtance of a few hundred yards, on which two bat-"teries, mounting together twelve guns, had been lately "erected." This account dates in 1793, and proves that the Dutch have become ſenſible of what is alleged in this work, page 253, that the fortifications at the mouth of the river, are inſufficient to protect the road. *T.*

clergyman,

clergyman, who comes hither from *Batavia*, for that purpoſe, every week.

The Company have here ten or twelve large warehouſes, which are almoſt always quite full of goods; pepper, japan copper, ſaltpetre, tin, caliatour-wood, ſapan-wood, &c. They are under the direction of two adminiſtrators, who, as we have before mentioned, have very lucrative places.

On the north ſide of the iſland, ſtand two ſawmills; and on the ſouth ſide, there is a long pier-head, on which are three large wooden cranes; erected for the purpoſe of fixing maſts in ſhips, or unſtepping them. Three ſhips can lie here, behind each other, alongſide of the pier, in deep water, to be repaired, or to receive or diſcharge their cargoes. There is another pier, a little more to the weſtward, called the *Japan* pier, where one more ſhip can lie, to load or unload.

There is twenty, and more, feet water againſt the piers, and it riſes and falls, about five feet, once in four-and-twenty hours. All the Company's ſhips that require it, are hove down at the wharfs along the piers, and receive

receive every neceſſary reparation with eaſe and diſpatch *.

The government of the iſland, and the direction over the repairs of ſhips which take place here, is intruſted to a maſter-carpenter, who has the management of every thing, except what relates to the departments of the adminiſtrators of the warehouſes. His office is eſteemed a very profitable one, and he has the rank of ſenior merchant. Though the iſland is but ſmall, the number of people dwelling upon it, is ſuppoſed to be near three thouſand, among whom there are three hundred European workmen.

About ſixteen hundred feet from *Onruſt*, is the iſland *de Kuiper*, or *Cooper*'s Iſle, which is one-third leſs in ſize than the former. The Company have ſeveral warehouſes upon it, in which coffee is chiefly laid up. There are two pier-heads, where veſſels may load and diſcharge, at its ſouth ſide. There

* "It would be injuſtice," ſays Captain Cook, "to the "officers and workmen of this yard, not to declare, that, "in my opinion, there is not a marineyard in the world, "where a ſhip can be laid down, with more convenience, "ſafety, and diſpatch, nor repaired with more diligence and "ſkill." *T.*

are

are ſeveral large tamarind-trees interſperſed over the iſland, which afford an agreeable ſhade. The workmen who are employed here in the daytime, are fetched away at night to *Onruſt*, and only two men remain behind, as a watch, together with a number of dogs, who are remarkably fierce, ſo that no one dares to ſet his foot on the iſland at night.

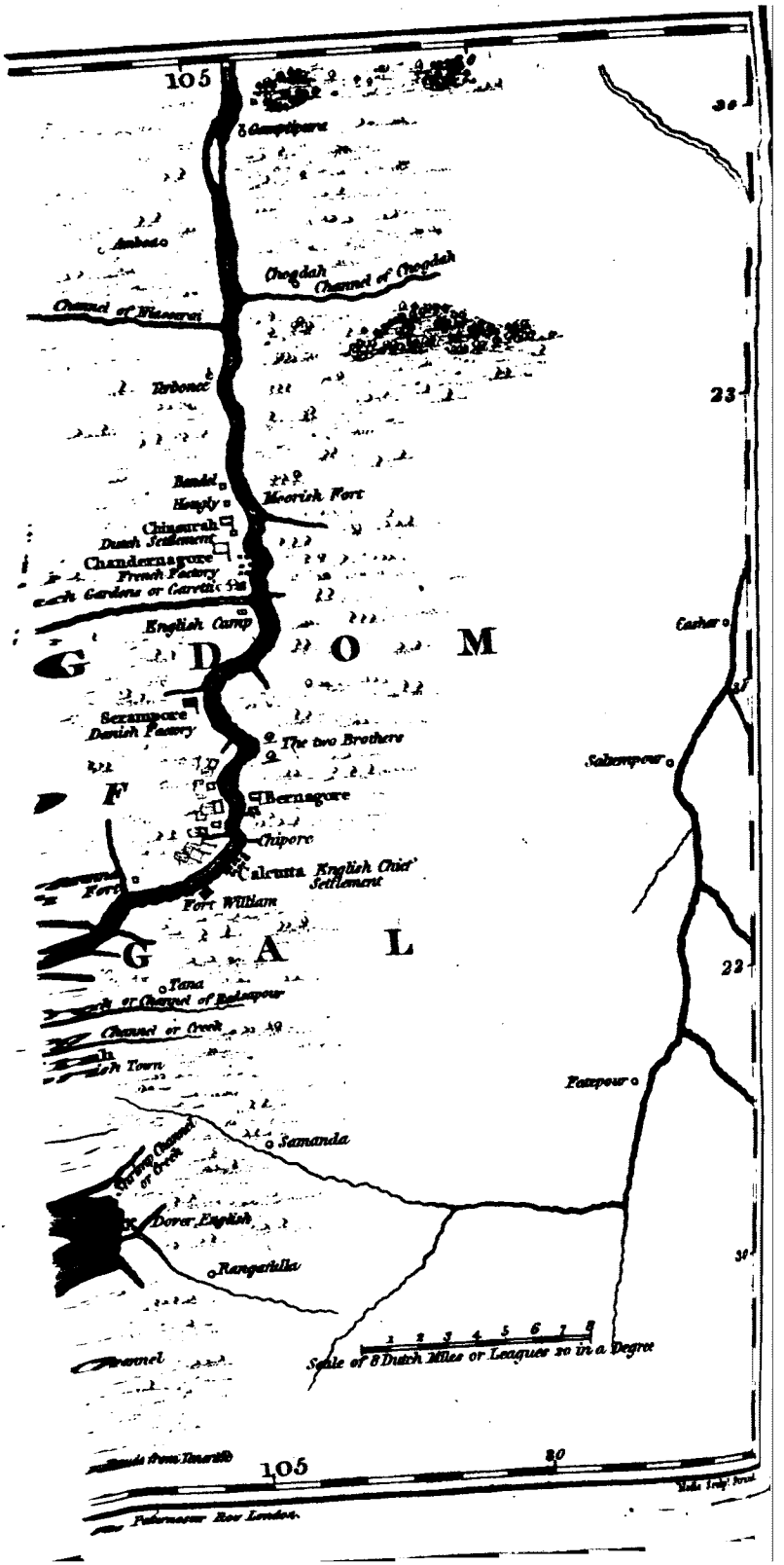
To the eaſtward of *Onruſt*, and at twice the diſtance of *Cooper*'s Iſle, is the iſland *Purmerend*, which is half as large again as *Onruſt*. It is planted with ſhady trees; and in the center is a building, which ſerves for a hoſpital, or lazaretto, for perſons afflicted with the leproſy, or other incurable diſeaſes, who are ſent thither from *Batavia*. It is ſupported by the alms of both Europeans and Javaneſe, but the latter contribute the largeſt ſhare.

The iſland of *Edam* lies about three leagues N.N.E. from *Batavia*. It is about half an hour's walk in circumference. It is very woody, and has abundance of large and ancient trees. Among them is one, the trunk of which is ſo large, that twenty men, with their arms extended, are not enough to encompaſs it; its outward branches ſhoot

downwards, and taking root, as ſoon as they reach the earth, grow up again into trees; I ſaw ſome of them that were already two feet thick; it is eſteemed holy by the Javaneſe, and is much venerated by them *. The Company have ſome warehouſes on this iſland, for ſalt; but the chief uſe they make of it, is as a place of exile for criminals, who are employed in making of cordage; and over whom a ſhip's captain is placed as commandant.

* This is the banian-tree, *ficus indica*, or Indian fig-tree. *T.*

CHAP-


105
Gunjipore
Ambato
Chandernagore
Calcutta
Fort William
Tana
Samanda
Rangafulla
Pattapour
Salempour
Cashar
Scale of 8 Dutch Miles or Leagues to in a Degree
105
80
23
22
30

BOOK III.

OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING BENGAL.

CHAPTER I.

Situation and Extent of BENGAL.—*Seaſons.—Weather.— Obſervations reſpecting the Degrees of Heat.—Monſoons.— Nature of the Country.— Productions.—Soil.—Trees.—Uſes of the Cocoanut-tree.— Fruit-trees.— Vegetables.— Tanks.—The River* GANGES.—*Channels communicating with it.—Sandbanks at the Entrance of* HOUGLY *River.—Currents.—Riſe and Fall of the River.— The Water of it muddy.—How clarified for drinking.— Reputed Sanctity of the* GANGES.— *Pilgrimages to it from all Parts of India.*

THE kingdom of *Bengal*, which is the moſt eaſtern province of the empire of Indoſtan, is bounded, on the ſouthweſt, by the kingdom of *Orixa*, on the weſt, by the province of *Malva*, on the north, by *Mongheir*, and *Bahar*, on the eaſt and ſoutheaſt, by the kingdom of *Aracan*, and on the ſouth, by

the deep gulph, which is called the Bay of *Bengal.* It is computed to be full ninety leagues in length, from the ſea, to *Rajamahel,* and nearly as much in breadth.

It lies between the twenty-firſt and twenty-ſeventh degrees of north latitude, and thus between the ſame parallels as the *Canary* iſlands. Its medium longitude is 105° eaſt from *Teneriffe,* the ſun being on the meridian almoſt five hours and a half ſooner than at *Amſterdam.*

The year is divided into two ſeaſons, which are called the warm and the cold ſeaſons.

The cold ſeaſon commences in the month of November, and laſts till the beginning of February. Raw northerly winds are then very prevalent, which bring with them a degree of cold, ſo that ſometimes, in the morning, before ſunriſe, thick clothes are very comfortable. It is then likewiſe frequently very foggy, but the miſt is diſſipated about eight or nine o'clock, when the ſun begins to be powerful. For the remainder of the day, the ſky is perfectly fine and clear, ſo that no clouds whatever appear in the air, for many days together.

The

The beginning of this ſeaſon, is the time for collecting the beſt fruits of the field, and the land appears reanimated, in proportion as the burning heat diminiſhes.

In the beginning or middle of February, when the ſun begins to approach the line, the heat likewiſe augments from day to day. The winds, which, for ſeveral preceding months, had blown from the north, begin to ſhift, become variable, and run round to the ſouth and ſouthweſt, whence they continue to blow till September or October. The ſky begins to become cloudy, and the weather is, at ſunſet, ſhowery and ſtormy, frequently burſting out in violent ſqualls, accompanied by heavy ſhowers of rain, thunder, and lightning.

I have ſeen hailſtones, and pieces of ſleet, which fell in *Bengal*, in the month of February, and were as large as a pigeon's egg.

The rainy ſeaſon commences in May, and continues to the latter end of Auguſt. The heat is, at that time, inſupportable.

As ſoon as the ſun has again paſſed the line, the heat begins to decreaſe, till, in the month of October, it is tolerably moderate.

I obſerved the degrees of heat, nearly every day, by a thermometer of Fahrenheit, from the beginning of October, till the beginning of April. The thermometer was hung in the open air, againſt a wall, facing the north, and there were no buildings oppoſite, by which the rays of the ſun could be reflected. The greateſt degree of heat, was generally about two o'clock, or half paſt, in the afternoon, and the leaſt, about an hour before ſunriſe, in the morning.

In October, the greateſt heat, in the afternoon, was 94°, with a northerly wind, and clear ſky; the leaſt heat, in the ſame month, in the afternoon, was 85°, wind and weather as before; the loweſt degree, before ſunriſe, with a northerly wind, was 70°.

In November, the higheſt, in the afternoon, 89°, wind northeaſt, a clear ſky; the loweſt, in the afternoon, 81°, wind north, clear weather; and the loweſt, before ſunriſe, 60°, wind north, foggy weather.

In December, the higheſt, in the afternoon, 88½°, wind eaſt, a clear ſky; the loweſt, in the afternoon, 76°, wind north, clear ſky; and the loweſt, before ſunriſe, 52°, wind north, clear weather.

In

In January, the higheſt, in the afternoon, 85°, wind ſouthweſt, clear ſky; the loweſt, in the afternoon, 74°, wind north, clear ſky; and the loweſt, before ſunriſe, 63°, wind northeaſt, clear weather.

In February, the higheſt in the afternoon, 92°, wind ſouth, clear ſky; the loweſt, in the afternoon, 76°, wind weſt, cloudy; and the loweſt, before ſunriſe, 68°, wind ſouth, clear weather.

In March, the higheſt, in the afternoon, 104°, wind ſouth, clear ſky; the loweſt, in the afternoon, 93°, calm, and cloudy; and the loweſt, before ſunriſe, 72°, wind ſouth, clear weather.

On the 3d of April, when we ſailed down the *Ganges*, the thermometer ſtood, at three o'clock in the afternoon, at 101°. I then cauſed it to be let down into the river, five or ſix feet under the ſurface of the water, and drawing it ſuddenly up again, I found that the mercury had fallen to 86°. Upon hanging it up in its place, it fell, two minutes afterwards, to 83°, but it roſe again, by degrees, in the ſpace of ſeven minutes, to 98°. Some obſervations were communicated to me, which were made in the

month of May, 1769, by which it appears, that the mercury then roſe as high as 110°; and a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was at *Patna*, in that month, informed me, that there it had even riſen to the top of the tube.

The winds generally blow here, throughout the year, either direct north, or direct ſouth; part of the year from the one point, and the remaining part from the oppoſite point. The ſame wind which prevails at land, blows likewiſe at ſea, along the coaſt of *Coromandel*, and the Bay of *Bengal*.

When the monſoons break up, that is, when the wind varies from the north to the ſouth, or from the ſouth to the north, the change is often accompanied by violent ſqualls, and whirlwinds. When one of theſe rages remarkably fierce, it receives the denomination of the *elephant*; and it is ſcarcely poſſible for a ſhip, when overtaken by one of theſe tornadoes, to brave its fury.

In the year 1754, in the month of October, five of our Company's ſhips, which were at anchor in *Fultah* roads, were forced on ſhore, and bulged, by this dreadful hurricane; a ſixth, which was equally driven

on

on ſhore, was got off again with difficulty. The change of the monſoons, however, ſometimes takes place, without any of theſe ſtorms ariſing from it.

Bengal is a low and flat country, and very fertile, in which it excels every other country of Aſia. It provides many of them with rice, and other proviſions *; and furniſhes various important articles of commerce, cottons, ſilk, ſaltpetre, opium, &c. which are exported both to other parts of the eaſt, and to Europe.

Beſides rice, which is the bread of the natives, both here, and throughout the reſt of India, *Bengal* produces alſo very good wheat, which uſed formerly even to be ſent to *Batavia*; but this is now prohibited, in order to favour, as much as poſſible, the corn-trade of the *Cape of Good Hope*.

The ſoil is rich and loamy, and is eaſily cultivated. No manure is ever uſed, although the ground be ſown every year; for

* *Bengal* furniſhes proviſions for moſt of the neighbouring countries; it provides the inhabitants of the mountains of *Caſhmere*, and of the elevated plains of *Thibet*, with both rice and wheat, in return for their ſhawls, gold, and muſk. The emperor AURENGZEBE emphatically ſtyled it, the *Paradiſe of Nations*. *T.*

the heavy rains and inundations fatten the land. Bad harveſts occur very ſeldom. Beſides the extenſive foreſts, and ſmaller groves, which are met with at intervals, the country abounds in ſingle trees, ſcattered over the face of it. None of the ſorts which flouriſh in Holland, are ſeen here.

There is one kind, which deſerves particular notice. It is the ſame, which I have already mentioned, as growing on the iſland *Edam*, before *Batavia* (the banian, or Indian fig-tree), the branches of which tend downwards, and taking root, ſhoot up again into trees. The Bengaleſe are, equally with the Javaneſe, impreſſed with the idea of the ſanctity of theſe trees.

Various kinds of fruit-trees flouriſh here, among which the cocoanut-palm deſerves the firſt place; not ſo much, becauſe it is produced in great abundance, as on account of its univerſal utility; for there is no tree in India, and probably none in the world, that contributes ſo much to ſupply the wants of man, as the cocoanut-tree.

It is propagated from a ripe nut, and in a few years, erects its ſtraight and lofty ſtem, above the other trees of the grove. When

full

full grown, it is generally fourteen or fifteen inches thick, all the way up. It grows to the height of fifty feet, and higher, without ſending forth any branches, than at the top, where it expands into a leafy crown, conſiſting of tender branches, or ſhoots, which have nothing ligneous in them, and to which the thick leaves are attached, in pairs; theſe are about two feet long, and three inches broad, they gradually grow ſmaller towards the extremities of the branches, which end in a pointed leaf.

The nuts are produced upon the tender branches, cloſe to the ſtem, and grow in bunches of five or ſix.

When the fruit is green, it is filled with a pleaſant, ſweetiſh liquor, which is very cool, and refreſhing, and is much drank in the Indies, both by the natives, and by Europeans. When it begins to be riper, the juice thickens, and adheres to the ſhell in a kind of creamy pulp, which is very refreſhing as well as nutritive, and is called *liplap*. When the nut is quite ripe, the inſide becomes a hard and white kernel, and, in this ſtate, it is often brought to Europe.

When this white kernel is boiled and preſſed,

preſſed, it affords an oil, which is uſed inſtead of butter by the Indians, wherever the cocoanut is produced, throughout the eaſt. It has much reſemblance to oil of almonds; but when it has ſtood for a few weeks, it loſes its pleaſantneſs, and becomes rank; it then, however, ſerves for greaſe, or to burn, or for other neceſſary uſes.

The hard ſhell is made into drinking-veſſels, and uſed for a variety of domeſtic purpoſes.

The fibrous integument that ſurrounds the ſhell, is uſed, inſtead of hemp, for the manufacture of cordage, which is called *coir*, and is brought, in conſiderable quantities, from *Ceylon*, and the coaſt of *Malabar*, to *Batavia*. Cables are even made of it, of twenty, and more, inches thick, which are found to be as good, and, in ſome caſes, better, than European ones of hemp. By their lightneſs, they float upon the water, and by their elaſticity, they are capable of great extenſion and contraction *.

The

* Captain Tho. Forrest gives his teſtimony to the excellence of the *coir* for cables; "being elaſtic, it gives ſo "much play to a ſhip that rides hard at anchor, that, with a "cable

The leaves are uſed by the natives for roofing their houſes, or huts, in the room of ſtraw, or tiles. They are likewiſe uſed to write, or rather to engrave, upon, with an iron pin.

The wood of the ſtem, is uſed for fire-wood, and cannot be employed in any other way, on account of its brittleneſs.

The other fruit-trees, are mangos, guavas, mulberry-trees, lime-trees, and a few orange-trees. The *piſang*, or banana, is alſo produced here, but not in large quantities. Likewiſe the *ſuri*-tree, which affords, by inciſion in the ſtem, a clear and ſweet juice, which is collected in pots, and forms an agreeable liquor, of an intoxicating quality; in a few days, however, it ſpoils, and turns ſour; it is then uſed as vinegar.

Many kinds of vegetables, which are natives of other climates, are cultivated in gardens here, peas, beans, ſalad, purſlane,

" cable of one hundred and twenty fathoms, the ſhips retire " or give way, ſometimes half their length, when oppoſed to a " heavy ſea, and inſtantly ſhoot a head again; the coir-cable, " after being finedrawn, recovering its ſize and ſpring. " Hempen cables are ſtrong and ſtubborn, and ſhips often " founder that ride by them, becauſe nothing ſtretches or " gives way; the coir yields and recovers." *T.*

ſpinage,

ſpinage, all ſorts of cabbages, radiſhes, aſparagus, and others; but they are only to be had, during the colder ſeaſon, and require great attention and care in the rearing of them; they muſt be watered twice a day, or they would dry up, and come to nothing. In the warm ſeaſon, nothing of the kind is ſeen, except ſome ſpinage and cucumbers.

Throughout the land, where it is inhabited, numerous reſervoirs, of an oblong ſquare ſhape, but of various ſizes, are dug in the earth; they are frequently more than an acre in extent; they are called *tanks*. They are filled with water in the rainy ſeaſon, and afford the inhabitants, during the following dry months, a proviſion of water, of a better quality and appearance, than that of the *Ganges*, which is always thick and muddy.

There is a ſort of fiſh, which is found in theſe tanks, which, in taſte, has much analogy with our carp.

The river *Ganges* runs through the middle of *Bengal*. It derives its ſource, it is ſaid, from the mountains of *Thibet*; but a French eccleſiaſtic of *Chandernagore*, who had been a miſſionary for ſeveral years in *Thibet*,

Thibet, aſſured me, that the ſources of the *Ganges*, are not to be found in that country, as he had taken the greateſt pains to diſcover them; the inhabitants too, informed him, that they were ſituated much farther to the north*. The river runs in a ſouth-eaſt

* Amongſt other etymologies, the name of the river *Ganges*, has been derived from *Gang*, which in Perſian, as *Wanka* in the Hindoo dialect, ſignifies *winding*, *arched*, *bent*; the remarkable ſinuoſities of the river, give great probability to this derivation. Reſpecting the true ſource of the *Ganges*, much uncertainty ſtill prevails. In vain, one of the moſt powerful ſovereigns of *Indoſtan*, the emperor ACBAR, at the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, ſent a number of men, an army of diſcoverers, provided with every neceſſary, and the moſt potent recommendations, to explore the courſe of the mighty river, which adorned and fertilized the vaſt extent of his dominions; they were not able to penetrate beyond the famous *mouth of the cow*; this is an immenſe aperture, in a ridge of the mountains of *Thibet*, to which the natives of India have given this appellation, from the fancied, or real, reſemblance of the rocks, which form the ſtupendous chaſm, to the mouth of an animal, eſteemed ſacred, throughout *Indoſtan*, from the remoteſt antiquity: from this opening, the *Ganges*, precipitating itſelf into a large and deep baſon, at the foot of the mountains, forms a cataract, which is called *Gangotri*; the impracticability of ſcaling theſe precipitous rocks, and advancing beyond this formidable paſs, has prevented the tracing whence this ruſhing maſs of water takes its primary riſe; *outtaranam*, is the Sanſcreet verb, *to make a leap*, *Gangotri*, therefore, means the *leap*, or *full of the Ganges*; this cataract is

eaſt direction, through the empire of Indoſtan. It ſeparates into two great branches, a few leagues above *Caſſimbazar*; the eaſtern arm, is again divided into ſeveral ſmaller branches, the principal of which runs paſt the city of *Dacca*, and falls into the ſea, at *Chittigong*. The other, or weſtern arm, which is generally called the river of *Hougly*, runs paſt *Bandel*, *Hougly*, *Chinſurah*, *Chandernagore*, *Calcutta*, &c. and falls into the Bay of *Bengal*, at *Ingellee*.

is ſituated in 33° 5′, north lat. and about 75° eaſt long. from *Greenwich*. The *Ganges* has been ſuppoſed to extend much farther north, beyond *Gangotri*; but here, all is uncertainty, and darkneſs. In Major RENNEL's map, followed, for this part of it, from one of *Thibet*, made by the Chineſe *lamas*, ſent by the emperor CANGHI, to diſcover the ſource of the *Ganges*, and corrected and publiſhed by the celebrated DANVILLE, the river is made to take its riſe in the *Cataiſſian* mountains, and paſſing through two lakes, to run in a weſterly direction towards *Gangotri*; but M. ANQUETIL DU PERRON, in his *Recherches Hiſtoriques & Geographiques ſur l'Inde*, undertakes to prove, that the river, here taken to be the *Ganges*, from the reports of the Chineſe *lamas*, is, in reality, the *Gagra*, or *Dewai*, which falls into the *Ganges*, at *Fatepore*; and that the true ſource of the *Ganges*, is ſtill wholly unknown to the Europeans: indeed Major RENNEL acknowledges, that he conſiders this part of the map of the Chineſe *lamas*, as extremely vague, but that he was obliged to make uſe of it, for want of better materials, and that a vaſt field ſtill remains for the perfectioning of Aſiatic geography. *T.*

The

The country is every where interſected, with large and broad channels, which all run into the *Ganges*. All merchandize is conveyed, by means of theſe paſſages, with great facility, from one place to the other, throughout the land, and the chief branches of the river communicate hereby with each other. It is entirely unknown, whether theſe channels have been dug by the hands of men, or made by the operations of nature.

They are agreeably bordered, on either ſide, with many towns and villages, and with pleaſant fields, of arable and paſture-land; which renders the face of the country very beautiful.

Among theſe channels, there are ſome, which are wide and deep enough, to be navigable for large ſhips. The *Haze*, or *Hare* Channel, is one of the moſt conſiderable; it runs ſtraight through the country, into the arm of the river that runs by *Dacca*. It was, as I have already related, examined by the Dutch pilots, in the year 1768. They found ſufficient depth and room along its whole extent, for large ſhips, but for other reaſons, it was not judged adviſable, that ſhips

ſhips ſhould be carried out to ſea through this paſſage*.

There are large and dangerous banks, which lie before the mouth of the river, of which I have made mention, in the journal of my voyage†. The river itſelf is, every where

* See pages 105 and 106, of this volume. *T.*

† Theſe ſands are diſtinguiſhed by the Engliſh, by the appellation of the weſtern and eaſtern Braces, Barabulla-ſand, Long-ſand, and Gaſper-ſand, or the eaſtern ſea-reef. The braces are two hard flats, lying to the ſouthward of the *Beercool* ſhore; they are detached from the land by a tolerable channel, of three fathoms water or more; and they ſeparate *Balaſore* road, from the entrance of *Hougly* river. The weſtern Brace is about five miles broad at the north end; it lies north by eaſt, and ſouth by weſt, being ſeven leagues long; but from the middle to the ſouth end, it is little more than two miles broad; the depth, at low water, upon the Brace, is at the north end, two fathoms; at the croſſing track, which is a ſpace athwart the Braces, about two miles broad, in the direction of eaſt by north, three fathoms; and thence to the ſouthward it gradually increaſes to eight fathoms; after which there is no more hard ground. The eaſtern Brace, is four miles broad, from the north end down to the croſſing track; and thence to the ſouth end, it tapers away to a point, and bends round in a circle to the S.E. The whole length of the Brace is twelve leagues, and the hard ground at its ſouthern extremity is called the weſtern ſea-reef; on the north end of the Brace, there is ſomething leſs than one fathom, at low water; and the depth increaſes gradually to the ſouthward; there being two fathoms on the croſſing tack, and from three,

to

where, filled with ſandbanks, as well in the middle of the channel, as on the ſides,

to three and a half, at its ſouthern point. Barabulla is a ſand, which begins about three leagues ſouth by weſt from the pagoda of *Ingellee*, and extends s.s.w. about ten miles; the north end is called the *head*, and the ſouth end the *tail*, of the Barabulla; the firſt is very ſhoal, having only half a fathom, or ſo, at low water; it is very dangerous, there being five fathoms in the channel cloſe by it; the tail of this ſand has not much leſs water upon it than there is in the channel, only it is broken ground, and overfalls of about half a fathom, every caſt of the lead. Long-ſand begins at *Cajoree* point, and extends to the ſouthward, to latitude 21° 18′ north; it is, in all, thirty-five miles long; its width is various, but generally it is narrow, having many patches, which are dry at low water; the directions in which it lies, are ſouth by weſt, and north by eaſt; the paſſages called Cockerlees, are ſwatches through the Long-ſand; of theſe there are three, one juſt by *Cajoree* point, another between four and five miles more ſoutherly, and the third is directly eaſt from the buoy of *Ingellee*. Gaſper-ſand is the greateſt of all thoſe in the *Hougly* entrance; it begins a little to the ſouthweſtward of Mud-point, in latitude 21° 57′ north, and goes, ſouth by weſt, twenty miles, where it bends round near *Sagor* iſland, ſoutheaſtward, and extends as far as latitude 21°; the north end of this ſand is called the Mizen; it is very broad, and fills up the whole entrance, leaving only a channel on each ſide, of which, one is the road of *Cajoree*; the middle part is called Gaſper, which, to the northward of *Sagor*, is narrow, and to the ſouthward broad; the ſouth end is called the eaſtern ſea-reef; but the whole is one continued ſand, with various depths of water upon it; and many patches, which are dry at low water; it is detached from the eaſtern ſhore and *Sagor* iſland, by a very good channel. *T.*

which renders the navigation very dangerous.

It is at its greateſt elevation, and its ſtrongeſt afflux, in the months of July, Auguſt, and September. It then overflows its banks, and inundates the adjacent country. Both flood and ebb, are then ſo violent, that they threaten to carry every thing before them.

The flood begins, even before the ebb has ſubſided, and this does not take place ſlowly and gradually, but with a great force and noiſe, ſo that its approach may be heard at the diſtance of a league.

The water riſes ſometimes, at once, to the elevation of ſix or eight feet, or higher. Nothing can reſiſt its fury. Ships are torn from their anchors, and carried with impetuoſity along with the current, unleſs they take care to change their poſition betimes, ſo as to be ſheltered from the effects of the *baan* (as it is here called), into places where it does not reach, or where its force is broken. It runs up by *Fultah*, but along the oppoſite ſhore, and not on that ſide where the ſhips, in general, are moored.

Its

Its greateſt ſtrength is between *Serampore* and *Hougly*.

The bed of the river is a ſoft mud; but the ſhoals in it are a hard quickſand.

The river is at the loweſt, in the months of March and April. At *Chinſurah*, where our Company have their factory, there is but a narrow creek left, at that time, at low water, running along the oppoſite ſhore.

The breadth of the river, at the mouth, by *Ingellee*, is about four German leagues. It narrows by degrees, ſo that at and above *Chinſurah* it is not much more than half a league over.

By the violent afflux, the water is always thick and muddy, and is not very fit for drinking until it has ſtood ſtill for ſome time, to ſettle. In order to clarify it with expedition, a ſort of ſmall beans, which grow here, are made uſe of. One of theſe beans, is rubbed to pieces upon a ſtone, with a little water; it is then put into a caſk of the river-water, and, in the ſpace of ſix hours, it makes it perfectly clear, and fit for keeping a long time at ſea.

From *Ingellee* to *Chinſurah*, where the river is navigable for large ſhips, the depth

of water is from three and a half to eleven and twelve fathoms.

The waters of the *Ganges* are eſteemed holy, and the river ſacred, by all the Indians, who inhabit *Bengal*, *Orixa*, *Golconda*, *Coromandel*, and the neighbouring countries. The Gentoos worſhip the *Ganges* as a divinity, and an annual feſtival is held in its honour. They conceive that by waſhing in its holy waters, they are purified from all their ſins; and thoſe who live near the river, perform an ablution in it, at leaſt, once every day. Thoſe who have no opportunity of doing this, and who live too far inland, come, once a year, from all parts of the country, as far as thirty days' journey, and farther, to cleanſe both their bodies and their ſouls in the ſacred wave.

The number of people, whom I ſaw arrive in the latter end of March, at *Hougly* and *Terbonee*, for the above purpoſe, was incredible. The concourſe continued for three days together. All of them, whether men, women, or children, when they had waſhed themſelves, and ſet off on their return home, carried with them ſome of the river-water, in veſſels, which they had brought for that purpoſe,

purpoſe, for the uſe of ſuch of their relatives and friends, as had been left behind, and who, by age or infirmity, were incapacitated for performing the journey *.

* A conſiderable trade is carried on by the pilgrims who return from the *Ganges*, and the price of the holy water bears a proportion to the diſtance from the river of the place where it is ſold. It is chiefly carried in large flaſks or bottles, holding nearly five quarts each, ſuſpended at either end of a bamboo, which reſts upon the ſhoulders. *T.*

CHAPTER II.

Inhabitants of BENGAL.—*Their Appearance.—Temper and Character.—Women.—Proſtitution.—Caſtes.—Artiſans.—Dreſs of the Men.—Of the Women.—Food.—Religion.—Feſtivals.—Feſtival of the* GANGES.—*Ceremonies obſerved at it.—Its Purport.—Feſtival of Hooks, ſo called by Europeans.—Singular Torments they undergo.—Their Superſtition.—Pagodas.—Idols.—Offerings. Brahmins.—Faquirs.—Strange Penances.—Conjurers and Serpent-Charmers.—Curious Feats performed by the latter.—Dancing Girls.—Their Dreſs.—Dances.—Licentiouſneſs.*

BENGAL is peopled by various nations; but the principal are the Moguls, or Moors, as they are improperly called, deſcendants of the Zagathais, who, a little more than two centuries ago, brought this kingdom, together with the whole of the empire of *Indoſtan*, under their ſubjection *.

* It was in the year 1525, that BABER, one of the deſcendants of the renowned TIMURBEG, or TAMERLANE, got poſſeſſion of *Debly*, ſeated himſelf on the throne of Indoſtan, and properly eſtabliſhed the Mogul empire in India. T.

Next

Next follow the Gentoos *, or Bengaleſe; the firſt appellation they have in common with the inhabitants of *Coromandel*, *Golconda*, and the greateſt part of *Indoſtan*; they are a hundred times more numerous than the Moors.

The Bengaleſe do not differ much from the Europeans in ſtature; they are more inclined to ſpareneſs than to corpulency; their colour is dark-brown; their hair is black, and uncurled; they are well made, and I ſaw none that were misſhapen, or lame, except ſome *faquirs*, who had ſuffered their bodies to grow crooked, from religious motives. Individuals are met with, who are of a lighter brown caſt, and whoſe complexion approaches to yellow; but theſe inſtances are not frequent.

They are, in general, lazy, luſtful, and puſillanimous. Their higheſt felicity ſeems to be placed in idleneſs and ſleep; and were they not forced, by the wants of their na-

* *Gentio* is a Portugueſe word, meaning *Gentiles*, in the ſcriptural phraſe; by which general appellation they at firſt called all the natives of India, whether Mahomedans or Hindoos. From them the term *Gentoo* has been adopted, by which, according to the preſent uſage, the Hindoos, or followers of *Brahma*, are diſtinguiſhed from the Mahomedans, or Muſſulmen. *T.*

ture, to apply themſelves to ſome occupation, they would never work; for nothing leſs than hunger or thirſt ſuffices to rouſe them from their beloved ſtate of indolence. They are, nevertheleſs, very intelligent, and are not deficient in underſtanding, eſpecially not in imitative genius. Another trait of their character, is their addiction to ſtealing.

I have been told, that their morals were much better, and their behaviour more manly, before the Moguls overran their country, and introduced the Mahomedan religion, and, together with it, innumerable vices, which were before both unpractiſed and unknown.

Although moſt of them are very poor, yet there are ſome of the banyans, or merchants, who are extremely wealthy, and who yet ſpare no pains whenever they can earn even half a rupee. Theſe men are very ſhrewd in matters of trade, and are able to make very large and intricate calculations, which would take us up much time, in a moment, from their heads. They write from left to right, with a ſplit reed, and have a ſeparate alphabet, compoſed of characters which are diſtinct

diſtinct from thoſe of the Moors and Perſians.

All of them, carry their puſillanimity to a very great exceſs; one European is enough to put fifty of them to flight; the leaſt menace awakens the fearfulneſs of their diſpoſition, and is ſufficient to make them fly with ſpeed from the threatener. This bent, however, muſt be chiefly aſcribed to the influence of their religion, which inſtils into them the greateſt abhorrence of bloodſhed, from their childhood.

The women, although of a brown complexion, have engaging countenances, and are well proportioned. They intrigue with ſpirit, and are uncommonly wanton. They uſe every artifice to entrap the hearts of their male acquaintance, and eſpecially ſtrangers. Proſtitution is not thought a diſgrace: there are every where licenſed places, where a great number of looſe women are kept; it is a livelihood that is allowed by law, upon payment to the *fauſdar*, or ſheriff, of the place, of a certain duty impoſed upon the perſons of the females who adopt this mode of life; they are generally

generally aſſeſſed at half a rupee, or fifteen ſtivers, per month.

The Gentoos are divided into various claſſes, called caſtes, of which, as I have been informed, there are more than ſeventy. Of theſe, the caſte of the *Brahmins* is the firſt and nobleſt, and that of the *Pareas*, who are employed in the removal of ordure and carrion, is the loweſt and moſt deſpiſed.

In order that theſe caſtes, may each remain pure, and unmingled with the others, it is enacted, that no Bengaleſe, ſhall marry a woman, who is of a lower caſte than his own, or if he do ſo, he ſhall then deſcend into the caſte of his wife. The ſame regulation likewiſe takes place, if any one, have eaten a meal with another of an inferior caſte, in which caſe, he is immediately degraded to the rank of the perſon with whom he has been thus familiar. It is not only in theſe caſes, but in many others, that a man loſes the privileges of his caſte; for which reaſon, they are very careful not to do any thing that may give occaſion hereto, and people of the higher orders, will rather ſuffer every kind of want, than ſubmit to any thing derogatory to their dignity.

Every

Every caſte has its peculiar means of livelihood, or manual trade, by which they are maintained, and which is inherited from father to ſon. They have accordingly opportunities of making great progreſs in their reſpective arts, although they can never expect to riſe above the ſtation, in which they are born. The ſon of a *Brahmin*, becomes a prieſt, or a man of letters, juſt as his father. A *Cooley*, or labourer, cultivates the ſoil, as his anceſtors did before him. The ſon of a *Berra*, or palenkeen-bearer, continues to carry palankeens, all the days of his life. Artificers confine themſelves to one ſort of work, ſo that a goldſmith will not work in ſilver, nor a ſilverſmith in gold. In the *gurungs*, or looms, a weaver will only weave one ſingle ſort of ſtuff during his whole life, unleſs he be compelled to take another in hand.

The artificers are very ingenious, and I have ſeen ſeveral examples, eſpecially of gold and ſilverſmiths, which are ſcarcely credible, of the dexterity with which they make every thing that can be formed of thoſe metals; if they have but a proper model, they will imitate it with the greateſt exactneſs and ingenuity. They perform

their

their work with ſo much expedition and neatneſs, and with ſo little apparatus, and ſo few implements, than an European artiſt would be aſtoniſhed at their ſucceſs. They are withal very poor. The workmen in gold or ſilver, are frequently only little boys, who ſit every day on the *bazar*, or market, waiting till they are called to exerciſe their trade; when one of them is called, he comes to the houſe, where he is wanted, with his implements, which he carries in a little baſket, and which only conſiſt of a very ſmall anvil, a hammer, a pair of pincers, a few files, and a pair of bellows. A chaffing-diſh, or pan of embers, is then given to him, with a model of what is to be made; and the gold or ſilver is weighed off to him by rupees; and an agreement is made how many *annas*, or ſixteenth parts of a rupee, according to the work that is to be done, and the trouble required to finiſh it, agreeable to the pattern, ſhall be paid to him; or ſometimes an agreement is made how much he ſhall earn per day, which ſeldom exceeds ſix or ſeven ſtivers (pence). He then ſets about his work in the open air, and performs it with diſpatch and ingenuity. He employs

employs both hands and feet, and is able to hold, and turn things about, between his toes and the ſole of his foot, as faſt as we can with our hands and fingers. When his work is done, and he is rewarded for it, he takes his little baſket up again, and ſeats himſelf anew on the market, waiting patiently for another opportunity of exerciſing his profeſſion.

It is the ſame caſe with other tradeſmen, who are equally ſent for home, when any thing is to be done. If ſhoes are wanted, a ſhoe-maker is called from the *bazar*, who, with the leather, and other requiſites, makes four pair of ſhoes in a day, for the value of half a crown.

A taylor here, makes as good and handſome clothes, in the European faſhion, both for men and women, as any where in Europe. When a piece of the fineſt muſlin is torn, they can mend it again ſo artificially, that no eye can diſcover where the defect was. Muſlins are ſometimes wove ſo fine, that a piece of twenty yards in length, and longer, can be incloſed in a common pocket tobacco-

tobacco-box *. The whole is done with a very trifling apparatus, and Europeans are often ſurpriſed to behold the perfection of manufacture, which is exemplified here in almoſt every handicraft, effected with ſo few, and ſuch imperfect tools.

The common people go almoſt naked. They wear nothing but a piece of linen, wrapped round the waiſt, and paſſed between the legs. Some of them wear a piece of linen, wound about the head; but others go bareheaded. Thoſe of a higher rank, have a dreſs of white cotton, which doubles over before, as high as the ſhoulders, and is faſtened with ſtrings round the middle; theſe may not be tied on the right ſide, to diſtinguiſh them from the Moguls, or Ma-

* A common ſized Dutch tobacco-box, ſuch as they wear in the pocket, is about eight inches long, half as broad, and about an inch deep. It is incredible to what a degree of fineneſs, cotton is ſometimes ſpun by the Indians. "I had an "opportunity," ſays Dr. THUNBERG, "of ſeeing cotton-"ſtuffs ſo exceedingly fine, that half a dozen ſhirts could be "ſqueezed together in one hand. Theſe are, however, not "readily made uſe of, but are kept, as rarities, by people of "diſtinction, to ſhew to what a degree of perfection, the art "of ſpinning can be brought." T.

homedans;

homedans; this dreſs hangs down to their feet; they wear no ſtockings, but have a kind of ſhoes, which are put on ſlipſhod, and are turned up before, juſt like the Turkiſh *babooches*

Moſt of them ſhave their heads, and eradicate the hair from all other parts of the body. Rich people wear turbands, but made in a different manner from thoſe of the Moors. A great many of them wear ſmall earrings.

The dreſs of the women conſiſts in a piece of cotton-cloth, which is thrown over the ſhoulders, and under which they wear a kind of coat and drawers. They ſupport their breaſts, and preſs them upwards by a piece of linen, which paſſes under the arms, and is made faſt on the back. Thoſe that can afford it, adorn their hair with gold bodkins, and their arms, legs, and toes, with gold or ſilver rings and bands, as likewiſe their ears, and the cartilage of the noſe.

The women of the lower claſſes, wear ſimilar ornaments, which are made of a ſort of cowries, brought from the *Maldive* iſlands, and called *chanclos*, which the Bengaleſe have the art of ſawing through, ſo that every cutting

cutting makes a ring. They go bareheaded, and their hair is turned up, and faſtened at the back of the head.

Rice is the chief article of food of the Hindoos, and ſerves them inſtead of bread. Vegetables and milk conſtitute the remainder of their ſcanty bill of fare. They eat no fiſh, fleſh of animals, or any thing that has received life. They frequently let milk ſtand till it is thick and ſour, before they uſe it; it is then called *tayer*. Their beverage is generally pure water; they are enemies of every kind of inebriating liquor, and never indulge in the beaſtly pleaſures of intoxication, as too many other nations do, except ſome of the very loweſt caſtes, who ſometimes exceed the bounds of temperance, in drinking a kind of ſpirits, which they diſtil from ſpoiled rice.

With regard to their religion, I could not obtain much particular knowledge, farther than what relates to outward ceremonies and rites. Several other writers have, however, enlarged on it. I have often converſed on the ſubject, with their *brahmins*, by means of an interpreter, but always found them either very ignorant of, or very obſtinate

ſtinate in not revealing the principles and tenets of their belief. Whatever they ſaid was ſo wildly abſurd, and what they alleged at one time, was ſo inconſiſtent with what they ſaid at another, that I thought very little of it worthy of preſervation. I could collect, that they believed in a Supreme Being, to whom ſeveral other deities were ſubordinate, of which the *Ganges* was one of the principal. This ſupreme God was the author of all good; but there was another ſpirit who violently oppoſed the firſt, and occaſioned all the evils and diſtreſſes which fall upon mankind. They vent the moſt horrid execrations againſt this evil ſpirit, eſpecially when it thunders or lightens, which they believe proceeds from him. They pourtray him in the form of a dragon, or ſerpent, with four claws, trampled under foot by the beneficent deity, who is painted in a variety of ſhapes.

They believe in a future ſtate, in which every one ſhall be rewarded, according to his good or evil deeds in this world; but this is ſo blended and confounded with their belief in the tranſmigration of ſouls, that I

have not been able to form a clear idea of their tenets in this reſpect. They ſay that the world will have an end, and that the good Being, after having deſtroyed every thing but the *Ganges*, will remain, ſitting upon a piſang-leaf, with two betel-plants by him, floating upon the river, and wrapped up in meditation and enjoyment, for everlaſting.

Beſides others, they have three grand feſtivals; namely, the feſtival in honour of the *Ganges*; the feſtival of *books*, as it is called by the Europeans; and that of the *waſhings*, or purifications.

The feſtival of the *Ganges* was held, in the month of October, while I was at *Chinſurah*. The chief purport of it, ſeemed to be the caſting of a certain image into the *Ganges*, with much ceremony.

Wealthy banyans, who can afford the expence of ſuch a feſtival, will certainly not neglect giving one, at leaſt once in their lives, although it may coſt them ten thouſand rupees, or more. Of ſeveral of the feſtivals of this kind, which were given at *Chinſurah*, there was one, which ſurpaſſed all the

the others, and which coſt the banyan who gave it, full eight thouſand rupees, or twelve thouſand gilders. It laſted three ſucceſſive days.

I went to the houſe of the banyan, where the feſtival was held, that I might have a perfect opportunity of obſerving the detail of it.

At the upper end of a large room, there was a kind of ſtage erected, about four feet from the ground. Above it, was a ſuperb canopy, ſupported, on each ſide, by two pillars. The whole was covered with red cotton cloth, which was ſpangled with flowers, made of thin plates of ſilver; and which, by the numerous lamps, with which the chamber was illuminated, had a very brilliant effect.

Upon the ſtage, was a ſquare platform, upon which a ſemicircular niche was placed, containing ſeveral miſshapen images of clay, all richly gilt and painted.

The uppermoſt and largeſt repreſentation, was that of a woman, called *Doulga*, with two larger, and two ſmaller, arms; in one hand ſhe held the head of a man; in another, a goblet; in the third, an oblong piece of wood; and in the fourth, ſome-

thing that reſembled a book. On each ſide of her, were two ſmaller images, which the brahmins told me were the repreſentations of her children. Lower down, was the image of a monſter, having the body of a horſe, and the head of a dragon; and near it was a hideous human figure, which it threatened to devour.

The member which diſtinguiſhed the images of males, was naked; and in ſuch a poſture, and of ſuch a ſize, as to be extremely offenſive to every one, but to theſe blind heathens.

The outer border of the niche, was divided into ſmall ſquare copartments. Different achievements of their gods were delineated in each; but all were painted in a deformed ſtyle. The whole of the niche, and every thing near it, was adorned with gold and ſilver, and its appearance was, in fact, ſplendid and dazzling.

Here and there, were repreſentations of a divinity, to whom they pay adoration, under the appellation of *lingam* *. This is the

* The *lingam* is the image of the male organ of generation, and, in the mythology of the Hindoos, is the univerſal ſymbol of renovative nature. *T.*

moſt

moſt ſcandalous worſhip of all the numerous abominations, which the ſuperſtition of man has multiplied upon the face of the earth. They proſtrated themſelves, from time to time, before this idol, and made offerings to it of flowers, perfume, pieces of gold and ſilver, and even gold and ſilver coin, which was diligently collected, at the termination of the feſtival, by the brahmins, who had the care of this deity.

The roof of the apartment, was hung full of cocoanuts, arecanuts, and other fruits, ſtrung in rows. The concourſe of people was very great, and every part was crowded, except in the middle of the room, where a ſpace was left for the dancing girls, who danced for three nights, from the evening until daybreak, before *Doulga*. While dancing they threw themſelves into the moſt indecent attitudes, and with geſtures the moſt libidinous, they kept their eyes conſtantly fixed on the niche. They danced to the ſound of cymbals, triangles, *tomtoms*, or little drums, and other muſical inſtruments; and amidſt the chanting of hymns, in honour of the gods, whoſe feſtival they celebrated.

The whole gave a confuſed noiſe, but by no means diſagreeable.

In the laſt night, a ſolemn ſacrifice was made of a young buffalo, in the following manner:

A large oblong pit was dug, in the middle of the hall, oppoſite to the ſtage; at the upper end, two low ſtakes were driven into the ground, not far from each other. The buffalo, which was plentifully adorned with flowers, was then put into the pit, and his neck laid between the two ſtakes, his head being ſo placed, that his eyes were turned towards the niche. If he continue to look ſteadfaſtly at the niche, without turning his head or eyes away from it, it is conſidered as a peculiarly favourable omen, and a ſign that the ſacrifice is agreeable to the goddeſs; but if the contrary take place, and he turn his head, to either one ſide or the other, it is conſtrued into an evil preſage. A croſs piece of wood is made faſt, over the neck, to the ſtakes, ſo that the animal cannot lift up its head. Upon this, they pull the buffalo by the tail, as hard as they can, in order to ſtretch the neck, which is cut through,

at

at one ſtroke, by a brahmin. The head is laid before the goddeſs, and the people manifeſt great joy; but if the brahmin be forced to make more ſtrokes than one, it is looked upon as a fatal omen, and occaſions much ſorrow and conſternation.

During the whole of the three nights, the apartment was filled with people; it was open to every one; and the gueſts were plentifully ſprinkled with roſewater, from time to time; thoſe of moſt conſideration were anointed, upon their head and hands, with oil of roſes.

The 10th of October, which was the fifth day after the full moon, and the fourth after the commencement of the feſtival, was the time appointed by the brahmins, to commit the offerings to the *Ganges*; and this ſolemnity was obſerved, not only at *Chinſurah*, but along the whole courſe of the river, at one and the ſame time, with various degrees of pomp and magnificence, according to the wealth and power of the celebrators.

In the afternoon, all the niches were taken out of the houſes, where they had been expoſed to view. At the door, they were placed upon handbarrows, the faces

of the images, being turned backwards, and were carried by four men, upon their ſhoulders. Two men went on each ſide, with fans, made of peacock's feathers, to drive away the flies and other inſects from the images. Two went before, with clarions, and others followed with drums, and cymbals, making a confuſed kind of muſic. The proceſſion was accompanied by a great concourſe of people. When they came to the banks of the *Ganges*, the niches were put on board of veſſels, in which the attendants with fans, and the muſicians likewiſe embarked, continuing their rude harmony; whilſt others again danced before the goddeſs, making geſtures of the moſt unequivocal and ſhameful kind that can be conceived.

In this manner, they ſailed up and down the river, which was covered by an innumerable quantity of veſſels of all ſizes, all gaudily decorated with flags. The people were in high ſpirits, and all emulouſly ſtrove to evince their joy, by their geſtures and expreſſions.

At ſunſet, all the niches were thrown out

of

of the boats into the river, which terminated the ceremonies of the feſtival.

As far as I could collect, from what the banyan ſaid, I underſtood that this feſtival was the repreſentation of a marriage; for the *Ganges* is ſuppoſed annually to eſpouſe the goddeſs *Doulga*, and the children who ſtood on each ſide, are intended to repreſent the progeny of this exalted union. The highly voluptuous attitudes and poſtures which were made before the goddeſs, were intended to excite the deſires of the celeſtial couple, and ſtimulate them to the procreation of more children, in order to conquer the evil ſpirit.

The feſtival of *books* * (which is the name given to it by Europeans) is celebrated in the beginning of April. I was not an eyewitneſs of it, becauſe I had, at that time, left the *Ganges*; but the following account was given to me, by people worthy of credit.

At the top of a high ſtake, erected for this

* Called by the Hindoos, the feſtival of *Oppoſ*. It is ſuppoſed to be kept in commemoration of a martyr, who ſuffered extraordinary tortures for the ſake of his faith. *T.*

purpoſe,

purpoſe, a croſs piece of wood of thirty feet in length, is laid, which turns round upon an iron pin. A Bengaleſe, who is conſecrated to this ſolemnity, by one of the chief brahmins, then has a great iron hook run into his body, under the ribs, over which a piece of cloth, or girdle, is ſtiffly bound, to prevent the tearing through of the fleſh. The hook is faſtened by a ſhort cord, to one end of the croſs beam, and a longer cord is fixed to the other, by which it is turned round with rapidity, ſeveral times, by the people who are preſent, whilſt the man who undergoes the penance, and who hangs by the hook at the other end of the croſs beam, in the air, ſtrews ground-rice, or flowers, upon the people below, which they catch and preſerve, as ſacred relics. After having been whirled round for ſome time, he is taken down, the hook taken out of his body, and the wound is cured as ſoon as poſſible.

Others, out of a ſuperſtitious zeal, run iron pegs through their tongues, ſome that are as thick as a finger, which they keep in that ſituation, and carry about with them wherever they go, as long as the feſtival laſts.

Some

Some make two openings, one in each ſide, through which they paſs ropes, which are ſtretched tight at either end, and along which they run backwards and forwards.

Several ſuffer themſelves to be cruſhed to death, under the broad wheels of a lofty machine, which is made for the purpoſe; and being filled with people, is drawn about by a multitude of others. This, however, is more practiſed among the Gentoos on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, than in *Bengal*.

They inflict a variety of other corporal penances upon themſelves, during this feſtival, but the above are the principal.

The feſtivals are not celebrated every year on the ſame day, for they are ſometimes anticipated, and ſometimes delayed, for ſeveral days, according to the regulations of lucky and unlucky days made by the brahmins. In this reſpect they are exceſſively ſuperſtitious, and they will never undertake any thing upon a day, which they eſteem unlucky.

It is the ſame with regard to numbers. An odd number is reckoned lucky, and an even one, the contrary. Upon receiving or paying ſums of money, they will rather loſe

loſe a rupee, than either take or give an even number.

Their temples, called *pagodas*, are moſtly ſquare; they are ſtone buildings, which are not very lofty, and are crowned with a cupola. Within, they are very dark; for they have no windows, and only receive their light through the entrance. The image of the idol, ſtands in the deepeſt and darkeſt receſs of the temple; it is of a monſtrous ſhape, and of uncouth dimenſions, having many arms and hands, in each of which it holds ſomething. Amongſt many others, I ſaw one, which had an human figure, and was repreſented in a ſitting poſture. The head was very large in proportion to the body, with the tongue hanging out of the mouth, half way down the breaſt; the eyes were ſtretched wide open; it had four arms and hands; one hand was empty, but the palm of it was turned upwards; in another it held a little board; in a third, a naked ſword; and in the fourth it graſped a human head by the hair.

I ſaw ſome idols, which had eight, and others, with ſixteen arms; theſe had an human

man body, but the head of a dog, with drawn bows, and other inſtruments of war, in their hands.

Some of them were black, others of a yellowiſh hue; one was the ſolitary divinity of a temple, and others had images repreſenting their wives near them.

In ſome pagodas, were no images, but only a ſingle black, poliſhed, ſtone, lying upon a round altar, covered with flowers and ſandalwood, which were ſtrewed upon it. They ſhew mo e veneration for theſe ſtones, than for the idols themſelves.

Their worſhip of theſe divinities, conſiſts in throwing themſelves upon the ground, and making their *ſalam*, or ſalutation with their hands, ejaculating their prayers in ſilence, in that poſture.

The offerings which they are accuſtomed to preſent to their gods, conſiſt of flowers, rice, pieces of ſilk and cotton, and ſometimes gold and ſilver. Every thing is laid before the idols, and is taken care of by the brahmins, who profit the moſt by it. They guard the pagodas, both by day, and by night.

The brahmins, or prieſts, called *brahmans*, by

by the Indians, who are the *brachmanni* of antiquity, are of the firſt and nobleſt caſte of the people, as we have before obſerved. They are known by a thin cord, with a bead, which is paſſed round the neck, and hangs down upon the breaſt; they are never without this mark of diſtinction.

They are held in the greateſt reſpect by all the other caſtes; and no one approaches a brahmin, but with marks of the higheſt veneration, to which they make no other return, than ſhewing the open palms of their hands.

There are ſeveral caſtes of brahmins, which differ in rank and reputation; ſome of them are reputed ſo holy, and are held in ſuch high veneration by the people, that the water in which a brahmin, belonging to them, has waſhed his feet, is eſteemed ſacred, and is given to the common Bengaleſe to drink, who think it the greateſt felicity to be allowed a ſhare of ſuch a diſguſting beverage.

The *vedam*, or ſacred book, in which the principles and duties of their religion are inſcribed, is kept, it is ſaid, by the chief brahmins of the firſt order. The copies of

it,

it, are aſſerted to be written in Perſian letters, upon a certain ſort of paper, impervious to the attacks of worms, or other inſects.

The brahmins never neglect waſhing themſelves in the *Ganges*, at ſunriſe. Before they enter the water, they make a few *ſalams*, or ſalutations, to the river; upon this they take ſome water in the hollow of the hand, and offer it to the riſing ſun, bowing their heads many times; they then beſprinkle all the parts of their body with it, one by one, ending by the forehead and breaſt. I ſaw ſeveral, who had a little braſs pot, or ſhell, with which they continually ſcooped up water, out of the river, and let it run out again immediately, muttering prayers all the while; but when they filled it for the laſt time, they went out of the river, and poured the contents upon the bank; after this, they made a mark, with a yellowiſh kind of clay, upon the noſe and eyes, in the form of the letter Y; I ſaw other Bengaleſe likewiſe mark themſelves in this manner, making, however, only a ſingle ſtripe upon the noſe, and upon the forehead. They then go into their pagodas, to pray, decorating their idols with

with flowers, and ſtrewing them with ſandalwood.

I was aſſured, that brahmins are to be met with, in the neighbourhood of *Dacca*, who, far from reſembling ſome of theſe caſtes in ſtupidity and ignorance, on the contrary, entertain pure ideas of the godhead, and penetrating through the veil of theſe external, puerile, and ridiculous ceremonies, to the conception of an almighty Creator, join the practice of the moral virtues, to their belief in his omniſcient providence. But they will ſeldom enter into converſation with ſtrangers on theſe ſubjects.

The land abounds with a ſort of religious beggars, who are called *faquirs*; theſe are, in general, the very refuſe of ſociety, the worſt of whatever deſerves to be called bad.

They do not work, but live by the alms, which are beſtowed upon them, willingly and in plenty, by the ſuperſtition of the people. They go entirely naked, and are wholly devoid of ſhame. On their ſhoulders, they carry a thick club, the end of which is wound round, with rags of cloth, of all colours. It is dangerous to meet them in ſolitary places, or in the woods, for they make

no ſcruple of knocking down, and murdering, whoever happens to have any thing of value about him. They wander about the country, in troops of two or three hundred, and all ſtand under one chief, who conſecrates them to this vocation, which they may not adopt without his conſent.

They ſtrew their hair, which hangs half way down the back, with aſhes, and ſometimes wallow in aſhes, rolling the whole body in them, and making a moſt diſguſting figure of themſelves.

They are not allowed to marry, but they indemnify themſelves for this privation, in other ways, and by the perpetration of the moſt abominable beaſtlineſs.

They generally take up their abode in ſhady places, either in the open air, or in old and ruinous buildings, without uſing any thing to repoſe upon, or to cover themſelves.

Genuine *faquirs* make vows, that they will perform penance, by remaining, during their whole lives, in ſome unnatural or uneaſy poſture, or by torturing their bodies by various methods; but moſt of them are not excited by real penitence or compunction, but are ſpurred on by vainglory, endeavour-

ing to attract the notice and reſpect of the commonality, and thereby to raiſe themſelves to eſteem and honour.

I met with ſeveral of them, at different times. Among others, were ſome, who, by keeping one arm ſtretched out upwards for many years, had loſt the power of lowering it again, and were forced always to remain in that poſition. Others, who had made choice of a bend in their body forwards, and who were, in conſequence, grown ſo crooked, that they formed a right angle. Some, who by continually bending the head backwards, could not bring it back to its natural poſition. There were others again, who dragged heavy iron chains about with them, during their whole lives. Inland, as I have related in my journal, I ſaw one, who had a braſs ring, of the thickneſs of a quill, thruſt through the penis, with three other rings of iron, rivetted to it like links of a chain, without it ſeeming to incommode him at all, in walking.

Conjurers, and ſerpent-charmers, are to be met with, in abundance. The latter, chiefly reſide in the villages, and exerciſe their art for a trifle of money. When a ſnake

ſnake is ſuppoſed to have taken up his abode, in a houſe, or any other place, one of theſe exorciſts is ſent for, who performs his office in the following manner:

He firſt creeps, upon his hands and knees, all over the ground, ſmelling in every hole and corner, and ſoon diſcovers the reptile, if there be one, by the ſcent. Having thus aſcertained whereabouts the animal is, he ſits down, and taking out a little flute, made of bone, plays upon it for ſome time, till the ſnake comes out of his hidingplace, and darts at him, with a violent hiſs; he then drops the flute; catches the creature in both hands, and kills it, at one blow, by ſtriking its head againſt the ground, without being bitten by it.

They know how to deprive ſnakes of their poiſon; uſing for that purpoſe a little ball of *capok*, or cotton, with which they take it from between the teeth, where it lies, incloſed in bladders; and they keep the ſnakes, thus deprived of their venemous quality, in wicker baſkets, carrying them about the country, and making them dance.

When I was at *Fultah*, I ſent for one of them, in order to ſee this curious exhibition.

He brought three baſkets with him, in which there were ſeveral ſnakes. He took out two of them, both *Cobras di Capelli,* which are eſteemed the moſt venemous of all, and threw them upon the ground, in the graſs. They immediately began hiſſing, and erecting half of their bodies upright, darted upon, and twined round each other, as often as he encouraged them. They ſometimes darted at the byſtanders, but then he caught them ſuddenly by the tail, and drew them back. He ſometimes excited them againſt himſelf, and ſuffered them to bite his breaſt, hands, and forehead, till the blood ſtreamed from the wounds. After having made them play their tricks for ſome time, he took out of a baſket, a very large ſnake, which was at leaſt twelve or thirteen feet in length, and beautifully variegated with tints of green and yellow; he made it bite him ſo hard in the breaſt, that it remained hanging by its teeth, without ſeeming to do him any harm; he then took a ſmaller one, put its head into his mouth, and made it ſeize his tongue, to which it likewiſe cleaved by the teeth; and throwing them round his neck and arms, was encircled

in

in their folds, without ſuffering any other inconvenience, than the blood flowing from the wounds, along his face and breaſt.

Although theſe men, do not die by the effects of the venom, becauſe, as aforeſaid, they have the ſecret of depriving the ſnakes of their poiſon every day, yet their ſkin has a leprous and ſcaly appearance, and they are covered with puſtules.

Both Moors and Bengaleſe take great delight in having women dance before them, who are kept for that purpoſe, and are educated, from their infancy, in the exerciſe of this diverſion. Their feaſts and entertainments would be deſtitute of attraction, if a troop of ſix or eight dancing-girls were not preſent at them.

Whenever they are ſent for, they are always accompanied by ſome of their muſicians, who, with their cymbals, *tomtoms*, and an inſtrument which reſembles a violin, and upon which they play with a little ſtick, do not make a diſagreeable concert, at leaſt in the Bengal taſte; and they accompany their performance with their voices, which, however, is not the moſt pleaſant part of the entertainment.

The dancing girls are richly decorated, according to their faſhion, with rings of gold, or of ſilver gilt, upon their arms, legs, fingers, toes, and necks; they have golden circlets, of the ſhape of French horns, paſſed through the left noſtril. Their dreſs conſiſts in wide Mooriſh drawers, which reach to their heels, and are faſtened round the waiſt; over this, they have a *kabay*, which is made with a ſmall body above, and a flowing petticoat below; it is made tight under the boſom, which it ſupports, and preſſes upwards, but which it covers entirely; the ſleeves come down to the hands, and are faſtened with a row of little buttons underneath. Their hair, which is quite black, and ſhines with oil, is ſtroked ſmooth over the head to the back part, where it is tied in a knot. They have a veil of white muſlin, which is thrown over the whole, and with which they conceal their faces from time to time, during the dance.

Their dances conſiſt in continual twinings and bendings of the body and head; and in advancing and receding, as is practiſed in the Spaniſh dances.

If any one be captivated by the charms of their

their perſons, or of their dancing, they make no ſcruple of gratifying him with the enjoyment of thoſe which are leſs public, for a trifling conſideration; and without occaſioning the leaſt ſcandal to the company, or to their companions, who continue dancing, without noticing the retreat of their frail aſſociate.

CHAPTER. III.

Marriages of the Bengaleſe.—Burning alive of Widows.—Ample Account of the Ceremonies obſerved on ſuch an Occaſion.—Another Inſtance.—Burying alive Widows.—Diſeaſes incident to the Natives.—Dyſentery.—Swelled Legs.—The Jounibaad.—Small-pox.—Inoculation.—Practitioners of Phyſic.—Their Remedies.—Mode of Salutation.—Manner of Drinking.—Houſhold Conveniences.—The Moguls.—Their Complexion.—Character.—Religion.—Morals.—Infamous Debauchery.—Dreſs.

THE Bengaleſe marry no more than one wife, except the brahmins, who take as many as they chooſe, or can maintain; yet if the wife of one of another caſte be barren, and he have money enough to ſupport her, he is allowed by the brahmins, upon payment of a certain ſum, and the diſtribution of ſome alms, to take a ſecond wife, in addition to the firſt.

The ceremonies which take place at their marriages are of little importance.

Girls, as in all warm climates, are marriageble

riageable at an early age, and they ceaſe likewiſe to bear children very ſoon.

The women live in the ſtricteſt ſubjection to their huſbands, and in ſome caſtes, the wives are obliged, when their huſbands die, to follow them to the other world, and are either burnt, or buried alive together with the body: if they were to refuſe ſubmitting to this barbarous cuſtom, their characters would be ſtamped with the greateſt infamy, and they would live the ſcorn and deriſion of their companions and relatives.

I was an eyewitneſs of the burning of a Bengaleſe woman, and of the ceremonies which accompanied it; and the following is the account of it, which I drew up at the time:

On the 25th of November, having received intimation that this ſolemnity would take place about noon, I went betimes, with ſome of my friends, to the place which had been pointed out to us; it was a few paces out of *Chinſurah*, upon the banks of the *Ganges*.

We here found the body of the deceaſed, lying upon a *kadel*, or couch, covered with a piece

piece of white cotton, and ſtrewed with *ſiri*, or betel-leaves.

The woman, who was to be the victim, ſat upon the couch, at the foot-end, with her legs croſſed under her, and her face turned towards that of the deceaſed, which was uncovered. The huſband ſeemed to me, to have been a perſon of about fifty years of age, and his widow was full thirty. She had a yellow cotton cloth wrapped around her, and her arms and hands were adorned with rings of *chancos*. Her hair, which hung looſe all round her head, was plentifully ſtrewed with ground ſandalwood. She held a little green branch in her right hand, with which ſhe drove away the flies from the body.

Round her, upon the ground, ſat ten or twelve women, who kept ſupplying her with freſh betel, a portion of which ſhe had continually in her mouth; and when ſhe had half maſticated it, ſhe gave it to one of her female friends, or to others of the byſtanders, who begged it of her, wrapped it up in pieces of cloth, and preſerved it as a relic.

She ſat, for the greateſt part of the time, like one buried in the deepeſt meditation; yet

yet with a countenance that betrayed not the leaſt ſigns of fear. The other women, her relations and friends, ſpoke to her continually of the happineſs which ſhe was about to enjoy, with her huſband, in a future life. One of theſe women, who ſat behind her upon the couch, frequently embraced her, and ſeemed to talk the moſt, and very earneſtly, with her.

Beſides the women, ſeveral men, as well her relations, as brahmins, were preſent, who at intervals, ſtruck their cymbals, and beat their drums, accompanied by the ſongs, or cries of the women, making a moſt deafening noiſe. About half paſt ten o'clock, they began to prepare the funeral pile, at the diſtance of a little more than eight feet from the ſpot, where the unfortunate widow was ſitting, but which ſhe beheld with the moſt ſtoic indifference, as if it in no ways concerned her.

The pile was made, by driving four green bamboo ſtakes into the earth, leaving about five feet above the ground, and being about ſix feet from each other, forming a ſquare, in which was firſt laid a layer of large firewood, which was very dry, and eaſily combuſtible;

buſtible; upon this was put a quantity of dry ſtraw, or reeds, which hung over beyond the wood, and was plentifully beſmeared with *ghee*, which is a ſort of butter, when it becomes old and rank. This was done alternately, till the pile was about five feet in height; and the whole was then ſtrewed with fine powdered roſin. Finally, a white cotton ſheet, which was firſt waſhed in the *Ganges*, was ſpread over the pile, thus completely prepared for conſuming of the devoted victim.

The widow was then admoniſhed by a brahmin, that it was time to begin the rites. She was then taken up by two women, from the couch, carried a little farther, and put down upon the ground, while the others made a circle round her, and continued to offer her freſh betel, accompanied by entreaties, that, as ſhe would, in ſo ſhort a time, appear, with her huſband in the preſence of *Ram*, or their higheſt God, ſhe would ſupplicate for various favours for them; and above all, that ſhe would ſalute their deceaſed friends, whom ſhe might meet in the celeſtial abodes, in their names.

In the mean time, the body was taken

up

up from the couch by four men, and carried to the river, where it was waſhed clean, and rubbed with turmeric, but which was afterwards waſhed off again. Upon this, one of the brahmins took a little clay out of the river, and marked the forehead of the deceaſed with it, wrapping the body up in white linen; which, when this had been done, was carried to the pile, and laid upon it.

The woman, who had beheld all theſe preparations, was then led by two of her female relations to the *Ganges*, in order to waſh in the river. When ſhe came again upon the bank, her clothes were pulled off, and a piece of red ſilk and cotton gingham was wrapped round her body. One of her male relatives, took out her gold noſe-jewel, while ſhe ſat down, and gave it to her, but ſhe returned it to him for a memorial of her. Hereupon ſhe went again to the river, and taking up ſome water in her hands, muttered ſome prayers, and offered it to the ſun. All her ornaments were then taken from her, and her armlets were broken, and chaplets of white flowers were put upon her neck and hands. Her hair was tucked up with

with five combs, and her forehead was marked with clay in the ſame manner as that of her huſband. Her head was covered with a piece of ſilk, and a cloth was tied round her body, in which the brahmins put ſome parched rice.

She then took her laſt farewel of her friends, both men and women, who had aſſiſted her in the preparation, and ſhe was conducted by two of her female relations to the pile. When ſhe came to it, ſhe ſcattered from that ſide, where the head of the deceaſed lay, flowers and parched rice upon the ſpectators. She then took ſome boiled rice, rolled up in a ball, and put it into the mouth of the deceaſed, laying ſeveral other ſimilar balls of rice under the pile. Two brahmins next led her three times round it, while ſhe threw parched rice among the byſtanders, who gathered it up with great eagerneſs. The laſt time that ſhe went round, ſhe ſet a little earthen burning lamp, at each of the four corners. The whole of this was done during an inceſſant noiſe of cymbals and drums, and amidſt the ſhouts of the brahmins, and of her relations. After having thus walked

three

three times round the pile, ſhe mounted courageouſly upon it, laid herſelf down upon the right ſide, next to the body, which ſhe embraced with both her arms; a piece of white cotton was ſpread over them both, they were bound together over the arms, and middle, with two eaſy bandages, and a quantity of firewood, ſtraw, *ghee*, and roſin, was laid upon them. In the laſt place, her neareſt relation, to whom ſhe had given her noſe-jewel, came with a burning torch, and ſet the ſtraw on fire, and in a moment the whole was in a flame. The noiſe of the drums was redoubled, and the ſhouts of the ſpectators were more loud and inceſſant than ever, ſo that the ſhrieks of the unfortunate woman, had ſhe uttered any, could not poſſibly have been heard.

What moſt ſurprized me, at this horrid and barbarous rite, was the tranquillity of the woman, and the joy expreſſed by her relations, and the ſpectators. The wretched victim, who beheld theſe preparations making for her cruel death, ſeemed to be much leſs affected by it, than we Europeans, who were preſent. She underwent every thing with

with the greateſt intrepidity, and her countenance ſeemed, at times, to be animated with pleaſure, even at the moment when ſhe was aſcending the fatal pile.

Her feet appeared from between the firewood, on the ſide where I ſtood; and I had an opportunity of obſerving them, becauſe a little breeze, playing upon that ſide, cleared it of the flame and ſmoke; I paid peculiar attention to her, in order to diſcover whether any convulſive motions agitated her feet, but they remained immovable, in the midſt of the conflagration.

The women who were preſent, and who all, ſooner or later, would have to undergo the ſame fate, if they ſurvived their huſbands, appeared to rejoice at the ſacrifice, and ſhewed every token of exultation.

If an European were to touch ſuch a devoted woman, even accidentally, ſhe would not be allowed to be burnt, and would be thought entirely defiled and profaned. The man who had touched her, would be expoſed to great danger, if he did not purchaſe indemnity, by large ſums of money. This happened to our director SICHTERMAN, who

was

was obliged to pay twenty-five thouſand rupees, for an imprudence of this kind, which he had been guilty of.

If the women were to refuſe accompanying their huſbands, in this manner, to the other world, they would be deſpiſed and abandoned by their friends, as the refuſe of ſociety, the dregs of impurity. In ſuch caſes, they are never allowed to marry again; their hair is ſhaved off, and an eternal diſgrace attaches both to themſelves and to their family. Hence their relations employ all poſſible perſuaſions, and aſſiduouſly encourage theſe wretched creatures to ſubmit to the univerſal cuſtom; yet I was told that this is ſeldom neceſſary, as they poſſeſs ſufficient enthuſiaſm, willingly to devote themſelves, to this horrible death.

A little before I arrived in the *Ganges*, a rich Bengaleſe, who was the broker of our Company, had died, and left a young and handſome widow, under ſeventeen years of age; with whom he had but once cohabited, in the beginning of his marriage, and inſtead of living with her, had kept a concubine, with whom he reſided.

As ſoon as he was dead, her friends came

to her, and, well knowing the infamous life he had led with reſpect to her, endeavoured to perſuade her, in the moſt forcible manner, not to be burnt with her huſband, ſince he had uſed her ſo ill in his lifetime, that ſhe ought not to account herſelf his wife, and that ſhe would therefore not be required to comply with the general uſage.

She, however, anſwered undauntedly, that ſhe was once united to him, and eſteemed herſelf united to him for ever, that ſhe had loved him, and would now accompany him even in death. On the ſame day, ſhe ſuffered herſelf, with a cheerful countenance, after having embraced and kiſſed the dead body, to be burnt with it to aſhes.

They believe, that if they ſacrifice themſelves in this way, they will enjoy with their huſbands, every ſpecies of ſenſual gratification, in another life; and fired by this expectation, they expire with pleaſure, amidſt the torments of flame.

The pile which was erected for the young widow I have juſt mentioned, was made of ſandalwood, and was calculated to be worth ſeven thouſand gilders *.

* About 633*l.* ſterling. T.

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The burying alive is done in the following manner. A pit is dug in the earth, of ſix feet ſquare, in which the body of the deceaſed, after having been waſhed in the *Ganges*, in the ſame manner as when the widow is burnt, is laid upon the back. The woman, after having been alſo waſhed and prepared in the ſame way, as in the former inſtance, jumps into the pit, lays herſelf down next to the body, and takes it in her arms; upon which the hole is inſtantly filled with earth, and trampled hard down, ſo that ſhe is ſmothered in a moment. The whole of this rite, is equally performed, amidſt the ſounding of their muſical inſtruments, and the ſhouts of the aſſiſtants.

The diſeaſe which is the moſt prevalent here, is the dyſentery, which is occaſioned by the flatulency and inſipidneſs of their articles of food.

They are likewiſe much afflicted with ſwelled legs; and I ſaw ſome who had them bloated to the thickneſs of a man's waiſt. A gangrene is the uſual conſequence, and this diſeaſe generally terminates in the death of the patient. They have no ſurgeons who are capable of oppoſing the progreſs of the

evil, or of amputating a limb; and many unhappy wretches die in pain and miſery, for want of ſkilful practitioners.

A ſort of ſickneſs, or fever, likewiſe prevails in *Bengal*, which is called the *jounibaad*, and which generally ſweeps away thoſe who are attacked by it, in the ſpace of three days. Thoſe who recover, often retain a deafneſs, a blindneſs, or a conſumption; and ſometimes a general paralyſis, the dreadful conſequences of this ſcourge.

This diſeaſe is better cured by the native practitioners, than by European phyſicians; for its ſymptoms are not dubious, and it is a diſorder peculiar to the country.

The ſmall-pox is equally a diſtemper that prevails here; it began to rage violently before I left the *Ganges*.

Inoculation is much practiſed by the natives, but they convert the contagious matter into powder, which they give internally, mixed with ſome liquid. A few of them, however, inoculate by inciſion. The firſt mode has generally a very fortunate iſſue; they prepare the body for the infection, by laxatives, and ablutions. A fever is felt the day after inoculation, which is ſoon followed by

by the eruption; and in three weeks the cure is completed.

The practitioners of medicine, among the Bengaleſe, are all of the brahmin caſte. They are held in great eſteem, on account of the art they profeſs; but their knowledge of it, ſeemed to me, to be very imperfect. They inherit from their anceſtors, who have equally been phyſicians, a number of recipes of remedies for all ſorts of diſeaſes, which they have found, by long experience, to be of benefit; and when they hit upon the true nature of the diſorder, they ſeldom fail in the cure. But upon any uncommon appearances, they are confounded, and know not what to do; of which I have known ſeveral inſtances.

They have not the leaſt knowledge of anatomy, becauſe their religion does not permit them to ſhed blood, or to open a body.

When they feel the pulſe, they do it with a kind of drumming motion with the fingers.

They ſay that all diſtempers ariſe from one of theſe three cauſes, namely, heat, cold, or bile.

Their medicines are moſtly ſuch as are produced in the country. Amongſt others, they make uſe of a kind of little artificial ſtone, that is manufactured at *Goa*, and poſſeſſes a ſtrong aromatic ſcent. They give the ſcrapings of this, in a little water, mixed with ſugar, to their patients. They employ ſugar with almoſt all their medicines; inſomuch that when a phyſician is ſent for, he always brings ſugar with him.

The ſalutation of the Bengaleſe, conſiſts in touching the forehead with the right hand, and bending the head forwards. When they want to make a very humble *ſalam*, or obeiſance, they firſt lay the right hand upon the breaſt, then touch the ground with it, and afterwards the forehead.

They are not deficient in expreſſions of humility, when they addreſs any one, from whom they ſtand in need of any favour. The leaſt that they ſay, is, "I am your moſt "devoted ſlave;" but, in the ſame way as takes place in our more civilized Europe, they are mere ſounds, words of courſe, ſignifying nothing.

They will, on no account, drink out of the ſame veſſel with an European, or Mahomedan;

homedan; nay, not with any one of a different caſte. When they drink, they do not ſet the veſſel to the mouth, but hold it at a little diſtance above it, and let the liquor run into the mouth, without cloſing the lips, or drawing breath; and yet without ſpilling a drop.

Their houſhold conveniences are very few; they never make uſe of either chairs, or benches.

The Moors, or Moguls, form the remainder of the inhabitants of *Bengal*. They were originally natives of *Tartary*. They are, in general, browner than the Gentoos, although ſome of them are tolerably fair, or rather yellowiſh; but theſe are born farther to the north. Moſt of thoſe who live about *Agra*, and *Debly*, are, as I was informed by the beforementioned French miſſionary, fair, in compariſon with the inhabitants of the more ſouthern provinces.

They are more courageous than the Bengaleſe. Their *ſipahis* make middling good ſoldiers, when they are trained and commanded by European officers; at leaſt, according to the teſtimony of the Engliſh, who employ them much.

Their religion is that of Mahomet. They, in conſequence, hold in abhorrence the idolatry of the Gentoos. Yet their morals are, on the other hand, much worſe; and indeed infamouſly bad. The ſin of Sodom is not only in univerſal practice among them, but extends to a beſtial communication with brutes, and in particular with ſheep. Women even abandon themſelves to the commiſſion of unnatural crimes. One of my friends, who had reſided for a long time at *Patna*, informed me, that, during his abode at that place, a Mooriſh woman had endeavoured, like another Paſiphaë, to ſatisfy her luſt, in the embraces of a ſtallion; but the dreadful conſequence of her boundleſs lubricity were, that ſhe was ſo ſeverely hurt in her attempts to procure the enjoyment ſhe ſought, that ſhe died in the greateſt agonies, a few hours afterwards. I do not believe that there is any country upon the face of the globe, where laſcivious intemperance, and every kind of unbridled lewdneſs, is ſo much indulged in, as in the lower provinces of the empire of *Indoſtan*. The contamination of vice is not ſolely confined to the two nations, who are natives of the country, but extends likewiſe

to

to the Europeans, who ſettle, or trade here. The climate influences perhaps more upon the conſtitution here, than in other countries.

The dreſs of both rich and poor, among the Moguls, is nearly alike, and differs only in coſtlineſs. It conſiſts of a long coat, which is called *kabay*, as has been before deſcribed. They tie a girdle round the middle, and in it, on the left ſide, they wear a weapon, which they call by a name that may be tranſlated *belly-piercer*; it is about fourteen inches long; broad near the hilt, and tapering away to a ſharp point; it is made of fine ſteel; the handle has, on each ſide of it, a catch, which, when the weapon is griped by the hand, ſhuts round the wriſt, and ſecures it from being dropped. They ſeldom or never go out, without having it in their girdle, in the ſame manner, as the Javaneſe wear their kriſſes.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

Government in BENGAL.—*Coins.—Weights.—Measures.—Divisions of Time.—Chronometers.—Country-boats. — Land-carriage. — Animals. — Elephants. — Tigers.—Wild Buffaloes.—Jackals.—Snakes.—Insects.—Birds of Prey.—Fish. —Crocodiles.—Languages.—Articles of Commerce.—Silk. —Management of the Silkworms.—Cotton Manufactures.—Opium.—Mode of its Cultivation and Collection.—Annual Quantity collected.—Saltpetre. —Gumlack.—Articles of Importation.*

BENGAL is under the adminiſtration of a governor, ſtyled *Nabob*, or properly *Nawab*, who was formerly appointed by the emperor of *Indoſtan*, or the Great Mogul (but now this is done by the Engliſh), as his lieutenant. Theſe viceroys were generally taken, in an hereditary ſucceſſion, or in default of a male heir, from the neareſt relatives; and though they were only the delegates of the emperor, as lord paramount, they ruled, in fact, as ſovereign princes. They were, however, obliged to furniſh men and arms to the emperor, when at war,

and

and to pay a certain proportion of the annual revenues which they drew from this wealthy country, to the Imperial treaſury *, the reſt being left to themſelves. The Engliſh, at preſent, collect the revenues, and make the diſtribution, giving, both to the emperor, and to the nabob, no more than they chooſe to ſpare, and leaving to the latter only the outward ſemblance of authority.

Every diſtrict has its own governor, under the denomination of *fauſdar*, who muſt render account of his adminiſtration to the nabob.

Theſe again appoint in every town or village a *zemindar*, who rules over the place, and part of the circumjacent country, and ſettles all differences which ariſe between the inhabitants.

* We have no particular account of the amounts paid into the Imperial treaſury, from the province of *Bengal*, except one, of the year 1707, when the empire was in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, under the famous AURENGZEBE. The revenue from the ſubâh of *Bengal* was then 524,636,240 dams, making at forty dams, and 2*s.* 6*d* per rupee, 1,639,488*l.* 5*s.* ſterling. The whole of the revenues from all the provinces, then amounted to 12,071,876,840 dams, or 37,724,615*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* ſterling. *T.*

The

The only current coins in *Bengal*, and in the whole extent of *Indoſtan*, are gold and ſilver rupees. All foreign gold and ſilver, whether coined, or in bullion, is carried to the mint, and transformed into rupees, which are ſtamped with Perſian letters inſtead of any portrait, or arms.

They decreaſe every year in value, and at the end of nine years, the *ficca* rupees are taken at the ſame rate as *Arcot* rupees.

When the rupees firſt come from the mint, they are called *ficca* rupees of the firſt year. Thoſe which are coined at *Moorſhedabad* are the current coin in which the trade of the Company is carried on, and by which all the other rupees in circulation here, are reduced. It is divided into ſixteen *annas*; its intrinſic value in Dutch money, is one gilder, four ſtivers and a half, and it is taken in the Company's books at twenty-five ſtivers; but in Indian currency, at thirty-one ſtivers and a half, for which it is current at *Hougly* *. It is the money of account, according

* In Sir Isaac Newton's table of the aſſays, weights, and values of foreign ſilver and gold coins, made at the Mint, by

cording to which the value of the other rupees are calculated, at a diſcount, or agio, which is called *batta*, of from ſix to twelve per cent, which undergoes continual fluctuations, by the management of the money-changers. The *Arcot* rupees, which are coined by the Engliſh at *Arcot*, and by the French at *Pondicherry*, go for thirty ſtivers *, yet the laſt are reckoned from one to three per cent better than the former.

The gold rupee, which is called *mohur*, is worth fifteen ſilver *ficca* rupees.

Halves, fourths, eighths, and ſixteenths of rupees, are likewiſe coined; the laſt, as above ſaid, are called *annas*.

Copper coin is not ſeen in *Bengal*. For change they make uſe of the ſmall ſeaſhells, called cowries, eighty of which make a

by order of the privy-council, before the year 1717, the aſſay of the rupee is ſtated at $16\frac{1}{2}$ *dwts.* better than ſtandard; its weight, at 7 *dwts.* 13. *gr.*; its ſtandard weight, at 8 *dwts.* 2 *gr.* 453 *pts.*; and its intrinſic value at 24 *d.* 07. The Engliſh generally compute it to be currently worth 2*s.* 6*d.* ſterling. *T.*

* According to RICAUD, the *Arcot* are ſix per cent leſs in value than *ficca* rupees. Beſides theſe, the *Bombay* and *Madras* rupees, are current in *Bengal*, and are three per cent below the ſtandard, or *ficca* rupee. *T.*

poni,

poni; and ſixty, or ſixty-five *ponis*, according as there are few or many cowries in the country, make a rupee *. They come from the *Maldive* iſlands. The money-changers ſit upon all the *bazars* with quantities of them, to furniſh the lower orders with change, for the purchaſe of neceſſaries. One hundred thouſand rupees make what is called a *lack*, and one hundred lacks, or ten millions of rupees, a *crore*.

Weights in *Bengal*, are calculated by *maunds*, of which there are three ſorts; all however, divided by forty *ſeer*, or eight *paans ſeer*. At *Hougly*, or *Chinſurah*, the *maund kalſah*, or Company's *maund*, weighs ſixty-eight pounds Amſterdam; the *maund bazar*, ſeventy-ſix; and the *maund pakka*, ſeventy-ſeven.

Two peculiar *maunds* are uſed at *Coſſimbazar*; namely, the *maund ſſitthur*, for the ſilk-trade, which weighs ſeventy-two pounds, and the *muts maund*, which contains the

* There is a great variation in the value of cowries in *Bengal*; RICAUD ſays, 2,560 make a rupee; BOLTS, 4,000 to 4,800; and our author, 4,800, to 5,200. The cheapneſs of proviſions in *Bengal*, makes it convenient to have ſo very low a medium, for dealings among the poor. *T.*

weight

weight of three thouſand two hundred ſicca rupees.

A *ſeer kalſah is* $1\frac{7}{10}$*lb.*; a *ſeer bazar*, $1\frac{9}{10}$; and a *ſeer pakka* $1\frac{17}{20}$.

Weights made of ſtones are uſed for weighing by *ſeers*, which is the general medium of ſale of almoſt every thing, even vegetables and milk not excepted.

The meaſures of length, are *cobidos*, and *geſs*, or *goſs*. At *Chinſurah*, a *cobido* is one foot five inches Rhineland meaſure *. The general length of the *cobido*, is taken to be from the elbow of a full grown man, to the tip of the middle finger, in the ſame manner as the cubit of the ancients. A *geſs*, or *goſs*, is two *cobidos*, being, at *Chinſurah*, two feet and ten inches Rhineland meaſure. The *cobido*, is the univerſal meaſure of length, all over the weſt of India.

Diſtances between places, are meaſured by *coſs*; five *coſs*, are equal to about two Dutch miles †.

* The *cobido* in *Bengal* is, as near as poſſible $\frac{11}{14}$ of an Engliſh yard; the exact proportion is, that 7,278 cobidos make 3,773 yards. *T.*

† The *coſs* in *Bengal* is generally taken, by the Engliſh, to be about two miles; in the upper parts of *Indoſtan* it is only about one and a half. *T.*

The

The day and night, are here divided into four quarters, each of ſix hours, and theſe again into fifteen parts, of twenty-four minutes each. For a chronometer, they uſe a kind of diſh of thin braſs, at the bottom of which there is a little hole: this is put into a veſſel or large pot with water; and it runs full in a certain time. They begin their firſt quarter at ſix o'clock in the morning. They ſtrike the quarters and ſubdiviſions of time, with a wooden hammer, upon a flat piece of iron, or ſteel, of about ten inches in diameter, which is called a *garnial*, and gives a pretty ſmart ſound, which can be heard at ſome diſtance. The quarters are firſt ſtruck, and then as many times as the braſs diſh has run full, in that quarter. None but the chief men of a diſtrict are allowed to have a *garnial*, and ſtill they may not ſtrike the firſt diviſion of the firſt quarter, which is a privilege reſerved to the nabob alone. Thoſe who attend at theſe clocks, muſt be of the brahmin caſte.

The veſſels which are uſed for inland navigation, on the *Ganges*, are very lightly built of thin deals, without either keel or ſide-timbers. The edges of the planks are faſtened

faſtened together with ſtaples, and the ſeams are ſtopped up with moſs, and payed with greaſe. The largeſt width of them is about one-third of their whole length from the ſtern, where they run up with a bend; they are very ſharp forwards, and are not very high above the water. Although they are of different ſizes, they are all of the ſame ſhape and conſtruction; and ſome of them can load fifty thouſand pounds weight of merchandize, and more *.

The boats uſed by the Europeans, as well as by the natives of conſideration, for travelling, are called *budgerows*. On the outſide they have the ſame conſtruction with the former, but within, they are calculated for convenience. The ſpace from the mid-

* Theſe boats are called *burs* in *Bengal*; they are rude barks, and have a ſingle maſt, with a large ſquare ſail; they take in a great quantity of water from the ſides and bottoms, which compels the crew to employ ſome people continually in baling. They are uſed for the carriage of cotton, and other bulky materials, the weights of which cannot bear any proportion to their ſize. In common with all the other boats of the country, their bottoms are nearly flat; indeed it would be impracticable, on the *Ganges*, to employ veſſels calculated to draw any conſiderable quantity of water, as the navigation is rendered extremely dangerous, from the ſands being continually ſhifting. *T.*

dle to the ſtern, is occupied by one or two apartments, having windows on the ſides; theſe rooms are from ſix to ſeven feet in height, and are as commodious as if they were in a houſe. The ſternmoſt of them, is the bedroom. The *budgerows* are of various ſizes, from twenty-five to ſixty feet in length, and longer. They are rowed, as the former are, by from ſix to twenty men. The oars are long poles, to the end of which a little oval board is nailed, in lieu of a leaf; they do not ſtrike the water croſs ways, but obliquely backwards. Somewhat more forwards ſtands a maſt, upon which a ſquare ſail is hoiſted, when they go before the wind; when they have a ſide-wind, they drive down athwart the ſtream, not having a keel, or timber enough under water, being flatbottomed, and drawing ſcarcely a foot, or a foot and a half *.

They

* The *budgerows* are ſteered by a large paddle, or oar, extending ten feet from the ſtern; and beſides the maſt mentioned in the text, they have likewiſe a topmaſt, with a ſquare topſail, for fine weather. The Engliſh gentlemen in *Bengal*, have made great improvements in the *budgerows*, by introducing a broad flat floor, ſquare ſterns, and broad bows. They thereby are rendered much ſafer, ſail near, and keep their

They have another kind of boats, which they call *pulwahs*. Theſe are very long, low, and narrow; they are not calculated for the conveyance of goods: they are ſculled inſtead of being rowed, and they are very expeditious for paſſing from one place to another *.

At

their wind; and there is no danger attending their taking the ground; they are beſides calculated to carry more ſail. *T.*

* A gentleman in his *budgerow*, is uſually attended by a *pulwah*, for the accommodation of the kitchen, and a ſmaller boat, which is called a *paunchway*, and is deſtined to convey him either on ſhore, or on board, as it frequently happens that the *budgerow* cannot come cloſe to the place where he wiſhes to land, or to embark. Theſe boats move more expeditiouſly than the *budgerows*; but the *paunchways* are nearly of the ſame general conſtruction, with this difference, that the greateſt breadth is ſomewhat farther aft, and the ſtern lower. Another boat of this country, which is very curiouſly conſtructed, is called a *moorpunkey*: theſe are very long and narrow, ſometimes extending to upwards of an hundred feet in length, and not more than eight feet in breadth; they are always paddled, ſometimes by forty men, and are ſteered by a large paddle from the ſtern, which riſes either in the ſhape of a peacock, a ſnake, or ſome other animal; the paddlers are directed by a man who ſtands up, and ſometimes makes uſe of a branch of a plant, to regulate their motions, uſing much geſticulation, and telling his ſtory, to excite either laughter, or exertion. In one part of the ſtern is a canopy ſupported by pillars, in which are ſeated the owner and his friends, who partake of the refreſhing breezes of the evening: theſe boats

At land, the general conveyance of paſſengers is by *palankeens*, which are a ſort of litters. For carrying goods, carts of a very ſimple conſtruction are made uſe of; they are drawn by oxen, or buffaloes *. But the tranſporting of goods is moſtly effected by water, through the numerous channels and creeks, with which the country is interſected.

Among the land-animals which are found here, the elephant holds the firſt rank, on account of its ſize. I ſaw four of theſe unwieldly creatures at *Hougly*, who were full twelve feet in height. Each of them had a conductor, who ſat upon the neck, and was able, with a ſhort iron hook which he held in his hand, together with his voice, to govern the huge animal at pleaſure.

Tigers are very numerous in the woods, and they often ſally out into the inhabited places. I ſaw ſome of them, which were kept, in wooden cages, by the Engliſh at

are very expenſive, owing to the beautiful decorations of painted and gilt ornaments, which are highly varniſhed, and exhibit a conſiderable degree of taſte. *T.*

* Theſe carts are called *backeries*; they run upon two wheels, and have a covering. *T.*

Calcutta,

Calcutta, of the ſize of a large calf. The great men of the land take much pleaſure in making them fight with other animals, elephants and buffaloes.

There are likewiſe a vaſt number of wild buffaloes in the woods; they are much larger and fiercer than bulls; they have horns of full five feet in length, and it is very dangerous to meet with them, if not provided with firearms. Even then, if one has the misfortune not to kill them outright, the danger is ſtill greater, unleſs a neighbouring tree, into which the man muſt inſtantly climb, offer its friendly protection. The crew of my ſhip killed ſeveral of them at *Ingellee*; their fleſh is tolerably good eating, and the females, when they are tamed, are milked like cows; yet their milk is not eſteemed wholeſome, being ſuppoſed to be heating and acrimonious.

Jackals are a ſort of wild dogs, ſomewhat larger than a common ſpaniel; they have a thick head, and a ſharp noſe; their fur is brown, and the hair long; they have a thick and rough tail, which hangs down; they do not run faſt, unleſs when hunted. The woods ſwarm with them; they come

down to the ſides of the river, towards the evening, and feed upon the carrion, and the dead bodies which are neither burnt nor buried, and which, if they were to remain there, would fill the air with putrid effluviæ, and be the occaſion of peſtilential diſorders. The Indian name for theſe animals is *chakal*. Their cry is like that of a human being.

Snakes, of all kinds, abound in the fields, and in the old buildings. It is therefore very dangerous, in damp weather, to walk in the graſs, where their inſidious folds lie concealed from the eye of the unwary paſſenger. If they are unfortunately trod upon, they are ſure to bite the offender; but if one of the ſerpent-charmers be immediately at hand, by ſuffering a little pain, a cure is ſoon effected; without their aſſiſtance, death is often the conſequence.

Scorpions, centipedes, and a great many other inſects, are likewiſe pretty abundant. The moſt troubleſome of all, are the flies, gnats, and bugs, which torment the inhabitants, both day and night.

Great numbers of birds of prey are alſo ſeen here. Among them, a kind of eagle

is

is the moſt remarkable for ſize. They feed upon nothing but dead carcaſes. There are likewiſe aſtoniſhing numbers of birds of prey, which are about the ſize of a kite, and ſo bold, that, in flying, they will pounce down, and ſnatch a piece of meat, or bread, out of the hands of a man: I ſaw them frequently do this to the children of the houſe where I lived. As well as the jackals, they are of great benefit in this country, by devouring the carrion.

There are but very few different ſorts of fiſh in the rivers: one called the baldhead is thought to be the beſt taſted.

There are likewiſe crocodiles, or alligators, but which are not, in general, very large.

The Bengaleſe and Moors have each a diſtinct language and writing. That of the lattter has much analogy with the Perſian, and is the language of the court.

The chief articles of commerce which the country yields, are ſilk, muſlins, callicoes, cottons, and other piecegoods; opium, ſaltpetre, and gumlack. Others, ſuch as wheat, rice, butter, &c. can only be reckoned caſual branches of trade.

Silk is chiefly prepared in the neighbourhood of *Coſſimbazar*. The manner of collecting is as follows: at the time of the year when it is thought the fitteſt for the ſilkworm to begin its labours, the eggs which were preſerved from the laſt ſeaſon, upon a piece of white cotton, are expoſed to the rays of the ſun. As ſoon as the worms are hatched, they are put upon another white piece of cotton, with a mat under it, and laid under cover; they are then furniſhed every day with freſh leaves of a ſort of mulberry-tree, called here *toot*, the fruit of which is not fit to be eaten. They do not ſuffer the plants of this tree to ſhoot up more than three or four feet, whereby they prevent the leaves from growing hard, of which the conſequence would be, that the ſilk would be coarſer, and of an inferior quality.

In the mean time, a round mat is prepared, which has a ſlip, or border, of about two inches deep, ſtanding upright upon it, encircling firſt its outer edge, and then running in a ſpiral direction, to the center, leaving an intermediate ſpace of about an inch and a half.

As

As ſoon as they perceive that a worm is about to ſpin, they take it away from the others, and put it upon this mat, between the borders, where it ſpins its ball, or cocoon, which is afterwards reeled off in warm water.

The nymphæ which come from the cocoons that are reeled off, are not thought fit for preſerving the eggs of them; but thoſe which they keep for that purpoſe, are ſuffered, when they become moths, to eat their way through the balls; and of theſe perforated cocoons they make an inferior kind of ſilk, called floret.

The materials from which their piecegoods are wove, is the *capok*, or cotton. It grows upon a ſhrub, or tree, which is cultivated in very great abundance, in this country, though yet not in ſufficient quantities for all the piecegoods which are annually manufactured here; for much of it is brought hither from *Surat*. Some kinds of piecegoods, likewiſe, require two different ſorts of *capok*.

The *capok* is ſtretched with a wire, upon an arched piece of wood, like a bow, cleaned from all its impurities, ſpun by the women

men into yarn, and finally woven into piece-goods of various denominations by the men.

The weaving manufactories are diſperſed throughout the country, and are call *aurungs*. A diſtinct kind is wove in every diſtrict.

Printed cottons, commonly called chintzes, are not manufactured here, but on the coaſt of *Coromandel*; except near *Patna*, in the province of *Bahar*, whence ſome of them come, which are called, from the name of the place, *Patna* chintzes.

The fineſt muſlins and cottons are made about *Dacca*, where likewiſe the fineſt *capok* is produced.

Opium is a very important production, both for the inland trade, and that which is carried on by ſea, to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, and *Batavia*. It is not, in fact, produced in *Bengal*, but in *Bahar*, which borders upon the former; but all that is exported, comes down the *Ganges*, through *Bengal*. More than one hundred thouſand pounds weight of this drug is annually ſhipped by our Company's veſſels, and is conſumed at *Java*, the *Moluccas*, and other places in the eaſtern part of *Aſia*. The natives of all

thoſe

Local note Subject

ſe countries are very fond of it, ſmoking ogether with their tobacco, or chewing it mixed.

The mode in which it is collected is as lows: the ſeed is ſown in the month of ctober, in a ſoil which has been ſpecially epared for the purpoſe, not without much ouble.

Cogswel Europe - South A. Java &c.

A fortnight or three weeks afterwards, ſome of the ſeeds are dug up, in order to ſee whether they have already germinated and ſtruck root; if this be the caſe, they begin to water the fields, which are all cut through with furrows, conveying the moiſture to every part.

When the bulbous root of the plant begins to arrive at maturity, which only happens after the petals of the flowers have fallen, the planter daily examines one of the pooreſt roots, to ſee whether they are ripe enough for collecting the ſap; for this purpoſe he makesuſe of a little ſharp knife, with which, in the morning, he makes an inciſion in the bulb, and if he find, in the evening, that a gummy ſap, the opium, have exſuded from it, it is a ſign that the roots are ſufficiently ripe. Hereupon, men, women, and children,

dren, for an incredible number of people are employed in this work, reſort to the opium-fields, in order to open the bulbs. They take them in the hollow of the hand, holding them faſt by the ſtalk between the fingers, and make the inciſion, yet with great precaution, that the inner membrane be not wounded, for then the root dies inſtantly. After having thus cut open the roots in the evening, they all return, early the next morning, to the field, each with a little pot, and gently ſcrape off, with a little ſhell, the congealed ſap, which has extilled from the bulb, into the pot, giving another cut in the root, the produce of which they again collect in the evening.

If the roots be fine and large, the inciſion can be repeated three or four times.

The ſap, which is collected both morning and evening, is delivered to the proprietor of the field, upon the return of the labourers; and it is then put all together into large tubs, where it purifies itſelf by fermentation.

The collection of the opium takes place in the months of January and February.

A piece

A piece of land of ten rood ſquare *, is generally eſtimated to yield five or ſix pounds weight of opium, and affords a great profit to the planter.

When the ſap has done fermenting, and has attained a proper degree of conſiſtence, it is made into cakes. The leaves of trees, which have fallen, are then collected from the ground, and after being wetted, one by one, are ſtuck together, about the ſize of a common plate: the gummy ſubſtance is next taken up by the hands, laid upon the leaves, three or four inches thick, and covered over with the ſame leaves.

It is then carried to the factory, where it is narrowly examined, aſſorted, and packed in ſquare boxes, which are lined with leather; theſe are then embaled in *goenje* †, weighed, the groſs weight marked upon them, and ſent down from *Patna* to *Hougly*, or *Chinſurah*. They are weighed here again, without unpacking them; and if they are found to weigh two or three

* A rood is the fourth part of an acre. *T.*

† A kind of coarſe and ſtrong cloth, or canvaſs, like carpeting, uſed for embaling of goods. *T.*

pounds

pounds leſs than at *Patna*, they are approved of; for opium always dries up, and becomes lighter; but if they are heavier, it is a ſign that they have received damage from water, during the paſſage down, and they are then unpacked, and aſſorted anew, before they are ſhipped to *Batavia*.

A gentleman who had reſided many years at *Patna*, and from whom I obtained the above particulars, told me, that the quantity of this drug collected annually in *Bahar*, amounted to ſixteen thouſand maunds, which make upwards of one million of pounds; the largeſt part of which is employed in the inland trade, and is conveyed by land-carriage from *Indoſtan*, to almoſt every part of *Aſia*.

Saltpetre is likewiſe a principal article, which is annually exported from *Bengal*, and is equally produced in the province of *Bahar*. It is a natural ſalt, thrown up out of the ground, and, being mixed with earth, it is taken in this ſtate, put into large troughs, water poured upon it, and ſtirred about, till the nitrous particles are diſſolved: the water, thus impregnated, is drawn off,

and

and being boiled in large pans, the moiſture evaporates, and leaves the ſaltpetre behind; which is then, without farther preparation, put into bags to be ſhipped off.

In the year 1770, full two millions and a half pounds weight, of this article, was exported by the ſix ſhips of our Company, which ſailed from *Bengal*, in that year, three bound to *Batavia*, and three to *Holland*.

Gumlack is produced from a ſort of ſmall inſects, which are not unlike flying ants. Much of it is collected in the moſt eaſtern parts of *Bengal*, and in the kingdom of *Pegu*. The inhabitants ſtick little twigs in the earth, upon which theſe inſects alight in large quantities, and leave a viſcid juice behind them, with which the whole twig is covered. When this is hardened by the ſun, it becomes a reſinous gum, and when diſſolved in water, affords a fine, bright, red colour; it is uſed for dying of cottons, eſpecially on the coaſt of *Coromandel*. When it is melted over the fire, and ſeparated from the remains of the twigs, ſhellack is made of it, in flat thin pieces, which are eſteemed

eſteemed good, when they run down by drops, if ſet on fire.

The articles which are diſpoſed of to advantage in *Bengal*, are all kinds of ſpices, pepper, japan copper, ſandalwood, and ſapanwood; likewiſe tin, lead, pewter, and other European commodities.

CHAP-

CHAPTER V.

European Nations in BENGAL.—*The Engliſh.—Events which gave Riſe to their Power here.—Battle of Plaſſey.—Anecdote of Lord* CLIVE.—*Their Revenues.—Government.—Fortunes made by Individuals.—Oppreſſion of the Natives.—Deſcription of* CALCUTTA.—*Fort* WILLIAM.—*Their other Fortifications and great Strength.—Miſunderſtanding between the Engliſh and Dutch.—Miſconduct of a Dutch Director.—The Dutch Factory.—Their Government.—Director.—Chief of* COSSIMBAZAR.—*Head-Adminiſtrator.—Superintendent in the Cloth-room.—Chief of the Military.—Firſt Warehouſekeeper.—Fiſcal, or Sheriff.—Comptroller of Equipment.—Diſpenſier, or Purveyor.—Secretary.—Council of Juſtice.*

FOUR European nations have eſtabliſhed themſelves here, for the purpoſes of commerce; namely, the Engliſh, the Dutch, the French, and the Danes. The Eaſt-India Company of *Oſtend*, had formerly a factory here, about two Dutch miles below our's, on the eaſtern bank of the *Ganges*, at a place called *Bankibazar*, but which,

after a long ſiege, having been taken by the Moors, in 1738, or 1739*, the Oſtend Company were obliged to abandon the trade of *Bengal*.

Of the four abovementioned European nations, the Engliſh are, at preſent, the principal; being, ſince their victories over the armies of the nabob, and the great Mogul, in a great meaſure, territorial ſovereigns of the country: and they make uſe of their power, in this reſpect, to circumſcribe, at pleaſure, the trade of other nations.

Although they eſtabliſhed a commercial intercourſe with this country, at an early period, they made but an inſignificant figure, in compariſon with us, before the years 1755 and 1756, when their trade, after having been brought to the brink of deſtruction, roſe, like a phœnix, out of its aſhes; and their Company have ſince arrived at a pitch of power and proſperity in the weſtern parts of India, equal to that of our's in the eaſtern. This great change proceeded from a very trifling circumſtance, and one that ſeemed, on the contrary, to threaten their entire ruin.

* This happened in the year 1748. T.

In

In the year 1756, the nabob of *Coſſimbazar*, or viceroy of *Bengal*, deſiring to have ſome European goods, ſent one of his officers, for that purpoſe, to the chief ſettlement of the Engliſh at *Calcutta*. The governor at that time, who was a man of a brutal and inſolent diſpoſition, inſtead of complying with the deſire of the nabob, having ſome real, or imaginary, motives for diſſatisfaction, had the envoy ſeized, tied to a ſtake, and flogged, ſending him back to his maſter, without the things he came for *.

This,

* The tranſaction upon which this miſrepreſentation is founded, happened in the following manner: — SURAJAH DOWLAH, the new nabob of *Bengal*, one or two days after his acceſſion, in the beginning of April, 1756, wrote a letter to the preſident of *Calcutta*, ordering him to deliver up a man who had taken refuge with the Engliſh from the known tyrannical diſpoſition of the nabob, with his treaſures. The bearer of this letter, came in a ſmall boat, and landed in the diſguiſe of a common pedlar. He immediately proceeded to the houſe of OMICHUND, a native merchant, who was ſtrongly ſuſpected of intriguing with the nabob, againſt the Engliſh. OMICHUND, as the governor, Mr. DRAKE, was abſent, introduced him to Mr. HOLWELL, a member of the council, who ſuperintended the police of the town. The governor returning the next day, ſummoned a council, of which the majority being prepoſſeſſed againſt OMICHUND, concluded

 that

This, as may eaſily be conceived, ſo much incenſed the nabob, that he immediately

that the meſſenger was an engine prepared by himſelf to alarm them, and reſtore his own importance; the council reſolved that both the meſſenger and his letter were too ſuſpicious to be received; and the ſervants who were ordered to bid him depart, turned him out of the factory, and off the ſhore, with inſolence and deriſion. It was not this circumſtance alone that induced SURAJAH DOWLAH to attack *Calcutta*, but other cauſes of more importance; the determined diſpoſition of the tyrant from the beginning to moleſt the Engliſh; the machinations of the French at his court; and oſtenſibly, a letter written by Mr. DRAKE, in anſwer to one from the nabob, ſignifying that he had been informed the Engliſh were building a wall, and digging a large ditch round *Calcutta*, and ordering him immediately to deſiſt, and to deſtroy all the works which might have been added to the fortifications; in his reply, the governor, perhaps imprudently, wrote, "that "the nabob had been miſinformed by thoſe who had repre- "ſented to him that the Engliſh were building a wall, and "digging a ditch round the town; that in the late war between "England and France, the French had attacked and taken "the town of *Madras*, contrary to the neutrality which it "was expected would have been preſerved in the Mogul's "dominions; and that there being at preſent great appearance "of another war between the two nations, the Engliſh appre- "hended that the French would act in the ſame manner in "*Bengal*: to prevent which, they were repairing their line of "guns on the bank of the river." It was upon receipt of this letter, on the 17th of May, at *Rajamahel* that the nabob inſtantly ordered his army to march back to *Coſſimbazar*, where the Engliſh factory ſurrendered to him on the 4th of June; and on the 20th following, *Calcutta* was taken. *T.*

marched

marched with a body of troops, againſt *Calcutta*, took and plundered the place, and put to death ſeveral of the Engliſh, who had not been able to eſcape to their ſhips. From this beginning, proceeded the war, which the Engliſh afterwards waged with ſo much ſucceſs, that they penetrated even as far as *Dehly*, the capital city of the great Mogul, made themſelves maſters of his perſon, and rendered a great part of this powerful empire, tributary to them; more eſpecially the kingdoms of *Bengal* and *Babar*, where they are now abſolute ſovereigns *.

The moſt important victory which they obtained, was that of *Plaſſey*, which decided the fate of theſe regions, and in which battle they were forced to combat an army of fifty thouſand men, commanded by the vizier of the Mogul empire, SURAJAH DOWLAH, with ſcarcely five hundred Europeans, and a ſmall number of *ſipahis*. As there remained no alternative for this little body of men,

* Perhaps the only apology to be offered for the conqueſts of the Engliſh in *Bengal*, is that of MARMONTEL for the Spaniards in *Peru*; *pour renoncer à la conquête il eût fallu une ſageſſe que les peuples n'ont jamais eues, & que les rois ont rarement.* T.

than to conquer or die, they fought with the intrepidity of deſpair, and obtained a complete victory *.

General CLIVE, who ſhould have been the leader of the Engliſh troops in this battle, left the command to Colonel COOTE, and remained hid in his palankeen, during the combat, out of the reach of the ſhot, and did not make his appearance before the enemy were put to flight. Several Engliſh officers, who were preſent at the battle, related this anecdote to me †.

Of

* The battle of *Plaſſey* was fought on the 24th of June, 1757; the army of the nabob conſiſted of about 50,000 foot, 18,000 horſe, and 53 pieces of cannon. The numbers of the little body oppoſed to this multitude, were 900 Europeans, of whom 100 were artillery-men, and 50 ſailors, and 2100 ſepoys, with eight fieldpieces, and two howitzers. *T.*

† This improbable tale, which has been told in various ways, owes its origin to the following circumſtance, which occurred during the cannonade preceding the rout, and is related by Mr. ORM, in giving a circumſtantial account of this battle, in his *Hiſtory of Military Tranſactions in Indoſtan*, vol. ii. page 175, in theſe words:—"About two o'clock, the enemy ceaſed "the cannonade, and were perceived yoking the trains of "oxen to their artillery, and as ſoon as theſe were in motion, "their whole army turned, and proceeded towards their camp. "But Sinfray" (the commander of about 40 Frenchmen), "with his party and fieldpieces, ſtill maintained his poſt at the

"bank;

Of the immenſe annual revenue, which they draw from theſe wealthy provinces, they pay twenty-five lacks of rupees to the Mogul and nabob, and retain the remainder, which amounts to more than as much again, for themſelves *. A great part hereof, however,

" tank; this was a good ſtation to cannonade the enemy " from, during their retreat; and Major Kilpatrick advanced " with two companies of the battallion, and two fieldpieces, " towards the tank, and ſent information of his intention, and " the reaſon of it, to his commander, who chanced at this " time to be lying down in the hunting-houſe" (a ſeat of the nabob, cloſe to the field of battle). " Some ſay he was " aſleep; which is not improbable, conſidering his exertions " during the preceding day and night; but this is no imputa- " tion either againſt his courage or conduct. Starting up, he " ran immediately to the detachment, reprimanded Kilpatrick " ſharply for acting without his orders; and then proceeded " himſelf with the detachment to the tank, which Sinfray " abandoned, and retreated to the redoubts of the intrench- " ment." This was followed by the moſt intrepid and active exertions of Colonel CLIVE, and a moſt deciſive and important victory, by which the whole of the enemy's camp, their artillery, elephants, &c. fell into the hands of the Engliſh, who loſt no more than about 20 Europeans, and 52 ſepoys, killed and wounded. T.

* The revenues of *Bengal*, and the advantages reſulting to the Company and the country from our acquiſitions there, are topics, on which much has been written, more has been ſaid, and but very little underſtood. From one and a half to two millions pounds ſterling, is probably the neareſt calcu-

ever, if not the whole, is abſorbed by the expences of their military eſtabliſhment, which is a very ſtrong one. In the year 1770, they had about four thouſand European ſoldiers, and thirty-five, or forty thouſand, *ſipahis*, in pay.

Although they are, in fact, ſovereigns of the country, and receive the revenues ariſing from it, they are, however, wiſe enough not to ſhew this openly. The Mogul retains a ſhadow of authority, and the land is governed, as before, in his name, by a nabob, who is, however, appointed by the Engliſh, and dares not undertake any thing without their knowledge. For the purpoſe of keeping him under their controul, one of the members of their government, the ſecond in the council of *Calcutta*, is always near his perſon, and preſides in his council. By this means, no meaſures are adopted by the nabob, but ſuch as are conſonant with the views of the council of *Calcutta*. The gentleman who fills this important office, is called the reſident at the *Durbar*, by which is underſtood the

lation of the nett receipts of the Company, which are employed in the China-trade, and in inveſtments in piecegoods to this country. *T.*

Mooriſh

Mooriſh council, and his influence and authority are ſo great, that the title of nabob, or viceroy, ought rather to be given to him, than to the nominal nabob; for the latter is obliged to wait upon the reſident every morning, to inform him of the occurrences of the preceding day. He is received without ceremony, and if the reſident be occupied, muſt wait till he have leiſure to afford an audience.

It may eaſily be conceived, how ill this agrees with the pride of the orientals, who would not before permit the approach of any European, but in the moſt humble and reſpectful manner.

The office of reſident at the *Durbar*, is not only very honourable, but it is likewiſe one of the moſt lucrative. Three or four years' enjoyment of it, is ſufficient for the accumulation of a princely fortune.

In the year 1767, one of theſe reſidents returned to Europe with a fortune of nine millions of gilders; which he had obtained by his dexterous management of affairs, during the three years which he had filled this office.

When Lord CLIVE returned to England for

for the laſt time, he carried away, as it is ſaid, a crore of rupees, which is fifteen millions of gilders.

The yoke of ſervitude, which the Engliſh have thus impoſed upon the Moors, is not borne very patiently by them. On the contrary, they would do every thing in their power, to deliver themſelves from their tyrants, if theſe were not ſo firmly eſtabliſhed here. The only hope which remains for them, is, that if the land be wholly exhauſted, the Engliſh will no more hold the means of maintaining themſelves in their poſſeſſions. The unfortunate Bengaleſe are ſtill worſe off; they are firſt oppreſſed by the Moors, and afterwards by the Engliſh; and yet it is their manual labour that has purchaſed all the immenſe riches, which have been drawn, from time immemorial, both by their neighbours in Aſia, and their viſitors from Europe, and have ſucceſſively ſwelled the treaſures of the Great Mogul, of their nabobs, and of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company. They work for a mere trifle, and live frugally upon a little rice, and ſome vegetables. Nothing, or very little of the ſpecie that is imported, goes out of the country

try again, as the materials for their manufactures are produced in the land, except ſome *cæpok*, which is brought from *Surat*. Theſe poor people, who contribute ſo much to the proſperity of the country, inſtead of being favoured and encouraged by the Engliſh, are, on the contrary, continually expoſed to the rapacious extortions of their taſkmaſters, and are oppreſſed in every way, partly by open violence, and partly by monopolies, which the Engliſh have made of all articles neceſſary to life; the dried cowdung even not excepted, which theſe poor people uſe for fuel. But this is not ſo much to be aſcribed to the Engliſh Company, as to their ſervants, who leave no means untried, to accumulate wealth. They do not trouble themſelves about the manner of obtaining it, ſo they do but ſpeedily amaſs the riches they are in ſearch of. Inſtead of preventing theſe monopolies, which were, in a great meaſure, the cauſe of the ſcarcity of proviſions which was felt in the ſpring of 1770, the Engliſh government at *Calcutta*, ſuffer them to exiſt unnoticed and unremedied; and it has, in conſequence, not been im-

probably

probably ſuſpected, that they are themſelves concerned in theſe iniquitous tranſactions.

The government of this preſidency, conſiſts of, a governor, who is entirely independent of thoſe at *Madras* and *Bombay*, and ten members of the council, the ſecond of whom, who is the reſident at the *Durbar*, ſeldom aſſiſts at their deliberations. The general, or chief, of the military, is the third in rank; he is independent of the governor, and is only amenable to the council. The fourth member, is the ſecond in the ſuperintendence of the police at *Calcutta*; and others have each equally a particular ſeparate office.

The governor does not poſſeſs near ſo much authority and power, as the Dutch governors, or directors, exerciſe in their governments. Nor is the ſubordination half ſo ſtrict in the Engliſh ſettlements, as in our's. The ſervants of the Engliſh Company have likewiſe the advantage, that they are ſure, in caſes of vacancy, to be promoted in rank, according to the number of years they have been in the ſervice. Promotions do not depend, as is the caſe with our Company, upon the favour of the chiefs, where-

by,

by, with us, it frequently happens, that deſerving men, who have ſerved the Company for many years, with diligence and honour, are paſſed over without notice, for want of influence, and of friends.

Calcutta, or *Coulicatta*, as it is called by the Moors, is the capital of the Engliſh in *Bengal*; although unwalled, it may juſtly deſerve the name of a city, from its extent and numerous buildings *.

It lies on the eaſtern bank of the *Ganges*, about thirteen Dutch miles below *Chinſurah*, and nearly thirty from the mouth of the river at *Ingellee*.

The *Ganges* is here full as broad as before our factory, but it is much deeper, and navigable at all times for large ſea-ſhips. All their ſhips lie before the town, anchored cloſe to the ſhore, which is very ſteep, owing to the rapid currents running in the middle of the river; and the number of veſſels ſeen here continually paſſing and repaſſing from all parts of India, give *Calcutta* the appear-

* In Holland, every place that is not fortified, or walled round, is called a village; hence the ridiculous aſſertion ſo frequently to be met with, that the *Hague* is the largeſt village in Europe; it is, in fact, a large and flouriſhing town; *London* might, in the ſame manner, be called a village. *T.*

ance

ance of what it really is, a place of great wealth and commerce.

The buildings of the place extend full three miles along the river, and about half as much in breadth from it. There are many large and handſome edifices among them, which do not add a little to the beauty of the town. They would have a better effect, if they were built as regularly as at *Batavia*; but little ſymmetry or order has been obſerved in laying out the ſtreets.

In the middle of the city, a large open place has been left, in which there is a great tank or reſervoir, covering upwards of twenty-five acres of ground. It was dug by order of the government, to provide the inhabitants of *Calcutta* with water, as in the dry ſeaſon the water of the *Ganges* becomes brackiſh by the influx of the tide, while that in the tank is, on the contrary, very ſweet and pleaſant. The number of ſprings which it contains, make the water in it always nearly at the ſame level. It is railed round, no one may waſh in it, but all are at liberty to take as much water from it as they like.

Near this tank, is a ſtone monument, erected

erected in memory of thirty Engliſh priſoners, both men and women, who, when *Calcutta* was taken by the nabob SURAJAH DOWLAH, were ſhut up in a narrow priſon, without any refreſhment, and ſuffocated for want of freſh air *.

A little farther is the courthouſe, over which are two handſome aſſembly-rooms. In one of theſe are hung up the portraits of the king of France, and of the late queen, as large as life, which were brought by the Engliſh from *Chandernagore*, when they took that place, in the laſt war.

* The reader need ſcarcely be informed, that this mutilated account relates to the well-known tragic event, at the reduction of *Calcutta*, of the ſuffocation of 123, out of 146 Engliſh priſoners, in the *black hole priſon*. The ſcene of this horrid tranſaction has become proverbial among Engliſhmen for a place of inſufferable torment, and together with the inhuman tyrant, SURAJAH DOWLAH, by whoſe order our countrymen were devoted to this cruel death, both

——— damned to everlaſting fame,

cannot be mentioned but with execration and horror. The monument, which was erected by Mr. HOLWELL, one of the few ſurvivors, and whoſe narrative of his ſufferings is in every body's hands, is a handſome obeliſk, about fifty feet high, inſcribed with the names of the perſons who died in the black-hole, and whoſe bodies were promiſcuouſly thrown, the next morning, into the ditch of the fort. T.

Cloſe

Cloſe to the courthouſe, ſtands a theatre, where plays are ſometimes performed by amateurs.

Higher up, is an Armenian church, which is a large and noble building, provided with a handſome ſteeple.

There was not, when I was there, any Engliſh church; but preparations were making for building one, and the neceſſary materials had been collected.

On the ſide of the open place, before mentioned, between it and the river, is the old fort, of which nothing remains at preſent but the walls.

The new fort, which is called Fort *William*, and whence all the letters and reſolutions of the preſidency are dated, is ſituated about a quarter of an hour's walk from the city, by the ſide of the *Ganges*, in an extenſive plain. It was begun to be built in the year 1757, when the Engliſh had regained poſſeſſion of *Calcutta*. It is a regular pentagon, with ſeveral outworks. The ramparts are built of brick, half way up, finiſhed with clay, and faced with gazons. Both the body of the fortreſs and the outworks, are ſurrounded by a wet-ditch, which has

has a ſmall cunette, of ſix or ſeven feet deep, in the middle. The water from the *Ganges*, can be let into the moat, to the height of eight feet, by means of floodgates, of which there are two to each outwork, conſtructed in ſuch a manner, that if an enemy be maſters of one, they cannot prevent, both the main ditch, and thoſe of the other outworks, from retaining their water.

If all the works were mounted with cannon, there would be room for ſix hundred pieces of artillery.

There are bombproof barracks built within the fort, for ten thouſand men. Permiſſion has likewiſe been given to every inhabitant of *Calcutta*, to build, if he chooſe it, a houſe in the fort, provided it be equally bombproof; but in the year 1770, no one had yet felt any inclination to avail of this privilege.

All the works are guarded by mines and countermines. No ſhip can paſs up or down the *Ganges* without being expoſed to the fire of this fort. No enemy can approach by land, without being diſcerned at three or four leagues' diſtance.

The plan of this fortification was made by

an engineer, of the name of BOYER, who, for ſome reaſon of diſcontent, left the Engliſh ſervice, and entered into that of our Company. Another engineer was afterwards ſent out from England, to finiſh it.

Cloſe to the fort, the Engliſh were about digging a dry dock, which will be the only one which the Europeans have in India.

They were likewiſe buſy in conſtructing two batteries of heavy cannon, on the banks of the river, about two leagues below *Calcutta*, one on each ſide. I was alſo told, that they intended to erect one, at the confluence of the *Old Ganges* with *Hougly* river, in order to be wholly maſters of the navigation of the *Ganges*.

This nation have thus ſo firmly rooted themſelves in *Bengal*, that, treachery excepted, they have little to fear from an European enemy, eſpecially as they can entirely command the paſſage up and down the river.

If they ever loſe their power here, their fall will, in all probability, proceed from the heavy expences, which they ſuſtain, in keeping up ſo important a military eſtabliſhment, and which they cannot do without, in order

to

to keep the natives in ſubjection, and prevent inſurrections. By this means, however, they will, in time, exhauſt the reſources of the country, which appears the more likely, if we further take into conſideration the extortions of their ſervants.

Since the unfortunate iſſue of our expedition to *Bengal*, in 1759, the reputation of our countrymen has been on the decline; and we are obliged to be not a little dependent upon the Engliſh, with reſpect to the piece-goods wanted for our cargoes, both for *Batavia*, and for *Holland*. In the beginning of the government of the director V—, in the year 1765, or 1766, when Lord CLIVE was ſtill in *Bengal*, every thing ſeemed to take a friendly aſpect, and arrangements reſpecting trade were about to be made, to mutual ſatisfaction and advantage. Both theſe gentlemen came to an agreement, that all the *aurungs*, or weaving manufactories, in *Bengal*, ſhould be numbered, in order that a repartition might afterwards be made of ſo many *aurungs* to each nation, for the purpoſe of weaving the goods they wanted; and two commiſſaries were appointed, to this end, reſpectively, by the Engliſh, the Dutch, and the French, to go

through the whole country, and aſcertain the number of manufactories. From our ſettlement, the firſt warehouſekeeper, Ross, and a bookkeeper, were deputed for this purpoſe.

But theſe excellent arrangements were all broken, by the departure of Lord CLIVE from *Bengal*; his lordſhip was ſucceeded by Mr. VERELST, with whom the director V—— ſhortly afterwards fell out, and their diſagreement was carried to that point, that upon paying the cuſtomary annual national viſit to *Calcutta*, Mr. V—— was treated in a moſt improper and humiliating manner; whence, in the end, ſo great a breach aroſe between theſe two chiefs, that the above arrangements were, much to our prejudice, entirely ſet aſide.

The Engliſh had equally, on their ſides, much reaſon to be diſcontented with Mr. V——, as he had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to favour the French in all things, notwithſtanding they had no power to render our Company any ſervice, or even to help themſelves; and the Engliſh were much hurt at this conduct, eſpecially at Mr. V——'s ſelling all the japan copper, which the Dutch ſhips brought to *Bengal*,

to

to the French, without allowing them the opportunity of purchaſing a ſingle pound, for a conſiderable time, although they offered a higher price than was obtained from the French.

This was evidently, not only unfriendly, but wholly incompatible with the intereſts of the Company; which appears the more ſtrongly, if we conſider that, upon the leaſt difference with the Moors, the council at *Hougly* were obliged to have recourſe to the mediation and protection of the government at *Calcutta*, as was the caſe, two or three times, while I was in *Bengal*.

The Dutch began to trade in *Bengal*, as early as the commencement of the laſt century; they were always the firſt in opulence and importance, till the Engliſh became the rulers of the country, in the laſt revolution; and perhaps they would ſtill have been ſo, had the well planned, but badly executed attempt, made, as beforementioned, during the adminiſtration of the governor general MOSSEL, in 1759, ſucceeded to our wiſhes *.

Our

* The expedition alluded to, though formally diſavowed by the Dutch government, upon its not ſucceeding, is here

Our factory here, is ſubordinate to the government at *Batavia*, and receives orders from that place reſpecting the management of the trade. It is from *Batavia*, likewiſe, that all vacancies are filled up; the council of *Hougly* can only appoint *ad interim*; but the confirmation muſt come from the metropolis of India.

Orders and letters are, however, received at *Chinſurah* direct from *Holland*, whither, likewiſe, advices are annually diſpatched.

The government conſiſts of a director, and ſeven members, five of whom have concluding voices, and the other two may only adviſe, but not vote. There is, beſides, a chief at *Coſſimbazar*.

The director, who has, of courſe, the chief

pretty clearly acknowledged to have been intended, for the purpoſe of depriving the Engliſh, of their ſuperiority in *Bengal*. They ſent ſeven ſhips, three of thirty-ſix guns, three of twenty-ſix, and one of ſixteen, with about 1,100 European and Malay troops, from *Batavia*; who attempting to paſs up the *Ganges* to *Chinſurah*, the ſeven Dutch ſhips were fought and captured by three Engliſh armed Indiamen, and the troops were encountered, and totally defeated by Colonel Ford, with 500 men. They pretended that theſe forces, were intended to reinforce their ſettlements, on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, but had been obliged to put into the *Ganges*. *T.*

authority

authority over the commerce, and the poſſeſſions of the Company, is ſtyled, *the honourable Director of the Company's important trade in the kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa.*

He is obliged, by his inſtructions, to ſubmit all matters, which are of any importance, to the conſideration of the council, and to come to a concluſion on the ſubject, by a majority of votes. But it ſeldom happens, that a reſolution of council, is taken contrary to his inclination, for all the members are dependent upon him, with reſpect to the profits of their offices, as is the caſe throughout all India, both at the out-factories, and at *Batavia*, to the great detriment of the Company.

The emoluments attached to his office, amount to large ſums; for, beſides a certain per centage, allowed on the ſale of all goods which are imported *, there are numerous

* Five per cent upon the ſale of goods imported, is divided, two-thirds to the director, and one-third to the ſecond in command; and five per cent is allowed on the purchaſe of opium, and divided, two-fifths to the director, one-fifth to the chief adminiſtrator, three-tenths to the chief at *Patna*, and one-tenth to the ſecond in command there. T.

other means of accumulating money, eſpecially by his having large ſums at his diſpoſal, and being conſequently enabled to make an immenſe profit by the employment of them; ſo that it is impoſſible for any one, not even thoſe who fill the firſt offices in the adminiſtration, to know what the director annually gains, which muſt be an immenſe amount, without taking into conſideration his enormous expenditure. Mr. V—— aſſured me, that he wanted no leſs than thirty-five thouſand rupees a year, for his houſhold expences; and this is but little, in compariſon with ſome of his predeceſſors, and of the Engliſh governor at *Calcutta*, who ſpends more than one hundred thouſand rupees, by his own account, and that of ſeveral of the Engliſh, who confirmed it to me. The director is the only perſon, in the Company's ſervice, who is allowed to be carried in a palankeen ſitting upon a chair; even the director who is appointed to ſucceed another, cannot do this, as long the government is in the hands of the other. Military honours are ſhewn to him at the gate of the fort. Six or eight *chubdars*, or as many as he pleaſes, together with other attendants, both

both *peons* * and other ſervants, run before him. When he is carried, or rides through the town, the natives are obliged, at ſome places, to play upon their inſtruments of muſic, clarions and drums. *Chubdars* are Mooriſh ſervants, who are employed to carry meſſages, and for ſtate; they carry a long ſtaff in their hand, which is entirely covered with ſilver, with which they go before the palankeens of the director, and of the two members of the council next in rank; but the latter are allowed no more than two *chubdars*, and their ſtaves may only be half plated with ſilver.

The ſecond perſon in the direction is the chief at *Coſſimbazar*. He has the rank of ſenior merchant, and the management and controul of the factory there, or rather at *Caicapore*, which is not far off. The Company's reſidents at the Mint, in *Moorſhedabad*, where the ſilver is recoined, in the name of the emperor, are under him. He has a detachment of twenty-four men at his factory.

* *Peons* are properly foot-ſoldiers, armed with a ſword and target. Footmen, armed in the ſame manner, are likewiſe uſed for ſtate, and to run before the palankeens. *T.*

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The third perſon of the council, is the chief adminiſtrator. He has equally the rank of ſenior merchant, and is treated with the ſame reſpect as the chief at *Coſſimbazar*, whoſe place in the council, when he is abſent, is ſupplied by the former, as ſecond in rank at the chief ſettlement, where he always remains. Every thing regarding commerce, and the warehouſes, is entruſted to this officer, ſubject to the ſuperior controul of the director.

A member of the council is likewiſe ſuperintendant in the cloth-room, or walk, as it is called, which is the place where the Company's piecegoods are received from the Indian merchans, examined, aſſorted, and diſpatched.

The aſſortment is made into four different claſſes, from beſt to bad, under the denominations of *duel*, *doom*, *ſeer*, and *firty*, and the examination and atteſtation of them, is done by the council, together with the director.

This office is one of the moſt profitable in the direction, when the Company take many goods. It is reekoned equal to that of a merchant.

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The ſuperintendant has a ſecond under him, with the rank of junior merchant, together with three others, who are book-keepers or aſſiſtants, and have the direction of the packing of the goods. He has likewiſe ſeveral banyans, who poſſeſs more knowledge than all the reſt, and by whom moſt of the buſineſs is done, although the others, and the council, have the name of it.

Their emoluments are divided in the following manner.—One rupee or thirty ſtivers, is allowed on the value of every hundred rupees purchaſed by the Company. Of this, eight ſtivers are given to the head adminiſtrator, eleven to the ſuperintendant in the cloth-room, ſix to his ſecond, two and a half to the firſt packer, one and a half to the ſecond, and one to the third, making, together, thirty ſtivers, or one rupee.

The captain, or chief, of the military is alſo a member of the council; but he has no vote, and can only give his opinion. He has the rank of ſenior merchant, and follows immediately upon the head adminiſtrator. His income is ſmall, and ſcarcely ſufficient for his ſubſiſtence.

The firſt warehouſekeeper, who is at the

ſame

ſame time commercial bookkeeper, has the rank of merchant. All merchandize which are received into, or delivered out of, the warehouſes, by order of the head adminiſtrator, are under his management; as likewiſe the books that relate to trade.

The fiſcal, or ſheriff, who is, at the ſame time, mayor of the town, has the rank of merchant, as long as he is in that ſtation, though he has only the pay and allowance of junior merchant.

As fiſcal, he muſt take care that the Company's dues are not defrauded by the private trade of their ſervants, and as mayor, he determines all trifling diſputes which ariſe among the natives, who live within the Company's limits. He puniſhes the offences which they commit, by flogging at a ſtake, or he impoſes fines upon the offenders; which laſt is, in fact, what is moſt frequently done, and hence his poſt becomes one of the chiefeſt and moſt lucrative of the ſettlement. Many inſtances were related to me, at *Chinſurah*, of extortions practiſed by fiſcals, which almoſt exceed belief. They make the wealthy banyans pay twenty or thirty thouſand rupees, for the ſlighteſt fault,

and

and if they do not provide the money ſoon enough, they are tied up, and whipped, till it is brought. He is called *jemautdaar* by the natives, which is as much as mayor, or commandant.

His emoluments, as fiſcal, are five per cent upon all goods, which are imported by private individuals, above the privileged tonnage, allowed by the Company to their ſhips' officers, and five per cent on all goods exported in private trade, whether privileged or not *.

Upon an average he can make more than four thouſand rupees by every ſhip; and as ſix ſhips come and go, in general, every year, his income, on this ſcore, amounts to twenty-four thouſand rupees.

The Indians ſtand, perhaps, more in awe of the fiſcal, on account of his office, than of the director himſelf: and when he goes through the town, muſic is equally played in his honour as he paſſes, as well as for the director.

The comptroller of equipment has alſo a

* One-half of the contraband goods which he ſeizes, is likewiſe the property of the fiſcal, out of which, however, he muſt ſatisfy the informers. *T.*

ſeat

ſeat in the council, but, as well as the commander of the military, he may only deliver his ſentiments, but has no vote. If he be a ſhip's captain, he has the rank of merchant. His office is alſo none of the worſt.

The diſpenſier, or purveyor in the Company's proviſion-warehouſes, has the rank of junior merchant, and is invoice-keeper.

A ſecretary is added to the council, who is generally, at the ſame time, caſhier. The latter office brings him in great profits, when he has any ſums of conſideration under his care, which is always the caſe, if he be on good terms with the director. He places this money, at an exorbitant intereſt, among the Indians. The ſecretary who was in office when I was there, had the rank of book-keeper, though it is otherwiſe an office generally filled by a junior merchant.

Beſides this civil council, there is a council of juſtice, of which the head adminiſtrator is preſident. They paſs ſentences of death, ſubject to the confirmation of the government at *Batavia*, but they are not allowed by the Mooriſh government to carry them into execution, except within the walls

of

of the Company's lodge, or on board of their ſhips.

Whoever has the rank of junior merchant, or higher, muſt be ſent to *Batavia*, with the papers relative to the proſecution againſt him, notwithſtanding ſentence of death may have been pronounced upon him, by the council of juſtice here; as was the caſe, in the year 1766, with Captain VAN DER LINDEN, commanding the ſhip *Kattendyk*, and his firſt lieutenant, WELGEVAREN.

The other members of the council of juſtice, are junior merchants, and there are two military officers among them. Their office is of little importance, or advantage.

CHAPTER VI.

The Company's Poſſeſſions in BENGAL.—CHINSURAH.—*Buildings*—*Markets.*—*Houſes.*—*Church.*—*Houſe called Welgeleegen, and Gardens.*—*The Company's Lodge, or Fort* GUSTAVUS.—*Company's Garden.*—*Church-yard.*—*Battery.*—*Freemaſon's Lodge.*—HOUGLY.—*Factory at* PATNA.—*Factory at* DACCA.—BERNAGORE.—*Eſtabliſhment of the Company.*

THE territorial property of the Company in *Bengal*, is confined to the towns, or villages, of *Chinſurah* and *Bernagore*. Theſe were obtained by gift, or rather by purchaſe, from the Mooriſh government.

They have, further, their lodges or factories at *Calcapore* near *Coſſimbazar*, at *Patna*, and at *Dacca*; and they have likewiſe a guard of natives at *Ballaſore*. They had formerly a factory at *Malda*, for the ſilk-trade; but this has been abandoned for ſeveral years.

Chinſurah, known in the records and papers of the Company, by the name of *Hougly*, lies

lies on the weſtern bank of the *Ganges*, full forty leagues from its mouth at *Ingellee*, and about ninety from *Patna*. It is partly built along the river, and requires full three quarters of an hour to walk round it. On the landſide, it is cloſed by ſtrong barrier-gates. Within, it is built very irregularly. It has many markets, which are here called *bazars*, at which all kinds of goods, and eſpecially proviſions, are ſold; the *bazar* of the money-changers, which is a long and broad ſtreet, is the handſomeſt.

The principal houſes are built of brick, with terrace-roofs, in the Mooriſh ſtyle. They are but of one ſtory, and are whitened on the outſide with lime, which gives them an elegant appearance.

As little wood as poſſible is uſed in building, on account of the white ants, which entirely deſtroy the inſide of the wood, in a very few years. Theſe inſects are formidable from the immenſity of their numbers. They eat away the ends of the beams which are inſerted in the maſonry, ſo that they ſometimes fall down, without ſhewing any previous ſigns of decay; for no marks of the depredations of

the ants appear on the outside. Nothing that has hitherto been tried to counteract this evil, has been found of any avail.

Glaſs windows are not known here. Frames of twiſted cane, are made uſe of in their ſtead. Glaſs would be very uncomfortable in the great heats, which prevail for eight or nine months in the year. When the winds from the north, in December and January, blow hard, the windows and doors which open to that quarter are ſhut, and thoſe which look to the ſouth ſtand open. The apartments are roomy, airy, and provided on the ſouth ſide with galleries, or porticos, reſting upon pillars.

The terrace-roofs, and the floors of the rooms, are laid with fine pulverized ſtones, which they call *zurkee*; theſe are mixed up with limewater, and an inferior kind of molaſſes, and in a ſhort time grow as hard, and as ſmooth, as if the whole was one large ſtone. The inhabitants take the evening air upon their terraces, and ſometimes paſs a part of the night upon them, in company with their friends.

The houſes, or rather the huts, of the poor

poor Bengaleſe, are moſtly made of mud and ſtraw, and receive their light through the entrance.

Chinſurah has a handſome little church, with a ſteeple. The firſt was built by the director SICHTERMAN, and the laſt was added by Mr. VERNET. There is no regular clergyman belonging to this church, but ſervice is performed by a *ziekentrooſter**, who reads a ſermon, on Sunday morning. When any children are to be baptized, the Engliſh clergyman from *Calcutta* is ſent for, who is liberally paid for his trouble, by the parents.

Mr. SICHTERMAN erected a very handſome building, not far from the church, to which he gave the name of *Welgeleegen* (well ſituated). It lies cloſe to the *Ganges*, and a gallery, with a double row of pillars, projects over the water, above which is an elegant terrace and balcony, which commands the fineſt proſpect at *Chinſurah*; on one ſide the view extends as far as *Chan-*

* A *ziekentrooſter* is a perſon not in orders, who officiates as chaplain on board of ſhips, reading prayers, and attending the ſick when at the point of death; from this laſt function, he is called *ziekentrooſter*, or literally, a *comforter of the ſick*. T.

dernagore, and on the other beyond *Bandel*. The gardens which are adjoining to this building, are delightfully ſhady and pleaſant.

The Company's lodge, which bears the name of Fort *Guſtavus*, is conſtructed in a large open place, about five hundred, or five hundred and fifty, feet from the river. It is an oblong ſquare; the longeſt ſides, which are oppoſite to north and ſouth, are about ſix hundred and ſixty feet in length; the ſhorteſt, about the half. It was built in the year 1656, as appears by the date over the landgate. The walls are of ſtone, about fifteen feet high; but they are, at preſent, in ſuch a ruinous condition, that it would be dangerous to diſcharge the cannon which are mounted upon them. Within, are the Company's warehouſes, and the houſe of the director, which is the only thing worth ſeeing. There are three gates, one by the river, one on the landſide, to the north, and another to the ſouth; this laſt leads to what is called the Company's garden, in which there is neither a buſh, nor a blade of graſs.

To the weſtward of the lodge, there was formerly

formerly a burying-ground, which was adorned with many handſome tombs, and graveſtones. But theſe were all deſtroyed under the government of the director TAILLEFERT, except the monument of the director HUISMAN, which was transformed into a powder-magazine. The reſt was made into a level plain, and the buryingplace was removed to another part of the town, where now every grave has an upright tombſtone upon it.

A battery of one-and-twenty pieces of cannon, is thrown up, by the riverſide, for the purpoſe of firing ſalutes.

Something more than a quarter of an hour's walk out of *Chinſurah*, towards *Chandernagore*, a large and handſome houſe was erected, during the direction of Mr. VERNET, as a lodge for the free-maſons, which was completed and inaugurated while I was there. This feſtivity concluded in the evening with a magnificent firework and ball, at which the chief Engliſh and French ladies and gentlemen were equally preſent.

This building, to which the name of *Concordia* was given, coſt thirty thouſand rupees, and the money was defrayed out of

the private purſes of the members of the council of *Hougly*. On the above occaſion, the ladies, whoſe huſbands belonged to the fraternity, wore the inſignia of the order, hanging by a blue or red ribbon over the left ſhoulder. They are very fond of ſhewing themſelves with this decoration, and the women, whoſe huſbands have not been initiated, urge them very much to be ſo.

Hougly, which lends its name to *Chinſurah*, is a Mooriſh fort, a ſhort half an hour's walk higher up. It is not very defenſible, and has little worthy of obſervation within it, except the houſe of the *fauſdar*, and the ſtables for his elephants.

The factory which the Company have at *Patna*, in the province of *Babar*, is eſtabliſhed for the purchaſe of ſaltpetre, and of opium. The chief there, who has the rank of merchant, and has a junior merchant under him, is entitled to aſſiſt at the deliberations of the council of *Hougly*, when he happens to be at *Chinſurah*. This office is eſteemed the moſt lucrative, next to that of the director.

The factory at *Dacca*, was formerly of very little conſideration, but for theſe laſt three

three years the manufactories have again been profecuted with vigour. The neglect of them is ſaid, to have been owing to the improper management of a director, who had his own private advantage in view, in ſuffering them to be unnoticed by the Company.

Bernagore is a village which belongs to the Company, and, as at *Chinſurah*, the Dutch flag is hoiſted, though they have no other of their ſervants reſident here, than an under-officer of the fiſcal. It lies on the eaſtern bank of the *Ganges*, ten or twelve leagues below *Chinſurah*. The coarſeſt ſorts of blue handkerchiefs are made here. The Company have a houſe, not far from the river, which ſerves for the temporary accommodation of ſuch of their ſervants, as land here, in going up or down the river. *Bernagore* is famous on account of the great number of ladies of pleaſure, who reſide there, and who pay a monthly recognition to the fiſcal of *Chinſurah*, for the free exerciſe of their profeſſion.

The troops which the Company maintain in *Bengal* amount to no more than

one hundred and fifty men, commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, and an enſign *.

* In 1776, and 1777, the whole eſtabliſhment of the Dutch in *Bengal* was reduced to the following: *viz.* ſixty-four perſons in civil, and two in eccleſiaſtical, employments; ſeven ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, ten belonging to the artillery, ſixty-nine ſeamen and marines, and forty-eight ſoldiers; being in all 200 Europeans. *T.*

CHAP-

CHAPTER VII.

Manner of Life of the Europeans.—Black Writers.—Banyans.—Domeſtics.—The Ladies.—Trade of the Company.—Duties paid to the Nabob.—Trade of the French.—Humiliating Conditions impoſed upon them at the laſt Peace.—Strictly inſiſted upon by the Engliſh.—Inſtance hereof.—Deſcription of CHANDERNAGORE.*—Houſe and Gardens of the Governor.—Factories up the Country.—Daniſh Settlement at* SERAMPORE. *— Eaſtern Nations that reſort to* BENGAL.*—Concluding Reflections on the State of the Country and Inhabitants.*

EUROPEANS lead, in *Bengal*, a very eaſy life; the men, who are almoſt all in the ſervice of the Company, devote a part of the morning to attending upon their buſineſs, and thoſe who poſſeſs any the leaſt fortune, keep a black writer in daily employment, at their houſes, for which he receives twenty or twenty-five rupees per month. Theſe black writers are deſcendants of Portugueſe, who having married native women, their offspring have loſt the colour of their fathers, and received that of their mothers; but they retain

tain the religion of the former *. They write a good hand, and copy Dutch very accurately, without underſtanding a word of it. The Europeans are eaſed by them, of a great part of the little work they would otherwiſe have to perform. The Europeans ſpend the remainder of their time, either in revels, or in ſleep, though ſometimes the latter can ſcarcely be procured during the exceſſive heats.

Beſides theſe black writers, moſt Europeans have alſo one or two banyans, who note down all payments and receipts, and through whoſe hands all pecuniary matters go, as well in buying as in ſelling. They ſerve, in this capacity, without any fixed pay, but they know how much more they may charge upon every rupee, than they have in reality paid, and this is called *coſſumade*.

Mooriſh domeſtics are kept for the menial ſervices of the houſe, and *peons* to run before the palankeens, and to carry an umbrella, or paraſol, over the head of their maſter, when he goes out.

Every houſe has likewiſe a porter, whoſe ſole occupation is to anſwer the door; and

* They are what we call *Topaſſes*. *T.*

one

one or two ſets of *berras*, or palankeen-bearers, together with a *barrymaid*, or *matarani*, who carries out the dirt; and a great number of ſlaves, both male and female.

This mode of life naturally occaſions an enormous expenditure. The leaſt in rank ſtand in need of five or ſix thouſand rupees annually, and even then they muſt practice economy. Moſt people ſpend twice as much, although their income does not amount to more than half of what they diſburſe. The dearneſs of proviſions which are brought from Europe, contributes hereto; but perhaps the greateſt cauſe may be traced in the exceſſive expence which the ladies incur, in the articles of dreſs and appearance. Domeſtic peace and tranquillity muſt be purchaſed, by a ſhower of jewels, a wardrobe of the richeſt clothes, and a kingly parade of plate upon the ſideboard; the huſband muſt give all theſe, or, according to a vulgar phraſe, "the houſe would be too hot to hold him," while the wife never pays the leaſt attention to her domeſtic concerns, but ſuffers the whole to depend upon her ſervants or ſlaves.

The women generally riſe between eight and nine o'clock. The forenoon is ſpent in paying

paying viſits to their friends, or in lolling upon a ſofa, with their arms acroſs. Dinner is ready at half paſt one; they go to ſleep till half paſt four or five; they then dreſs in form; and the evening and part of the night is ſpent in company, or at dancing parties, which are frequent, during the colder ſeaſon.

Both men and women generally dreſs in the Engliſh ſtyle. The ladies affect, for coolneſs, to wear no covering on their necks, and leave none of the beauties of a well-formed boſom to be gueſſed at. They are friendly and affable towards ſtrangers, and certainly do not deſerve to be called either coy, or cruel. They are fond of parties of pleaſure, which are frequently made both upon the delightful banks, and upon the pleaſant waves, of the *Ganges*. Yet theſe, and all other amuſements, are here peculiarly expenſive.

The commerce of the Company in this country was formerly very profitable; but for ſome years back, it has greatly declined, which is, undoubtedly, in a great meaſure, aſcribable to the encreaſing influence and power of the Engliſh, and their conſequent preponderance in affairs of trade; I ſay, however,

however, in a great meaſure, becauſe I think I am pretty well informed, that a want of fidelity in the Company's ſervants, has not a little contributed to leſſen the profits.

The goods which are imported from *Batavia*, and which cannot be brought hither by any other nation than the Dutch, are ſpices, and Japan copper, in bars; this laſt affords the greateſt benefit, ſince it is an article that cannot here be diſpenſed with.

The profits, however, upon the ſale of theſe and other goods, do not cover one-half of the expences of the eſtabliſhment, which amount to full ſix tons of gold *.

The

* About 54,500*l.* ſterling. This ſeems to be taken at random; for the ſtatement of Mossel, in 1755, makes the charges of the Dutch ſettlements in *Bengal*, amount to *f.*402,500, about 36,600*l.* In 1779, however, they were no more than *f.*265,517, and the profits upon the merchandize ſold were *f.*385,159, ſo that, inſtead of loſing, the Company gained *f.*119,642, or nearly 11,000*l.* But they both maintained, as we have before ſeen, a leſs extenſive military eſtabliſhment; and in former times, their direction, in *Bengal*, muſt have been flagrantly bad; for we find the following ſevere reflections, in a letter written many years before from *Batavia*, among the papers annexed to the *Secret Conſiderations on the State of India*, by Mossel: "For a ſeries of years, a ſucceſſion of directors here, have been guilty of the greateſt enormities, and the "foulest diſhoneſty; they have looked upon the Company's "effects

The loſs of anchors and cables, by the Company's ſhips, in the *Ganges*, is calculated

" effects confided to them, as a booty thrown open to their " depredations; they have moſt ſhamefully and arbitrarily " falſified the invoice-prices; they have violated, in the moſt " diſgraceful manner, all our orders and regulations, with re- " gard to the purchaſe of goods, without paying the leaſt at- " tention to their oaths and duty; we will not add, that the " whole of the Company's profits upon the ſilver, have been " embezzled, but they have not, for many years, been " forthcoming." If a reform have ſince taken place, we need not wonder at the great difference above obſerved, between the accounts drawn up by MOSSEL, and thoſe of later years. The profits upon the piecegoods and raw ſilk ſold in Europe, are not inconſiderable; in 1778, were ſold the value of *f.*2,000,000 in piecegoods, and the value of *f.*500,000 in raw ſilk, beſides two millions pounds weight of ſaltpetre; and fifteen to twenty per cent is the calculated gain, after deduction of the ſhips' charges, upon all three articles. If all other branches were to fail, the opium-trade to *Batavia* would be alone ſufficient to render the commerce of the Dutch in *Bengal*, a ſource of great profit. MOSSEL calculated the annual gain upon this article at *f.*800,000; but ſince his time, the trade has conſiderably ſlackened, and we may ſay, that the advance upon it, amounts now to no more than *f.*5, or *f.*600,000. About 800 boxes, containing 125*lb.* each, of this drug, go annually from *Bengal* to *Batavia*; they ſtand the Company, including freight, inſurance, and other charges, in about *f.*792 each; and if ſold, as in 1783, for *f.*1383. 3. 0, the advance to the Company, upon the whole 800 boxes, will be found to be *f.*472,920, beſides the duties at *Batavia*, upon the exportation to the neighbouring ſettlements, which make it amount, as

culated to amount to *f.*30,000 every year *.

The ſhip that ſails annually from *Amſterdam* for *Bengal*, brings iron, cutlery, woollens, and other European goods, which have a tolerable vent. The Company, likewiſe, gain conſiderably upon the ſilver in bullion, which is imported, and is recoined into rupees.

The money which is required for the purpoſes of trade every year here, is eſtimated at forty or fifty tons of gold †, the largeſt part of which is deſtined for the purchaſe of return cargoes for Europe, and the remainder for *Batavia*. Thoſe which went to Holland in the year 1768, amounted, per invoices, to *f.*2,649,510. 17. 0, and conſiſted in piecegoods, raw ſilk, and ſaltpetre for ballaſt.

Two or more ſhips, which go annually to *Java*, take piecegoods, opium, and ſaltpetre; of the latter article, the largeſt part is re-

aboveſaid, to between *f.*5 and *f.*600,000, or about 50,000*l.* ſterling. All the opium is diſpoſed of to the ſociety eſtabliſhed at *Batavia*, in 1745, for this trade, of which a particular account has been given, page 295 of this volume. *T.*

* About 2,725*l.* ſterling. *T.*

† Between 350,000*l.* and 450,000*l.* ſterling. *T.*

ſhipped

ſhipped for Holland; and gunpowder is manufactured of the remainder, at *Batavia*.

Beſides the yearly preſents, which are given to the Mooriſh government, to the amount of about ten thouſand gilders, the Company pay certain duties, to the nabob, upon all the goods which are either carried up the river from *Hougly*, or are received there from above. Much miſunderſtanding aroſe, in October, 1769, from the non-payment of theſe dues, which was of great prejudice to the Company, and was only accommodated by the interpoſition of the Engliſh.

The trade of the French here, has, ſince the laſt war, been greatly on the decline. Their ſettlement and fort of *Chandernagore*, were then wholly deſtroyed by the Engliſh. At the peace which followed, it was conditioned, that the fort ſhould not be rebuilt, nor ſhould they be allowed to fortify themſelves in any way, nor even to hoiſt their flag, as the other nations did, at their factories, upon a lofty enſignſtaff, but only upon a bamboo-pole. The Engliſh are very ſtrict on theſe points, and are very careful that the French do not infringe theſe conditions in the leaſt. It was not long ago, that they

enforced

enforced their right in this reſpect, without any ceremony.

Mr. CHEVALIER, the French governor, had cauſed a deep ditch to be dug round *Chandernagore*, with ſaliant angles, at intervals, and the earth thrown up inwards, ſo that it had the appearance of a rampart, or intrenchment. He alleged, that this work was only intended to keep the place dry, and was undertaken with no other view than to drain the water from the circumjacent country, and convey it into the river. However, when the Engliſh council of *Calcutta* were informed hereof, they looked upon it in a very different light, and they immediately had the work privately ſurveyed, by one of their engineers, who himſelf related this circumſtance to me, and he reported, that it appeared to be made for very different purpoſes, than thoſe that were pretended. Upon this, they ſent word to the French governor, that he muſt ſtop the proſecution of the work, and deſtroy as much of it, as had already been finiſhed; for, if his ſole purpoſe were that of draining off the water, it was unneceſſary to dig ſo deep; that his ditch was deeper than the low water

mark of the *Ganges*; that the ſaliant angles were needleſs; that the earth ought not to have been thrown up inwards, like an intrenchment; and, finally, that if he did not chooſe to do it himſelf, they would be obliged to have the ditch filled up again, by their own workmen. A few days afterwards, they put this threat in execution, and ſent the engineer, and eight hundred *ſipahis*, or Mooriſh ſoldiers, to *Chandernagore*, who filled up the ditch, and reſtored the whole to its former level and defenceleſs condition.

However painful this was to the feelings of Mr. CHEVALIER, he was compelled to ſubmit to it, being without any means of reſiſting the will of theſe haughty oppreſſors. The French are only allowed a certain ſmall number of cannon, for ſaluting; if they were to contravene this regulation, their ſupernumerary artillery would ſoon be taken away by the Engliſh.

Chandernagore is ſituated on the weſtern bank of the *Ganges*, ſomething leſs than an hour's walk below *Chinſurah*, in north latitude 22° 51′, and in time 5ʰ. 44′ 37″ eaſt of the meridian of *Paris*, according to the *Connoiſſance des Temps*. It is built,

about

about a mile in length, along the *Ganges*, in a ſtraight line, with two parallel, and ſeveral croſs ſtreets behind it, which have ſome good buildings. The ruins of the fort, demoliſhed by the Engliſh, are at the north end of the place, and ſufficiently demonſtrate its former ſtrength. It could not, however, withſtand the heavy fire of the Engliſh ſhips of war, which battered it, and reduced it in a ſhort time to a heap of ruins *.

The preſent governor has built a handſome houſe, and laid out an elegant garden, about four miles below *Chandernagore*, where there is a moſt charming proſpect along the *Ganges*.

They have, likewiſe, ſeveral factories up the country; at *Coſſimbazar*, *Dacca*, *Malda*, *Patna*, and other places; yet their trade is very inconſiderable in compariſon with our's, or that of the Engliſh. Their ſhips come up the river, as far as *Chandernagore*, where there is a ſufficient depth of water for them.

The Daniſh Company have their ſettlement at *Serampore*, halfway between *Calcutta* and *Chinſurah*, being on the weſtern

* It is almoſt needleſs to add, that both *Chandernagore* and *Chinſurah*, are now in the hands of the Engliſh. *T.*

ſide of the *Ganges*. This place is of little conſideration. It conſiſts of a few houſes of Europeans, and a ſmall Bengaleſe village. The trade of the Danes is more circumſcribed than that of any other nation. They receive only one or two ſhips every year from Europe, and they have no country-trade whatever. While I was in *Bengal*, their director, or governor, left their factory, taking with him, as was ſaid, three lacks of rupees, or four hundred and fifty thouſand gilders, with which he went to the Engliſh, in order to take his paſſage to England.

In the laſt place, ſeveral of the eaſtern nations, Perſians, Armenians, and others, reſort to *Bengal*, allured by the advantageous trade, which they are enabled to purſue there.

In effect, the land is, in very many reſpects, excellently calculated for an extenſive commerce. If we call to mind the circumſtances of former times, what treaſures have not the goods brought to Europe, produced to the ſeveral Companies! and what advantages may not ſtill be drawn from a country, excelling moſt others in fertility, and where ſo many articles neceſſary, and

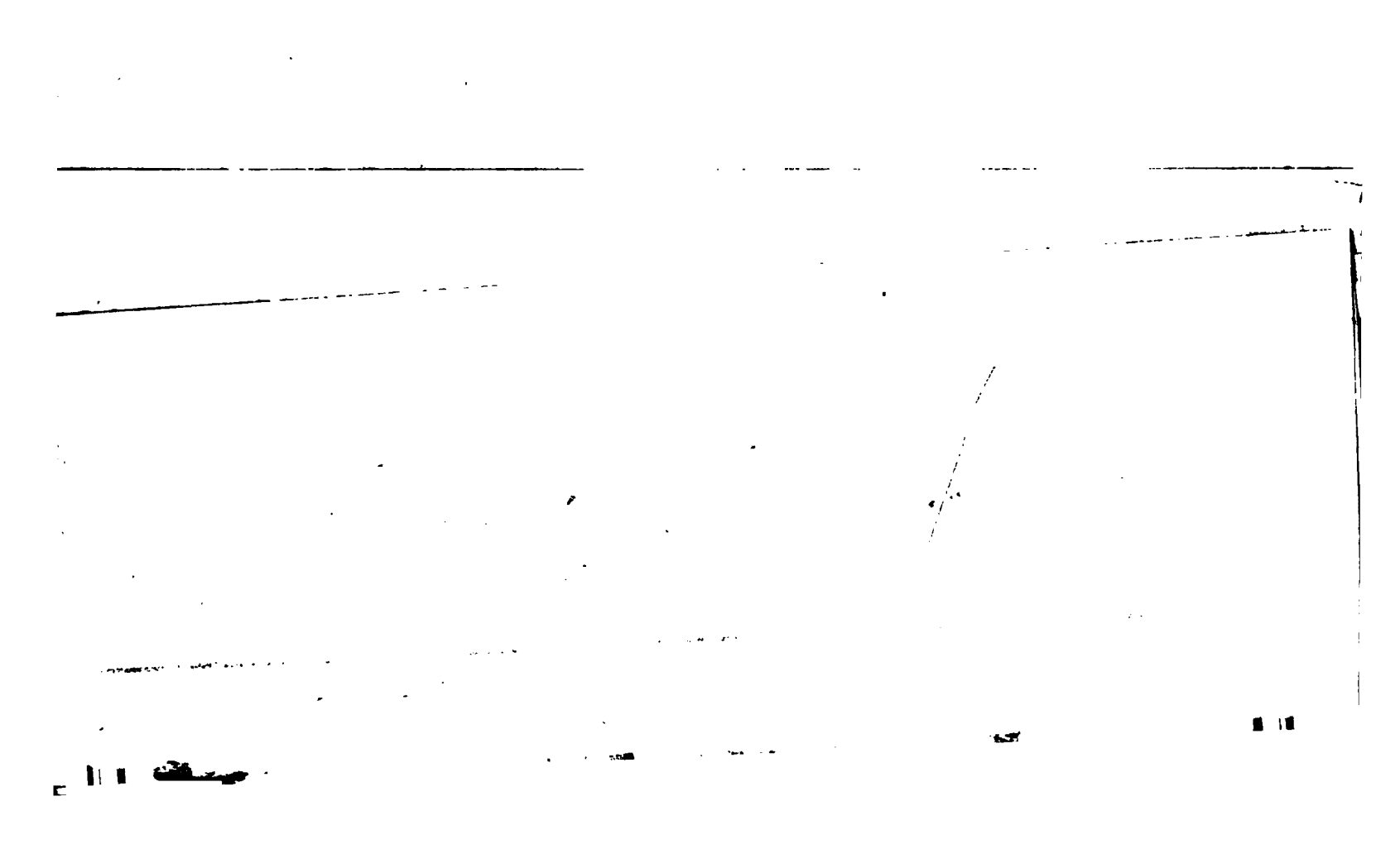
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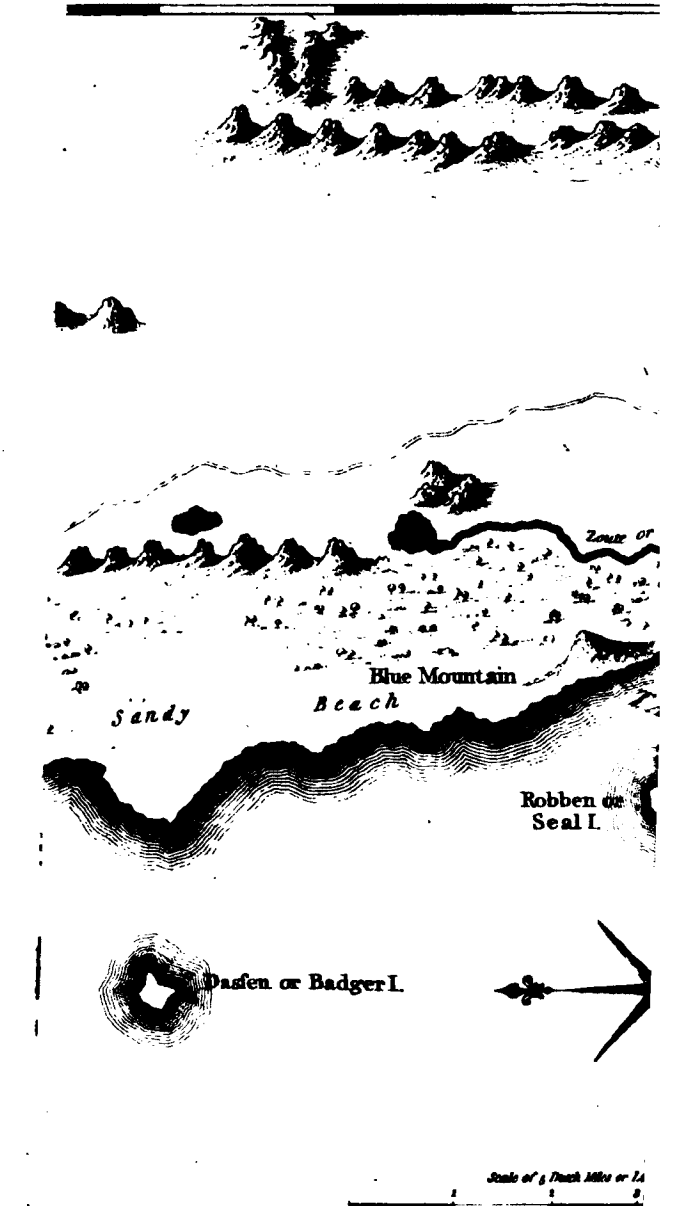
even indiſpenſable in others, are produced, or received from the neighbouring and otherwiſe inacceſſible regions!

But let us attentively conſider all the ſons of men, all the nations of the globe, and we ſhall ſpeedily perceive, that nothing is more inimical to the activity of genius, to the exertions of courage, nay even to the preſervation of corporeal health, and the encreaſe of population, than injuſtice, injury, and extortion, the inſeparable and diſaſtrous conſequences of violence and tyranny! What can caſt a greater damp upon both induſtry and emulation, than the arbitrary meaſures of a deſpotic government! How much more ingenious, how much more diligent, how much more happy, would this people be, if, inſtead of being oppreſſed and kept under, they were encouraged and ſupported, and opportunities afforded them of improving themſelves, both in their very excellent manufactures, and in the tillage of their happy ſoil! Is it an incitement to them to be active and induſtrious, that they are forced to labour their whole lives, for an inconſiderable reward; a trifle, that ſcarcely ſuffices to procure the neceſſary food for themſelves

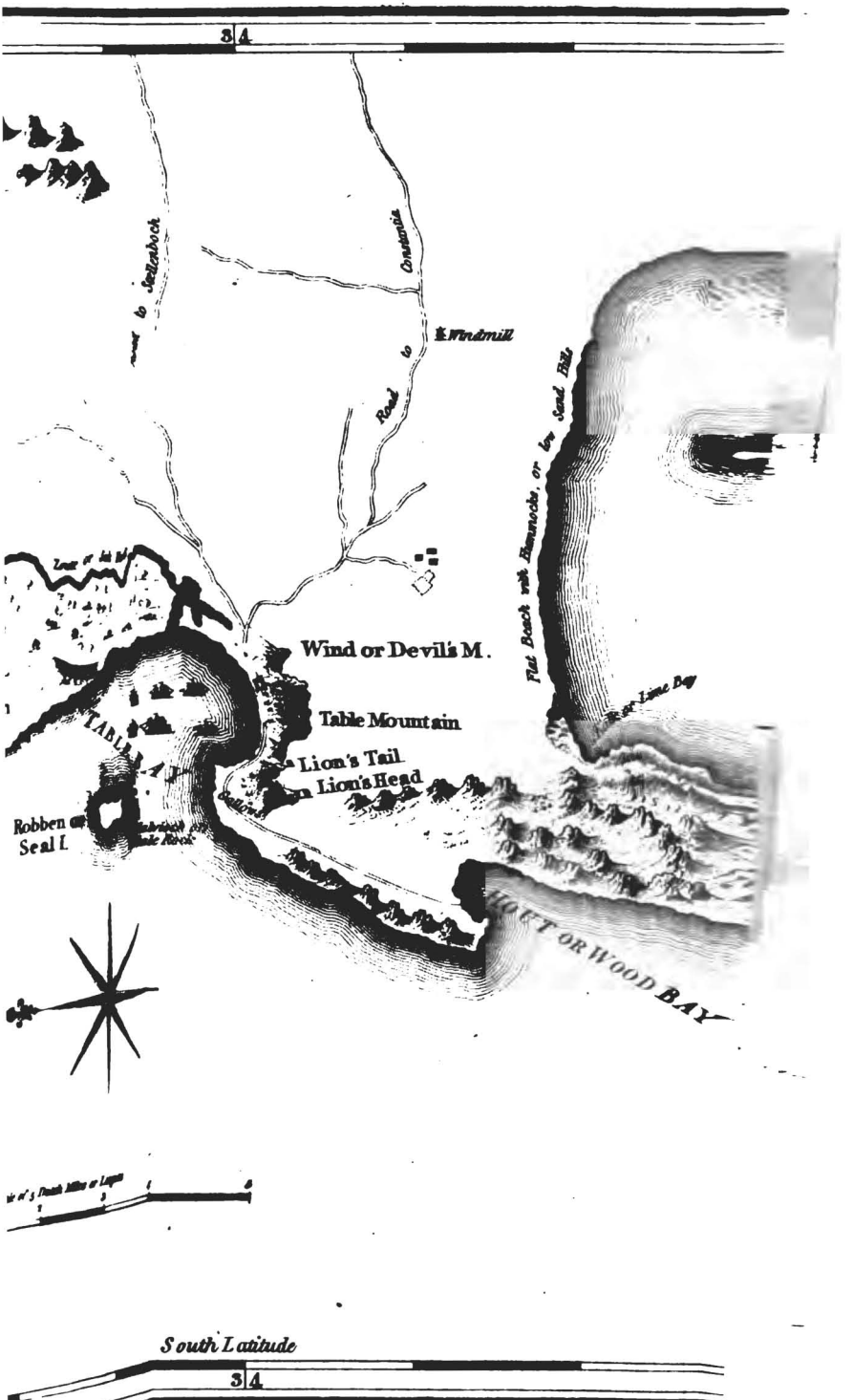
and their families? Is it an additional ſpur to induſtry, that they are treated with contempt and deriſion, and that they are expoſed to perſonal abuſe and injury?

Beſides, to what do the advantages in reality amount, which are derived from the labour and ſweat of theſe wretched Indians? They are little better than ideal. The large profits which are received, as it were, with one hand, and paid away with the other, are gradually diminiſhed, and become, from day to day, leſs perceptible in the coffers of the Companies.

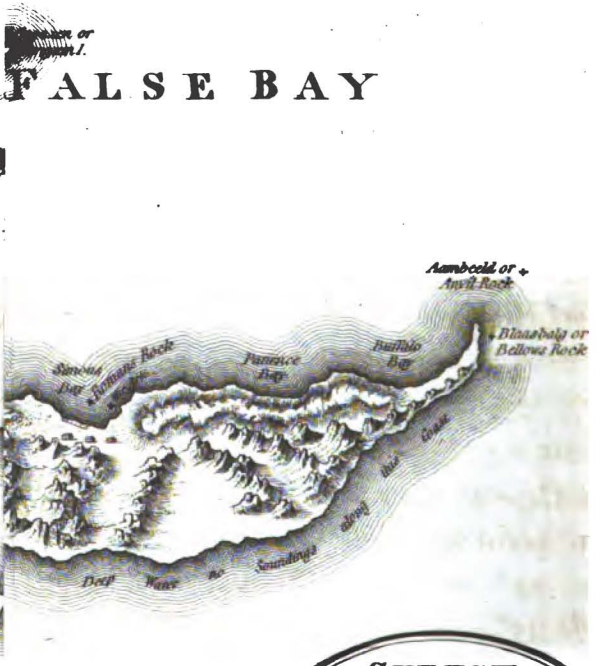




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3 4
Road to Constantia
Windmill
Wind or Devil's M.
Table Mountain
Lion's Tail
Lion's Head
Robben
Seal I.
Flat Beach with Bamboos, or Sea Reed
HOUT OR WOOD BAY
South Latitude
3 4





SKETCH
of the situation of
SALDANHA, TABLE, WOOD,
AND FALSE BAYS
near the
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

BOOK IV.

OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

CHAPTER I.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—*Sandhill Point.*—*Table Bay.*—ROBBEN *Iſland.*—*The Table Valley.*—*Lion's Mountain.* — *Table-Mountain.* — *Windberg, or Devil's Mountain.*—*Weather.*—*Squalls.*—*Seaſons.* —*Other Mountains near the Cape.*—*Soil.*—*Rivers.* —*Productions.* — *Wheat.*— *Wines.* — *Vineyards of* CONSTANTIA.—*Fruits.*

THE *Cape of Good Hope* is properly the weſtern point of *Falſe Bay*; its ſouth latitude is 34° 25′, and longitude eaſt from *Teneriffe* 35°. It is not the moſt ſouthern point of *Africa*; for Cape *Anguillas*, which is ſome leagues to the eaſtward of it, lies in 34° 50′ ſouth latitude.

About ſeven leagues to the northward of the weſt point of *Falſe* Bay, is the *Leeuwen-*

berg, or *Lion's* Mountain. From the northern part of it, or what is called the *Leeuweſtaart*, or *Lion's-tail*, extends a low ſandy point, which is called the *Duintjes*, or *Sandhill* Point, and which forms the weſtern extremity of *Table*-Bay. This is a large bay, where ſhips lie ſheltered from all winds, except from N.W. to W.N.W. and when the weather is ſtormy, from thoſe quarters, a heavy ſea rolls in, by which the Company loſt ſeven homeward-bound ſhips, in the year 1737.

Before the bay, lies a ſmall and low iſland, of ſomething more than three quarters of a league in circumference, called *Robben*, or *Seal* Iſland. It is a barren and rocky ſpot, interſperſed with patches of ſandy ground. It ſerves as a place of exile, or confinement, for criminals ſent hither, either from the Indies, or the Cape. Theſe are obliged to labour, for ſeveral hours every day, in the ſervice of the Company, chiefly in hewing and tranſporting of lime-ſtone, which is afterwards carried by ſmall veſſels to the Cape, and is uſed in the conſtruction of houſes, and other works; they are allowed the neceſſary proviſions by the Company.

A ſerjeant,

A ſerjeant, who has the title of poſt-keeper, with four-and-twenty men, keep guard over theſe malefactors, who were, in the year 1771, when I lay at anchor there, upwards of ſeventy in number. No woman is allowed to reſide on the iſland, not even the wife of the poſt-keeper. The laſt has his abode on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, where there are ſome houſes erected for the priſoners.

Many reefs project out from the iſland on all ſides; and a quarter of a league to the ſouthward, there is a large rock, juſt upon a level with the water, which is called the *Walviſch*, or *Whale*, and upon which there are breakers upon the leaſt ſwell of the ſea. The road of the iſland is on the eaſt ſide, in nine fathoms water.

Table-Bay is formed by three high mountains, the moſt weſtern of which is the *Lions's Mountain*; *Table-Mountain* is in the middle, and the *Windberg*, or *Devil's Mountain*, the eaſternmoſt. They lie in a ſemicircular form, and the valley between them, in which are ſituated *Capetown* and *caſtle*, is called the *Table-valley*.

Lion's Mountain has been ſo called, because,

cauſe, from a certain point of view, it bears in ſhape, a real, or fancied, reſemblance to a lion couching. It is therefore diſtinguiſhed into what is called the *Lion's-head*, and the *Lion's-tail*, or *rump*. The Lion's-head * is a bare rock, from the top to the bottom; the tail is likewiſe rocky, but it is covered with a ſlight ſtratum of earth, which produces an inferior kind of graſs; and every one is at liberty to let their cattle feed upon it.

The Abbé DE LA CAILLE found that the altitude of the *Lion's-head*, above the ſurface of the ſea, was 2,151, and that of the *rump*, 2,140 Rhineland feet.

The Company have erected an enſign-ſtaff, upon both theſe ſummits, upon which ſignal-flags are hoiſted, as ſoon as any ſhips are perceived at ſea. Theſe ſignals are changed every month; advices thereof are ſent two years beforehand to Holland, and to the ſettlements in India, and ſealed letters, containing the detail of them, are given to the commanders of veſſels, who are to

* This is likewiſe called the *Sugarloaf*, by Engliſh navigators. *T.*

touch

touch at the Cape, which are opened when they come in ſight of the mountain, in order to be ſure that the place is in the hands of their own countrymen, and, if the ſignals agree, that they may proceed with confidence to the anchorage in the bay.

One or two men are conſtantly ſtationed on the *Lion's-head*, and as ſoon as they perceive any ſhip at ſea, they hoiſt the flag, and fire one or more times, according to the number of veſſels that appear, a ſmall piece of cannon, which has been got up to this place, with great difficulty, and the report of which is the more eaſily heard at *Capetown*, from the reverberation, which it makes againſt the ſteep ſides of the *Table*-Mountain.

The *Table*-Mountain is ſo called, becauſe, being ſeen from below, it preſents a flat ſurface at the top, like a table. It is the largeſt, and higheſt, of the hills at the Cape. On the north ſide, full half of the height is a bare rock, perfectly perpendicular. On the ſouth, it is leſs ſteep, but in the intermediate ſpaces, it is equally very precipitous. The perpendicular height of the eaſt ſide of the Table, above the ſurface of the ſea, is

3,416 ;

3,416; on the weſt ſide 3,470; the length of the Table, 8,638; the diſtance of the weſtern brow, from the *Lion's-head*, 9,136; and of the eaſtern brow, from the ſummit of the *Wind*, or *Devil's*, Mountain, 4,436 Rhineland feet, according to meaſurement of the beforementioned Abbé DE LA CAILLE. He likewiſe found that the mercury, in the barometer, ſtood $3\frac{4}{10}$ inches lower on the eaſt ſide, and $3\frac{1}{10}$ inches on the weſt ſide, than at the ſurface of the ſea.

The *Windberg*, likewiſe called the *Devil's* Mountain,* is the eaſtern boundary of *Table*-valley; its height is eſtimated at 3,215 feet. It conſiſts of an entire rock, covered in ſome few places with a little earth, which nouriſhes ſome ſmall buſhes. This mountain is thought to be more difficult of aſcent than the *Table*-Mountain.

Theſe three mountains are partly united, about one quarter of the way up, to each other; but are ſeparated by wide chaſms, at the ſummits. The *Table*-Mountain appears, by reaſon of its great height and ſteepneſs, to

* And ſometimes *Charles's* Mountain, by the Engliſh. T.

hang

hang over the town, though it is the fartheſt diſtant.

The near neighbourhood of theſe elevated mountains, and eſpecially of the two laſt, produces no little inconvenience to the inhabitants of the *Cape*, in the ſoutheaſt, or good, monſoon, by the heavy ſqualls, which pour over them. Several hours before they begin to blow, a ſmall cloud appears at the top of the Table, which is followed by others, and aſſembling together, they gradually cover the whole of the ſummit, and deſcend down its ſides, ſometimes farther than half way, ſo that the mountain appears encircled by an impenetrable miſt, while the clouds roll majeſtically down the ſides of the chaſm, between the weſt ſide of the *Table* Mountain, and the *Lion's-head.*

Then follow the moſt violent guſts of wind, which ſometimes laſt for four days, and longer. During them, it is even difficult to walk the ſtreets. Large-ſized pebbles are taken up by the torrent of air, and carried out into the road, as far as the ſhips. Theſe can ſcarcely remain at anchor: it often happens that they part their cables,

cables, though they have no ſwell of the ſea to withſtand, but only the violence of the wind.

On coming from ſea, when the ſoutheaſt wind blows hard, the greateſt danger is run of loſing ſails, or maſts, if one perſiſts in attempting to reach the road; hence, in ſuch caſes, moſt ſhips run under *Robben* Iſland, and caſt anchor there.

Although the ſeaſon when this wind prevails, is called the good monſoon *(goede mouſſon)*, it is nevertheleſs much better weather, during the months from May to September, which are, on the contrary, called the bad monſoon *(kwaade mouſſon)*, on account of the violent northweſt winds which then ſometimes blow, and make the road of *Table*-Bay unſafe. For this reaſon, the Company's ſhips are not allowed to enter it, from the middle of May, to the middle of Auguſt, but muſt run into *Falſe*-Bay, where they lie ſheltered from all winds.

The other hills, which are in view of the *Cape*, are, in the firſt place, thoſe of *Hottentot Holland*, which lie at a great diſtance to the eaſtward, and are ſaid to be full twice as high as the *Table*-Mountain. They

are

are a chain of mountains, ſtretching to the northward, and ending to the ſouth, at the eaſt point of *Falſe*-Bay. The others are the *Blauwenberg*, or *Blue* Mountain, the *Koeberg*, or *Cow*-Mountain, and the *Tiger*-mountains, which are not far from the *Cape*.

The ſoil is very good at the foot of the mountains, but in the large vallies, it is barren and ſandy, and produces little or nothing, for want of water. Hence moſt of the farms are laid out upon the ſides of the hills, where they are watered by the little rivulets which deſcend from the ſummits. The ſoil is much impregnated with ſaline particles, in the neighbourhood of the *Cape*, which is very bad for the vines; it was for this reaſon, when in the beginning of the preſent century, Governor VAN DER STEL, planted the vineyards of *Conſtantia*, whence, as is well known, the moſt delicious wines are annually brought to Europe, that he had a baſket of earth taken up, at the diſtance of every hundred roods, for a conſiderable tract of country round the *Cape*, and mixed with water, in order to make experiments of which ſoil was the leaſt brackiſh. This was found to be at the ſpot, where the famous vineyards of *Conſtantia* have

have been planted. An old man, whoſe father had been employed in the eſtabliſhment of them, related the above to me.

Many rivers, it is ſaid, are met with up the country, but none of them are navigable; hence all goods are conveyed, from one place to another, by carriages. The largeſt river, in the neighbourhood of the *Cape*, is called the *Zoute*, or *Salt* river, on account of its briny taſte. It is fordable every where, even cloſe to its mouth.

Every neceſſary of life is produced in abundance, in the country round this colony.

Very excellent wheat is grown in great plenty; ſo that, beſides the annual exportation to *Batavia*, other nations, the Engliſh, and eſpecially the French, take large quantities, both of flour and of baked bread, for their Indian poſſeſſions *. The corn is brought to the

* From 1400 to 1600 tons of wheat uſed yearly to be exported from the *Cape*, for the conſumption of *Batavia* and *Ceylon*; beſides large quantities of peaſe, beans, butter, and wines: and, on the other hand, *Batavia* furniſhed, by a yearly ſhip to the *Cape*, a quantity of rice, arrack, ſugar, and prepared timber. In the year 1771, the French contracted at the *Cape*, for the uſe of their colonies at *Mauritius* and *Bourbon*, for 400,000 *lbs.* of flour, 400,000 *lbs.* of biſcuit, 500,000 *lbs.* of

the town, from the interior parts of the country, by carts, drawn by oxen, each carrying a load of full one thouſand pounds weight, which, when I was laſt there, was ſold for fifteen rixdollars, or thirty-ſix gilders *.

The winepreſſes yield much wine of various ſorts, which are all, more or leſs, agreeable, and in requeſt.

Next to the genuine conſtantia, the wines called muſcadel, and *ſteen*-wine, are eſteemed the beſt. There is a ſort which in taſte reſembles madeira, but which is neither ſo ſtrong, nor ſo racy. The commoneſt wines are ſold at the *Cape*, for thirty-five, and forty rixdollars the leager; the muſcadel fetches ſixty and ſeventy rixdollars, and the conſtantia-wine from ſixty to ſeventy-five rixdollars the awm †.

The laſt mentioned has its name from the

of ſalt beef, and 1,200 leagers of wine. Since the *Cape* fell into the hands of the Engliſh, in September, 1795, many cargoes of wheat have been brought thence, to this country. T.

* See the further corrected ſtatements of Mr. STAVORINUS on this head, in the 10th chapter of the ſecond book, of the 3d volume.

† A leager is nearly four awms, and an awm contains about forty Engliſh gallons.

vineyards of *Conſtantia*; this delicious wine cannot be produced any where elſe. They lie behind the *Table*-Mountain, towards *Falſe*-Bay, and do not cover much more than forty acres of ground. The wine is preſſed from the muſcadel-grape, which is let hang till quite ripe, the ſound grapes are then culled out from the rotten ones, and are alone preſſed. The vintage is made in the month of March.

All kinds of fruit are likewiſe to be met with here, as well ſuch as are indigenous of the climate, as ſuch as are natives of Europe; currants, however, excepted, of which I ſaw none. Peaches and apricots are produced in abundance, but they did not ſeem to me to poſſeſs ſo fine a flavour as thoſe of our own growth.

CHAP.

CHAPTER II.

The Hottentots.—Their Appearance.—Deſcription of Capetown.—The Houſes. — River. — Church.— Townhall. — Hoſpital.—Its ill Conſtruction.— Bad Treatment of the Sick.—Public Library.— Caſtle.—Fortifications.—Company's Garden.—Menagery.—Aviary.—Other Gardens belonging to the Company.

THE native inhabitants of the country are the Hottentots; but they are, at preſent, for the moſt part, removed to a great diſtance from the *Cape*. They dwell together in villages, called *kraals*, and are under a chief, whom they elect themſelves, and who has the title of captain. The governor of the *Cape* confirms his nomination, and preſents him, as a token of his dignity, with a cane, upon which there is a large braſs head, with the uſual mark of the Company engraved upon it. They are very proud of this mark of diſtinction, and ſo tenacious of it, that they will loſe their lives in defence of it.

The Hottentots often hire themſelves, for

very trifling wages, as herdſmen to the farmers, or for other work. The few whom I ſaw of this nation, were of a moderate ſtature, not corpulent, but of a coarſe make, and a dark brown colour. They have large eyes, a flat noſe, and thick lips. They have thick and black curling hair upon their heads, like the negroes, upon which they ſmear all kinds of greaſy dirt, and make it one clotted lump of filth. Their teeth are ſmall, and as white as ſnow. They have no other dreſs, than a raw ſheepſkin, which is thrown over the ſhoulders; in the warm ſeaſon they wear the woolly ſide outwards, and turn it inſide when the cold months come on. The parts which moſt nations agree to conceal, are worn by the men in a cylindrical caſe, which is tied round the waiſt. The women, who are ſomewhat leſs coarſely made, but ſtill extremely unlovely, wear a ſmall ſquare piece of cloth, for the ſame purpoſe.

The town of the *Cape* lies at the foot of the *Lion's-tail*, and of *Table*-Mountain. It is oblong in ſhape, and it is interſected by ſeveral ſtreets, croſſing each other at right angles, though they in fact do not deſerve

that

that name, being all unpaved, and not at all level, the natural unevenneſs of the ground having been left unaltered. When I was the laſt time at the *Cape*, however, I was told, that they were going to be duly paved, and levelled. They are very broad, and afford ſufficient room for two carts, with ſixteen or twenty oxen yoked to them, to give way to each other, with great eaſe.

As I gueſs, there are, at preſent, full five hundred houſes, but they are almoſt all of but a ſingle ſtory, and thatched with ſtraw, or reed, inſtead of being tiled, becauſe of the violent and ſudden guſts of wind, to which they are continually expoſed. They are, for the moſt part, whitened on the outſides, with lime, which is burnt here from ſtones fetched from *Saldanha*-Bay. Within, they have a ſpacious hall, with roomy apartments on each ſide, behind which there is a large chamber, to which they give the name of the gallery.

The little river, which guſhes down from the *Table*-Mountain, runs through a large plain, to the ſouth of the town, in a canal, lined and faced with brick, which is adorned, on each ſide, with ſome of the handſomeſt

buildings of the country, and a row of ſhady trees; it is called the *Heeren-gragt*, or *Gentleman's-canal.*

Upon this plain, there are two fountains, which play conſtantly, though they may be ſtopped by large braſs cocks; the inhabitants, and the ſhips, are ſupplied with water from them.

The church ſtands upon the *Heeren-gragt*, and has four fronts, each embelliſhed with a portico. It is of an octagon form within. The roof is ſupported by pillars, againſt which the pews of the governor, and other ſervants of the Company, are placed, according to their rank. It has a pretty good organ. The little ſpire which aroſe from it, was heightened, when I was laſt at the *Cape.*

The townhall, which makes a tolerably handſome appearance on the outſide, ſtands upon a large open place, oppoſite to the town.

The Company's hoſpital is ſituated obliquely oppoſite to the church. It is built in the form of a croſs, and being incloſed amidſt other buildings, it is without a moſt neceſſary advantage for ſuch an inſtitution,

namely,

namely, a free circulation of air. It has beſides a very low roof, and is much too ſmall for the numerous ſick, brought to the *Cape* by the Company's ſhips. At its firſt eſtabliſhment, it was only made for the accommodation of five or ſix hundred patients: whereas it is now ſometimes crouded with more than a thouſand. This cauſes a continued and diſagreeable ſmell in the building, by which it does not unfrequently happen, that together with the ſick which are returned on board of ſhips from the hoſpital, a contagious diſeaſe is conveyed to the crew, which carries off a great number. The proviſions which are given to the patients are very good; but the neceſſary attendance is wholly wanting, as well as ſkilful practitioners. If any thing of the Company's affairs ever required a reform, it is the hoſpital at the *Cape*, not only with regard to the edifice itſelf, but likewiſe, and chiefly, with reſpect to the conduct of it. The wretched ſailors, do not only run the danger of loſing their lives, or ruining their conſtitutions, in this abode of ſtench and filth, but their wages are likewiſe withheld during the time they remain in the hoſpital,

and the money goes to the inſtitution, becauſe, forſooth, they do no ſervice while they are ſick, and are nevertheleſs provided with victuals and drink *.

Not far from the church, ſtands a building, which is embelliſhed with the proud title of *Bibliotheca Publica*. Very few good works are to be met with, among the few books it does contain; being in this reſpect perfectly ſimilar to that at *Batavia*, which is equally decorated with the ſame high-ſounding title. It is the ſexton of the church who is *Bibliothecarius*.

The caſtle of the *Cape*, is a regular pentagon; it ſtands ſoutheaſt from the town, about 800 feet, and about 330 from the ſeaſhore. On this ſide it is covered by a large outwork, and by a ravelin at the gate which leads to the town. The baſtions and curtains are built of hard rock-ſtone, and are about fourteen or fifteen feet high. Within, it has roomy dwelling-houſes for the governor, and other of the Company's ſer-

* In November, 1772, the foundation was laid, by Governor VAN PLETTENBERG, of a new hoſpital, on a larger ſcale, and in a more convenient ſituation, at the eaſt end of the town, between *Table*-Mountain and the citadel. *T.*

vants.

vants. They, however, do not make uſe of them, but live in the town, the military commander excepted, who is obliged to reſide in the fort. A large ſpace is left between the buildings. One particular deſerves notice, namely, the dangerous ſituation of the powder-magazine, which is built againſt the furnace, or kitchen, of the governor, though it is ſeparated from it by a thick wall of maſonry.

Southeaſt from the caſtle, along the beach, a line is drawn, at the end of which there is a ſmall fort, which was not finiſhed, when I was there, and upon which twenty-ſix pieces of cannon could be mounted. At the other ſide of the town, near *Sandhill-Point*, there is likewiſe a large battery, to which the name of the water-fort has been given.

All theſe fortifications ſerve for the defence of the road, and to prevent a landing here; but no one, who has any experience in war, would attempt it at this place.

Behind the town, on the acclivity of *Table*-Mountain, is the Company's garden, an oblong-ſquare piece of ground, of about ſixty acres. Its breadth is ſcarcely one-

ſixth

ſixth part of the length. The ground riſes gradually to the end of the garden, though the aſcent is ſcarcely perceptible in walking.

The ſoil is clayey and ſtony, yet it is continually ameliorated by manure, and freſh and good earth. Lengthwiſe, the garden has five walks, which lead in ſtraight lines upwards. The middle one is the broadeſt, and is planted with oak-trees, which, though they are not very large, afford a very agreeable ſhade by their thick foliage, uniting overhead. The other walks are equally planted with oak-trees, but they are cut like hedges. Theſe are interſected by eleven croſs walks, which are planted with bay * and myrtle-trees.

By this means, the garden is divided into forty-four ſquares, in which many ſorts of fruit-trees, and all kinds of vegetables, are grown; ſerving chiefly to afford refreſhments to the crews of the ſhips, that touch here.

The whole is watered by the little rivulet, which runs down from the *Table*-Mountain. It is conducted, out of the canal mentioned

* *Laurus nobilis.*

before,

before, to the garden, and then through numerous little channels to every bed.

At the eaſt ſide of the garden, about the middle, there is a handſome ſummerhouſe, for the recreation of the governor. There is alſo a menagery, which is ſurrounded by high walls, except on the ſide of the garden, where an iron railing admits the view of the animals that are confined in it. Theſe are, harts *, elks †, zebras ‡, oſtriches, caſſowaries, and many others. By the ſide of the menagery is an aviary, which contains moſt of the birds, to be met with in the country, which can be kept.

The garden is open, for the recreation of the public, till an hour after ſunſet, when the gate is cloſed. It uſed formerly to be open till late at night, but much abuſe being made hereof, it was prohibited.

No one may gather any fruits, or damage any of the productions, upon very heavy penalties. A number of attendants and ſlaves are continually at hand, to keep watch that no harm be done.

* *Capra dorcas.* † *Capra oryx.* ‡ *Equus zebra.*

Before,

Before the garden is the gardener's lodge, and next to it a building, in which the Company's ſlaves are locked up at night.

Beſides this the Company, have two other gardens, on the acclivity of the *Devil*'s Mountain, one of which is called *Newland*, and the other *het Ronde Boſch*, (the round grove); both of them are adorned with ſhady walks, and planted with a great number of fruit-trees.

In the firſt, I ſaw a ſtanding apricot-tree, which was ſo large, and had ſpread its branches ſo wide, that more than twenty men could be ſheltered under them, and it produced very good fruit, at the ſame time. The governor, and the next in command, live here, from time to time; and very good dwellinghouſes have been erected for them. It is a great pity that theſe pleaſant country-ſeats, are ſo ſubject to the violent attacks of the furious ſoutheaſt winds which continually ſweep down from the mountain.

CHAP.

CHAPTER III.

Animals.—Horſes —Oxen.—Cows.—Sheep.—Wild Animals.—Zebras —Oſtriches.—Sea-cows.—Game.—Fiſh.—Inſects.

THE horſes which are met with here, are ſmaller than in Europe, but they are indefatigable in running. Some of them are eaſy ſaddle-horſes, but many are very reſtive and uneaſy.

Oxen are made uſe of, both for the purpoſes of huſbandry, and to draw loaded waggons; from ſix to twenty of them, are yoked, two and two, and are commonly under the guidance of a Hottentot, and governed by a long whip.

The cows here do not give ſo much milk as in Holland; it is likewiſe ſuppoſed to be acrimonious and unwholeſome. They are alſo ſmaller; and ſuch as are, now and then, brought from Europe, are eſteemed much more than thoſe bred in the country.

Sheep * are in great plenty. They are,

* *Ovis laticauda.*

in

in general, larger, and their fleſh is full as well-taſted as in Europe. The tail, which conſiſts of pure fat, weighs five, and ſometimes more, pounds. Their ſkins are not covered with wool, but with a ſort of hair, which is not very fine. Sheep are likewiſe met with, which are brought from Holland, and propagate equally with the others, but they are not ſo abundant.

The wild animals, which are found in the country, and among which the lion, the tiger, the leopard, the buffalo, and the ape, are enumerated, are now far removed from the *Cape*, and are ſeldom ſeen near it. The wolf * only, at times, commits ſome nocturnal depredations.

Zebras are ſometimes caught alive, brought to the *Cape*, and tamed. I ſaw one in the Company's menagery. This animal has much analogy, in ſhape, with the common aſs, but is much larger. It is ſtriped with plain brown and white ſtripes, of about two inches broad, terminating under the belly, which is whitiſh. The head is likewiſe ſtriped, but with narrower lines. Although

* *Hyæna maculata, et canina.*

it

it be in a manner tamed, it is always very miſchievous, and bites, or kicks, at whatever other animal comes near it.

Oſtriches are likewiſe met with here. Their eggs are bought for two or three ſtivers apiece; they are very good, fried, or in paſtry, and very convenient to take with one, on a journey: one of them contains as much as twenty hen's eggs. The birds which I ſaw, were about four feet high, with ſtrong and thick legs, and ſtumps inſtead of wings; they carry their head and long neck upright. The male is much handſomer than the female; the latter is covered with an ugly kind of light brown hair, and thin feathers; but the feathers of the male are black, and much handſomer, and more gloſſy.

Sea-cows * are ſometimes met with in the rivers; but I ſaw none. I eat, however, of the fleſh of one, which the governor aſſured me, had weighed more than two thouſand pounds. The meat, and eſpecially the fat, is very taſteful, and does not at all diſagree with the ſtomach, however heartily one eats

* Sea-cow is the denomination given by the coloniſts at the Cape, to the *Hippopotamus*, or river-horſe. *T.*

of

of it: if not told beforehand, it might be taken for beef.

There is no want of game here; *ſteenboks* *, hares †, ſnipes ‡, and others, are in great plenty; the firſtmentioned, are very fine eating, and are eſteemed the beſt game.

The ſea yields an incredible quantity of fiſh, for the conſumption of the *Cape*. The Hottentot-fiſh, which is like a ſea-bream, is daily brought to market, in great plenty. The *Rooman*-fiſh, which is not unlike the former, only ſomething bigger, is one of the moſt delicious that is caught; it is covered with light red ſcales. Soles and rays are alſo abundant.

When we were ſailing from *Robben*-Iſland to the road of the *Cape*, we met a very large fiſh, floating upon its back, with its belly blown up, ſo that it appeared five feet above the water. It paſſed us within a ſhip's length, and appeared to be twenty feet in length. The opportunity would not allow of our hoiſting out a boat, or I ſhould certainly have endeavoured to have made myſelf maſter of it.

* *Capra grimmia.* † *Lepus capenſis, et communis.*
‡ *Scolopax capenſis.*

Many

Many inſects peculiar to warm countries, are found here. In particular, the inhabitants are much tormented by flies, of which there are incredible quantities. In the *Riet-vallei* (valley of reeds), about three Dutch miles from the *Cape*, I ſaw locuſts of all colours, full four inches in length, and one in thickneſs.

There are likewiſe ſcorpions, ſpiders, and centipedes. Of the laſt, there are ſome that are four inches in length; but it is very ſeldom, that any one is heard to have been ſtung by them.

CHAPTER IV.

Firſt Settlement of the Colony.—Extenſion of it by French Refugees.—Coloniſts in the Country.—Inhabitants of the Town.—Women.—Men.—Dreſs.—Character.—Their Trade.—Lodging of Strangers.—Cheapneſs of Proviſions.—Diſtempers.—The Small-pox.—Degrees of Heat.—Barometer.—Tides.—Coins.—Government.—The Governor.—Council of Polity.—Council of Juſtice.—Puniſhments.—Droſts.—Clergymen.—Troops and Militia.

ALTHOUGH the Portugueſe, the Dutch, and other nations, navigating to India, frequently touched at this ſouthern extremity of Africa, to refreſh themſelves in *Table*-Bay, as a tolerably ſafe harbour; yet none of them endeavoured to ſecure a durable eſtabliſhment here, till the year 1652. About that time, the directors of our Eaſt-India Company, though fit, upon the inſtigation of one VAN RIEBEEK, ſurgeon of one of their ſhips, to eſtabliſh a permanent ſettlement, for a place of refreſhment for their veſſels, at the *Cape of Good Hope*. For that purpoſe they ſent VAN RIEBEEK, with four ſhips,

laden

laden with the neceſſary materials, implements, and proviſions, to found a colony at this promontory. At firſt, he only built a fort of wood and earth, to which he gave the name of *Keer de Kou* (a defence againſt cold), adding a few other buildings wanted for his people, and to hold the goods.

This colony has, in fact, extremely well anſwered the intent with which it was ſettled, and has encreaſed ſo much ſince that time, that it may now be eſteemed one of the moſt indiſpenſable poſſeſſions of the Company.

A number of refugees from France, who were obliged to leave that country, in 1685, on account of their religion, did not a little contribute to the extenſion of the ſettlement. Although they met with an aſylum in our republic, they did not, all of them, find ſufficient means of ſupport; many, therefore, emigrated again to this country, in order to exert their induſtry, in the cultivation of thoſe fertile tracts, which lay here untilled, and ſcarcely noticed. To facilitate this to them, the Company directed, that the implements of huſbandry, cattle, and other neceſſaries, ſhould be delivered to them,

upon condition that their value ſhould be repaid, at the end of four years. Two-thirds of the farmers that live in the country, bear names which prove their French origin. Among others, there are a great many of the names of VILLIERS and RETIF.

The fruitfulneſs of the women in this healthy climate, where few, have leſs than ſix, and many, more than ten or twelve children, has occaſioned, and ſtill occaſions, the continual extenſion of the colony inland; ſo that, as I have been informed by people well worthy of credit, there are farmers who live at the diſtance of two hundred Dutch miles from the town, and ſtand in need of a month's time, to travel, with their teams of oxen, to the *Cape*. There are many of them who have never been at the ſettlement, and never go out of the diſtrict in which they dwell, contenting themſelves with what the country affords, and living a patriarchal life, free from care, diſquiet, and diſeaſe.

The inhabitants of the town, both men and women, look freſh and healthy. They are well-proportioned; and among the ladies, there are many who truly deſerve the name of beauties.

In

In general, they are likewiſe more witty and lively than the men; free in their manners, and very fond of pleaſure, which is, in fact, the buſineſs of their lives. They are much attached to ſtrangers, eſpecially to the Engliſh, who care not for their money, and ſpend it freely upon the ladies, and in procuring them every kind of diverſion. I did not perceive that they made much of the generality of our ſeamen; yet it does not unfrequently happen, that theſe pick up wives here, and bring them to Europe.

They all lead a very eaſy life. The men, who are freemen of the town, are ſeldom ſeen abroad: they are generally at home, in an undreſs, and ſpend their time in ſmoking tobacco, and in loitering up and down the houſe.

After dinner, they take a nap, according to the Indian faſhion, and in the evening they play a game at cards. They are not addicted to reading, and are, conſequently, very ignorant, and even know little of what is doing in other parts of the globe, except from what they may hear by the ſtrangers who viſit them from time to time. I met with ſeveral, who were not to be perſuaded,

that a better country, or a more pleaſant place, than this, their native home, was any where to be found.

In dreſs, both men and women follow the Dutch mode; the appearance of the latter, however, is more modiſh than might be expected at ſo ſmall a place.

The character of the inhabitants in general, eſpecially of the farmers, is open and friendly. They are extremely hoſpitable, and ſhare whatever they poſſeſs with the ſtrangers who may viſit them. In the town, however, much envy and jealouſy prevails among the inhabitants; they grudge each other the leaſt good fortune, and their companies, become in conſequence, on the long run, very diſagreeable to ſtrangers; for they cannot avoid ſhewing their ill will for their neighbours, by remarks and ſarcaſms, not always unaccompanied by ſlander and calumny.

Moſt families at the *Cape* are maintained by the trade, which they carry on with the ſeafaring people who touch there, or by keeping lodging-houſes for the ſhips' officers. Theſe generally pay one rixdollar per day, per head.

Theſe means would not, however, afford a ſufficient

a ſufficient livelihood, were not the neceſſaries of life proportionably cheap. A good fat ſheep ſeldom coſts more than ſeven ſkillings *; when I was there, beef ſold for four or five doits (eighths of a ſtiver) per pound; a *mud* † of wheat amounted to about four gilders; the common wines were ſold, from two to three and a half ſtivers per bottle. Beer is not much drank here, though there is a brewery near the town, where pretty good malt-liquor is made.

On the other hand, all articles for dreſs muſt be imported from Europe, or from the Indies, and this renders the *Cape* in this reſpect a dear place. European broad cloth generally affords a handſome profit, as an article of trade.

The chief diſorders incident to the country, are ſuch as ariſe from colds, occaſioned by the variability of the weather, and the great changes in it, which are ſometimes felt on the ſame day. Fluxes, putrid fevers, and all diſeaſes proceeding from exceſſive heat and noxious exhalations, are ſeldom heard of, except in the hoſpital.

* About 3*s.* 9*d.* ſterling. *T.*

† A mud is equal to about three buſhels. *T.*

This ſettlement has, however, not long ago, ſuffered amazingly, for the third time, by the ravages of the ſmall-pox. Many of the inhabitants, who had never had this diſorder, fled to the country, where it had not ſpread, and the town became, on a ſudden, an abandoned and ſolitary place.

In the beginning of this century, this deſtructive ſcourge was unknown in this country. It was in the year 1713, as I was told by ſome old people who were then alive, that it was diſcovered for the firſt time, and deſtroyed a great number of the inhabitants.

The *Cape* remained free from its ravages, afterwards, till the year 1755, when it again burſt out with great fury, and carried off upwards of two-and-twenty hundred of the inhabitants of the town, in a very ſhort time.

It appeared for a third time, in the years 1765 and 1766. The infection was then ſaid to have been brought by an Indian ſlave with one of the homeward ſhips. It did not rage with ſo much violence, as the two former times; but it was not till the year 1769 that it entirely diſappeared.

During this latter prevalence of the contagion, one gentleman inoculated two of his children,

children, with this ſingular conſequence, that the eruption did not take place, till the forty-fourth day after inoculation; they both did very well, and were alive when I left the *Cape*. This man was the only one, who was rational enough, to put this ſalutary invention in practice.

The greateſt degree of heat, that I obſerved here, was 87°, and the loweſt 68°, in the afternoon, by a Fahrenheit's thermometer. The barometer riſes and falls very ſuddenly; it generally aſcends when the wind is at S.E. and deſcends when at N.W.

The tides do not riſe high; the difference between high and low water being no more than three or four feet.

The ſilver ducatoon, which goes in India for eighty ſtivers, is only current here for ſeventy-two, whether milled or not. Rupees, whether of *Batavia*, *Surat*, or *Bengal*, indiſcriminately, go for twenty-four ſtivers. The coins which are current in Holland, are equally ſo here, except the Zealand rixdollars, for which no more than fifty ſtivers can be obtained. Seſthalfs (pieces of 5½ ſtivers) go for ſkillings (pieces of ſix ſtivers). Accounts are kept here, juſt as at *Batavia*, in rixdollars

ſixdollars of forty-eight ſtivers. At public ſales, and likewiſe in retail, the prices are taken at Cape gilders of ſixteen ſtivers each. The Company's books are kept here, as well as through all India, in Holland's currency.

The chief authority is veſted in a governor, who is, at the ſame time, counſellor of India. During my abode here, this office was filled by Mr. TULBAGH, who had reſided at the *Cape*, in a variety of ſtations, ever ſince the year 1716, and was univerſally beloved by the coloniſts, on account of his excellent qualities.

A certain number of the chief ſervants of the Company, are given to him as counſellors, and who form the council of polity. The ſecond in rank next to the governor, and the fiſcal, who is independent of him, have the rank of ſenior merchants; and theſe, together with the chief of the military, who has the title of lieutenant-colonel, or major, are the principal perſons of the eſtabliſhment.

The management of whatever regards navigation, is veſted in a comptroller of equipment, who is equally a member of the council of polity.

The adminiſtration of juſtice is confided to a ſeparate

a ſeparate council, of which, the ſecond in command of the colony is preſident. In civil matters, an appeal lies from their ſentence to the council of juſtice at *Batavia*. In criminal affairs, they are empowered both to paſs ſentence of death, and to put it into immediate execution.

Puniſhments are very ſevere here, eſpecially with regard to oriental ſlaves. In the year 1768, I ſaw one, who had ſet an houſe on fire, broken alive upon the wheel, after the fleſh had been torn from his body, in eight different places, with red-hot pincers, without his giving any ſign of pain, during the execution of this barbarous ſentence, which laſted full a quarter of an hour. Impalement is in uſe here, as well as at *Batavia*.

Officers are appointed in the interior parts of the colony, called *droſts*, or ſheriffs, who arreſt criminals, but have no power of trying or judging them; they muſt be ſent up to the council of juſtice, to be examined and puniſhed.

Beſides the above, there are ſeveral other civil courts, or boards.

There are three clergymen of the reformed religion, who preach twice every Sunday.

The

The Company's troops amount to about four hundred men. The inhabitants of the town, and the country-people, are all likewise enrolled, and divided into companies.

END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.



W. DENNY ESQ.

052.1.2.15.

PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY
BY THE RHODES TRUSTEES

VOYAGES

TO THE

EAST-INDIES;

BY THE LATE

JOHN SPLINTER STAVORINUS, ESQ.

REAR ADMIRAL IN THE SERVICE OF THE

STATES-GENERAL.

Tranſlated from the original Dutch,

BY SAMUEL HULL WILCOCKE.

WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The Whole comprifing a full and accurate Account of all the preſent and late Poſſeſſions of the Dutch in India, and at the Cape of Good Hope.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING

A VOYAGE TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, BATAVIA, SAMARANG, MACASSER, AMBOYNA, AND SURAT, WITH ACCOUNTS OF THOSE PLACES; IN THE YEARS 1774 AND 1775.

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VOYAGE

TO

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, BATAVIA, SAMARANG, MACASSER, AMBOYNA, SURAT, &c.

IN THE YEARS 1774—1778.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from ZEALAND.—*Ill State of Health of the Crew.*—*Management with Regard to the Sick.*—*View of the Iſland* MADEIRA.—*Some Particulars reſpecting two of the Crew who died.*—*View of the Iſlands* SAL.—BONAVISTA.—MAYO.—ST. JAGO.—*Anchorage in* PORTO PRAYA.—*Deſcription of the Harbour.*—*Of the Town.*—*Deſolate Condition of the* CAPE VERDE *Iſlands.*—*Viſit to the Governor, and Vice-governor.*—*Departure from* ST. JAGO.—*Reflections on the Allowances of Water at Sea.*—*Paſſage of the Line.*—*Account of ſome Sea-birds.*—*Dreadful Storms.*—*Signs of Land.*—*Make the Land of Africa.*—*Tremendous Hurricane.*—*Continued bad Weather.*—*Twice driven off the Coaſt.*—*Anchorage in* FALSE BAY.—*Account of the Bay.*—

Bay.—Of the Company's Buildings.—Two Engliſh, and one French, Ships found here.—Miſunderſtanding between the Government, and the French Captain.—How ſettled.—Complaints at the Cape of the French.

ON the 9th of March, 1774, the wind having changed to E.N.E. I left *Middleburgh* in the morning, in company with the junior merchant, VAN DER STENGH, and the under comptroller of equipment, DUIFVOET, for *Rammekens*, where my ſhip, the *Ouwerkerk*, lay at anchor,

As ſoon as we were on board, we ſent for the pilot, and the maſter of the Company's pilot-hoy; who thinking the opportunity for ſailing a favourable one, we weighed anchor at ten o'clock, and ſet ſail. Preſently after, the pilot-hoy, by bad management, run athwart our bow, ſo that we were in great danger of doing, or receiving, damage, or of being forced aground, upon the flat called the *kloot*, or ball. Fortunately, however, we got away from each other, without either of us receiving any damage of conſideration.

In the mean time, it was reported to me,

me, that the ſurgeon of the ſhip, who had been very ill for ſome days, was upon the point of death, which made me determine upon propoſing to the under comptroller of equipment, to caſt anchor before *Fluſhing*, inſtead of proceeding to the place called the *Put*, or Pit; the more ſo, as I ſhould then have a better opportunity of receiving further orders from the honourable the board of directors, in caſe they made any ſcruple of ſending the ſhip to ſea, with a dying ſurgeon, and between ſeventy and eighty of the crew on the ſicklиſt.

Hereupon I received orders from Mr. VAN BURGT, through the comptroller of equipment, to proceed to ſea the next day, if I myſelf made no difficulty reſpecting the ſituation of the ſurgeon, which, to ſay the truth, I did not; and therefore, I weighed anchor at nine A.M. and got under ſail, with a ſtiff gale at E.N.E. At eleven o'clock, we cleared the land, carrying little ſail, till eight P.M. when we changed our courſe to S.W. by S. We run under double-reefed topſails, during the night, and on the next morning, being the 11th of March,

juſt before ſunriſe, we came in ſight of the coaſts of England and France. We then carried a preſs of ſail; at eight o'clock we paſſed *Dover*, and afterwards the *Shingles*, and at noon, we run cloſe in with *Beachy*-head, to put the pilot on board the hoy, the maſter of which told me, he ſhould keep company with me, as far as the *Start* Point, if I did not keep too far off ſhore.

I diſpatched ſeveral letters by the pilot, and among others, one to the honourable the board of directors of *Zealand*, to inform them of my progreſs thus far, in ſafety, and that, when I muſtered the ſhip's crew upon ſailing, there were ſix ſailors miſſing.

We got ſight of the Iſle of *Wight* in the evening, and the next day, at ſunriſe, of the bill of *Portland*. We preſently afterwards hailed the maſter of the hoy, and informed him, that we had ſeventy-five ſick; but, further, all well. We wiſhed each other a proſperous voyage, and ſteered for the *Start* Point.

At ten o'clock A.M. the hoy ſaluted us with ſeven guns, which we returned with the ſame number; ſhe then ſteered cloſer in ſhore,

ſhore, having to call at *Falmouth* for an anchor, which one of the Company's ſhips had left behind there.

We took our laſt obſervation of the land, being the *Start* Point, an hour before ſunſet, and in a ſhort time we loſt ſight of it, and, together with it, Europe, for a conſiderable period, ſetting our courſe S.W. by W.

Nothing happened worthy of remark till the 17th of March, except that we ſaw ſeveral ſhips, and that two of our men died. We were then encountered by a violent ſtorm, at firſt from the S.W. but afterwards from W.N.W. and N.W. which continued till the 19th, with an angry and mountainous ſea, by which the ſhip ſtrained and heeled very much. This awakened in thoſe who had never been at ſea, eſpecially in the junior merchant (the ſupercargo), and the commander of the ſoldiers, the greateſt apprehenſion of death; it made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the latter, in particular, that he was continually at prayers, upon his knees, though he was not otherwiſe very religious. So we may ſee that fear produces

what the ſtrongeſt arguments, and moſt earneſt exhortations, have failedto effect.

At noon, on the 19th of March, the ſtorm had entirely ſubſided; we availed of this opportunity to repair the little damage which we had received.

The favourable wind which we then had, did not continue ſo, longer than the evening of the next day, when we met with calms and contrary winds. We had, however, now paſſed Cape *Finiſterre*, the northweſt point of *Gallicia*.

The wind remained contrary, though with fine weather, till the 23d of March, when the ſoutherly wind veered to eaſt, and N.E. with good weather, which, in the latitudes we were in, to the north of the line, is rather a ſingular circumſtance; for, generally, when the wind turns againſt the courſe of the ſun, it is accompanied by very bad, ſhowery, and windy weather, which does not change till the wind returns round the ſame way it came, to the north, of which we had a ſtriking example in the laſt ſtorm.

On the 24th of March, a ſailor died, who was

was the fourth, ſince our departure from *Zealand*; certainly a ſmall number, in compariſon with the numerous ſick, with which we had put to ſea; theſe were now reduced to ſixty-ſix, and they were daily getting better.

They that recovered, undoubtedly owed their cure, more to the operations of nature, than to the medicines which were adminiſtered to them.

The ſurgeon was very ill, and wholly incapable of viſiting the patients. One of his mates was equally ſick, and the two others, did not even poſſeſs ſufficient ſkill in their art, to diſtinguiſh the diſeaſe, much leſs to preſcribe the neceſſary remedies; ſo that, as I afterwards underſtood, ſcarcely any thing was adminiſtered to the poor ſailors, but *rob ſambuci*, and *ſpiritus nitri dulcis*, with a copious ſupply of drink.

I had likewiſe obſerved, when we were lying at anchor, in the road of *Rammekens*, and had one hundred and fourteen ſick, and daily deaths, that after the ſurgeon fell ill, their number decreaſed from day to day.

On my part, I had put every means in practice, from the moment that this extra-

ordinary degree of ſickneſs manifeſted itſelf, if not to remove it, at leaſt to arreſt its progreſs, and ſoften its malignity.

For this purpoſe, I ordered the places where the ſick lay, to be cleaned out every day, without, however, ſuffering any water to be uſed in ſcouring, or otherwiſe, between the decks; for due conſideration, and my experience on former voyages, had taught me, that the moiſt exhalation from the wet that remains behind, contributes greatly to encreaſe the corruption of the air impriſoned in theſe narrow places.

Freſh air was ſupplied in every poſſible manner, as well by the uſual openings of the ſhip, as by means of the ventilators, cool-ſail, &c. The ſick were ſhifted from time to time; their bedding aired; their ordure was not ſuffered to remain below in open buckets, but was immediately carried up, in cloſed caſes; their hands and faces were waſhed every morning with vinegar; their mouths rinſed; and the whole of the ſick-ward was daily fumigated with juniper-berries, and ſprinkled with vinegar.

By putting all theſe means in practice, I was fortunate enough, to moderate the great

great heat, which, in a place, where more than one hundred ſick were crouded together, muſt have been exceſſive; ſo that at night, it did not differ more than 10° from that of my own cabin, which I aſcertained by hanging two ſimilar thermometers in each place.

While we were at *Rammekens*, the directors contributed greatly to the alleviation and refreſhment of theſe wretched ſailors, in their ſtate of debility and diſtreſs, by ſending them a daily ſupply of freſh meat and greens, in which the part of the crew that were in health alſo participated; I cauſed a nouriſhing ſoup to be made for the ſick, of the meat, every day; and, when at ſea, I continued this practice, with regard to the ſick, at noon: in the morning, I gave them grout, with prunes, mixed with white wine and ſugar; and in the evening, bread ſoaked in beer, and ſweetened with treacle.

I made the convaleſcents walk for one or two hours, every day, or as long as their ſtrength would allow, between the upper and middle decks, where the air was freſher than in the ſick-ward, and not ſo cold as upon the upper deck.

When

When they had continued this, for a few days, they came above, in fine weather, in order to regain their loſt ſtrength, by inhaling the pure ſea-air, and at the ſame time, to warm themſelves in the rays of the ſun, which encreaſed in force every day. But I did not ſuffer them to do any duty, till they were perfectly reſtored to their former ſtrength, and fully able to perform the uſual ſhip's work.

But, to return to our voyage. On the 24th of March, we ſaw two ſmall land-birds, which made me conclude that we were more to the eaſtward, or cloſer in with the land, than we computed by the ſhip's reckoning; the more ſo, as in traverſing the bay of *Biſcay*, we had daily found ourſelves more ſouthward than our eſtimation, which I attributed to a current running to the S.E. and which continually ſets into that bay from the eaſtward.

The favourable wind which we got, after theſe little adverſities, carried us, on the 27th of March, in ſight of the iſland *Madeira*, the weſt part of which we diſcovered half an hour before ſunſet. This was conſiderably different from my expectation; for

I had

I had depended, from the reaſons above-mentioned, that we ſhould have been to the eaſtward of our reckoning: whereas, the contrary proved to be the caſe, as we found ourſelves twenty-two leagues to the weſtward of it.

This is a ſingular circumſtance, for of twenty ſhips, there is ſcarcely one that has a weſterly miſreckoning here; in general they are all to the eaſtward of their computation; owing to the indraught of the currents, both into the bay of *Biſcay*, and into the bend between Cape *St. Vincent*, and Cape *Cantin*, in which laſt they ſet ſtrongly to the eaſt, towards the Straits of *Gibraltar:* in our caſe, the contrary ſeems to have taken place.

I had myſelf ſo little expectation of ſeeing the land on that ſide, that although, in the afternoon, the ſky bore, in that quarter, much the appearance of land, ſhewing like the haze of thick clouds, hanging over high land, as *Madeira* is, and in the ſame manner as I had before ſeen that iſland overhung with clouds, I ſaid to one of my lieutenants, that if the ſky had the ſame appearance to the weſtward, as it now ſhew-

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ed to the eaſt, I ſhould think that it was *Madeira*, but that there was no probability of its being to the eaſtward of us. We, however, ſaw it, in that quarter, though but a ſmall part of its eaſtern extremity was viſible to us, the reſt of the iſland remaining hid, by the clouds above, and by a thick haze below.

Towards evening we loſt ſight of it, and ſteered our courſe, in order to run fifteen or twenty leagues to the weſtward of the iſlands *Palma* and *Fuego*, the moſt weſterly of the *Canary* iſlands, and afterwards to the eaſtward of the *Cape Verde* iſlands.

On the 28th of March, died one JOACHIM VAN WIEKEN, a native of *Riga*, where he had been a capital merchant, and to the moſt conſiderable of the inhabitants of which place he was related. He had been unfortunate in his buſineſs, partly by a too implicit confidence, and partly by his own careleſſneſs and negligence, ſo that he was obliged to quit his trade, and native place, and to ſeek his fortune elſewhere.

This man came to me at *Middleburgh* in the month of November, requeſting to be enliſted as a ſoldier for India, in my ſhip.

As

As he was very well dreſſed, and had perfectly the manners and appearance of a gentleman, I was much ſurprized at his application. I endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to perſuade him to abandon his purpoſe, by laying before him, the danger and inconvenience of ſo long a voyage, and the diſagreeable treatment he was likely to meet with in ſo low a ſtation; it was, however, all in vain, he was fixed in his reſolution to undertake the voyage; aſſuring me that the ſecond in command of the Company's factory at *Banjermaſſing*, in the iſland of *Borneo*, was his couſin; and that this perſon had, ſeveral times, written to his family, that one of them ſhould come over to him; that he was rich, and, though married, had no children; that whoever came to him ſhould be his heir, &c. VAN WIEKEN now wanted to try this reſource for reeſtabliſhing his ruined affairs, if poſſible.

I endeavoured to convince him, how little reaſon there was, to indulge in ſuch expectations, as his relation might be dead before he reached India, or he might have children, or have changed his mind; that, in ſuch a caſe, he would not only have performed

formed a long and difficult voyage to no purpoſe, but he would beſides find himſelf in a remote and ſtrange country, where he knew no body, and whither he had no introduction, or recommendation; that he would wander about without reſource, and would be obliged to perform the hard duties of that ſervice in which he was engaged, and to which he would not find himſelf competent.

Nothing, however, could make him waver in his determination; and, I therefore engaged him as a ſailor, becauſe, if his views proved abortive, it would be eaſier for him to leave the Indies, as a ſailor, than as a ſoldier.

As ſoon as he came on board, I had him lodged in the gunroom, and excuſed him from performing the duty of a ſailor.

The reigning diſorder on board attacked him, ſoon after we were at ſea, and ſnatching him from life, and his golden dreams of future wealth, gave him up a prey to the fiſhes of the deep. So are the plans of prudence, and the projects of temerity, baffled by the decrees of providence, and however far advanced towards their com-

completion, the idle viſion is diſſipated, in a moment, by the breath of heaven.

The day before, we had loſt one MATTHEW JOSEPH AGOO, a native of *Liege*, who, when he came on board, told me, that he was a teacher of the Latin, French, Italian, and German languages. A few days afterwards, he began to ſhew ſigns of inſanity, and deſired to be ſet on ſhore. I aſked him, whether he had any reaſon to complain of bad treatment? which he anſwered in the negative; adding, however, "that his deſtiny called him on ſhore, and not on "board a ſhip." I endeavoured to convince him of the contrary, by ſtating that my deſtiny, as well as his, and that of the whole of the ſhip's crew, called us to go the voyage to India. Upon this he ſaid, "that, in order to be perfectly eaſy, he "muſt have his wife and children on "board." When this was refuſed him, he begged again to be ſet on ſhore, promiſing by all that was ſacred, that he would become a capuchin. I ſoon ſaw that little was to be done with him, and left him, directing my officers to take particular care of him, eſpecially that he ſhould not be ill treated.

treated. The next morning, at ſeven o'clock, as he was ſtanding by the main-chains, he ſuddenly, bidding his ſhipmates farewel, ſprang overboard; fortunately, one of the ſailors, who was leaning out of a porthole between the decks, caught him by the hair of his head, or he would have been carried away by the ſtream. When he was ſafe on board again, I had him put in irons for four-and-twenty hours, after which he ſeemed to have come to his ſenſes again. I took this opportunity of aſking him who he was, and further particulars about his parentage, ſituation, &c. His ſtory was as follows:

" He was born," he ſaid, " at *Liege*, and " had early been educated there, by the Je- " ſuits, for a learned profeſſion, and had even, " in ſome meaſure, engaged himſelf in their " fraternity. Afterwards he had left *Liege*, " and had lived for a long time in *Ger-* " *many*, particularly at *Prague*. He then " met with a German nobleman, who " made him tutor to his children. A little " time afterwards, he became acquainted " with a young woman, whom he married, " and by whom he had three children. Af-

ter

" ter his marriage, he went, with his wife,
" to reſide at a place in *Germany*, where he
" had a comfortable livelihood for himſelf
" and his family, till, after having lived
" for ſeveral years in happineſs, he was
" overtaken by a misfortune, which in-
" volved them all in diſtreſs and miſery.
" Among his books, he had one, entitled,
" *La Pierre Philoſophale*, which was moſt
" ſtrictly prohibited at that place. His
" wife being once in converſation with one
" of her neighbours, on ſuch ſubjects, ſaid,
" in the ſimplicity of her heart, that her
" huſband had that book in his poſſeſſion;
" upon which the other begged to look
" at it, and afterwards to borrow it, pro-
" miſing to return it the next day; but in-
" ſtead of keeping his word, he carried it
" directly to the officers of juſtice; who
" immediately ſeized upon the property of
" the unfortunate delinquent, and would
" equally have ſecured his perſon, had he
" not ſaved himſelf by flight. Upon this,
" he returned to *Liege*, to ſee whether he
" could not raiſe ſome money, for the aſſiſt-
" ance of his diſtreſſed family, left behind
" in *Germany*; not ſucceeding in this, he

" went to *Maeſtricht*, intending to enliſt as " a ſoldier, but he had there been inveigled " away, by one of the under-crimps, em- " ployed by the perſons, who procure re- " cruits, for the Dutch Eaſt-India Com- " pany's ſervice, in which he had been in- " duced to engage, and had thus become " a ſoldier, on board of the ſhip *Ouwer-* " *kerk*."

After we loſt ſight of the iſland *Madeira*, we had ſtiff gales, from the north and N.E. which carried us ſwiftly along, and, on the 1ſt of April, we paſſed the tropic of cancer, without any thing worthy of notice, except that, on that day, the ſea appeared very turbulent, with ſtrong ripplings of currents. The heat was not very conſiderable, for the thermometer did not reach to 70° in the warmeſt part of the day. Our ſick were daily recovering, and we had every proſpect, that we ſhould ſhortly be without a ſingle man unfit for duty.

At nine o'clock, A.M. on the 4th of April, we ſaw the iſland *Sal*, the northweſternmoſt of the *Cape Verde* iſlands. We here came to a determination of touching at *St. Jago*, to ſee whether we could not get a ſupply of

of water, and of refreſhments, for our ſick, and for thoſe who had recovered, but were weakly, and were threatened with the ſcurvy.

A ſhort time before noon, we ſaw the iſland *Bonaviſta*, along the eaſt ſide of which, we ſailed at two leagues diſtance, and towards the evening, we loſt ſight of it again.

The next morning, at ſunriſe, we ſaw the iſland *Mayo*, and we ſailed to the eaſtward of it, at the diſtance of a ſhort league.

All theſe iſlands appeared very barren, and burnt up. Neither trees, nor graſs, were to be ſeen; nothing but bare rocks, and breakers on all ſides, which, however, appeared not to extend more than a quarter of a league from the ſhore.

Having paſſed this iſland, we ſteered for that of *St. Jago*, and running in ſight of it, and cloſe in with the ſhore, we made the point of *Porto Praya*, which equally appeared very arid and ſcorched, and the hills were even become red from the parching climate.

Juſt before we came to the point of *Porto*

Praya, we ſaw an inlet, or bay, which is called the *Falſe Bay of Praya.*

In the deepeſt part of this bay, there was a little grove of cocoanut-trees, and a few houſes; but a heavy ſurf broke all along the ſhore. This is eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed from the true bay of *Praya*, as the eaſt point of the latter is high, ſteep, and without breakers, and that of the former is very low, and ſurrounded by heavy breakers.

We ran cloſe along the eaſt point of *Porto Praya*, about a piſtolſhot from the ſhore, and let drop our common bower-anchor, under the ſtern of a large Engliſh ſhip, in eleven fathoms, black ſandy bottom; but as it would not hold, we likewiſe ran out our beſt bower, to which the ſhip bore up.

We had in the mean time been driven, by the force of the wind, to within three cables' length of the weſt point, which is nothing but a range of rocks, ſo that we were in the utmoſt danger, and could not carry out any other anchor to warp us off, as the gale was too ſtrong.

We found ſix ſhips lying at anchor here; namely,

namely, an Engliſh Eaſt-Indiaman, bound to *Bengal*; two French veſſels for *Mauritius*, and three Portugueſe for *Brazil*.

Porto Praya is ſituated, according to my obſervation there, in north latitude, 14° 50′, at the moſt ſouthern part of the iſland *St. Jago*.

It is a pretty deep bay, formed to the eaſt by the beforementioned point, whence the land trends to the north, to the deepeſt part of the bay. This eaſtern ſhore is very high and mountainous; at the end of the bay, a little to the weſt, there is a very indifferent fortification, upon a little eminence, which is called the caſtle, and upon which, the Portugueſe enſign is hoiſted, when any ſhips arrive.

The land then turns, in a ſoutherly direction, with high mountains, ending in a range of rocks, very little elevated above the ſurface of the ſea, which form the weſt point of the bay.

Almoſt in the middle, between the weſt point and the caſtle, about two cables' length from the ſhore, there is a ſmall iſland, which, by the eye, appears to be about thirty feet perpendicular out of the water. It is flat at

top, like a table, and about eight hundred feet in circumference, by computation. The French call it *l'Iſle aux Cailles.* The ſeamen who die in the harbour, are buried there.

Boats, but no ſhips, can paſs between this iſland, and the weſt ſhore; the paſſage is filled with ſunken rocks.

The ciſtern, whence the ſhips take in their water, is at the bottom of the hill upon which the caſtle is built; and in common ſeaſons, if drawn dry in the evening, is full again the next morning, though the water itſelf is not very good, being more or leſs brackiſh.

The town of *Praya* conſiſts of a few ſcattered huts of wood and clay. There are no more than two or three brick buildings, which even can ſcarcely be called houſes, and which are inhabited by the governor and vice-governor.

There is nothing very attractive in the appearance of the whole; and the dry and parched look of the country, indicates ſufficiently that it is ſituated in the middle of the torrid zone.

Being confined on board, partly by ill health,

health, and by the dangerous ſituation of my ſhip, which required my conſtant preſence, I did not go on ſhore to ſee every thing myſelf, but I noted down the information I received from my officers.

As ſoon as we were ſafe at anchor, and had ſaluted the king's flag with ſeven guns, and were anſwered with the ſame number, I ſent the boat on ſhore with my officers, to inform the governor of my arrival, and to requeſt that I might be ſupplied with water and refreſhments.

They brought me information in return, that no refreſhments were to be procured at the iſland, it not having rained for more than nine months; and that the diſtreſs for proviſions was ſo great, that the inhabitants were in great danger of periſhing with famine, if the ſhip with proviſions, which had been long ago written for from *Portugal*, did not ſpeedily make her appearance *; that there

* This drought was, in effect, followed, in the ſame year, by a general famine in the *Cape Verde* iſlands, in which many hundreds of people periſhed for want. The commander of a Dutch ſhip, which touched at *St. Jago* during this diſtreſsful ſeaſon, received ſeveral of the natives, with their wives and

there was very little water, for that the crews of the ſhips which lay at anchor here, were employed, night and day, in drawing out the leaſt water that came into the ciſtern; ſo that if we could, at moſt, obtain two leagers a day, we might think ourſelves very well off; and this quantity was no more than we wanted every day, for our conſumption.

As ſoon as they landed, they were conducted by the centinel, whoſe muſquet was

children, who ſold themſelves to him, in order to eſcape the dreadful conſequences of want. He carried them to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and ſold them there; but when the government was informed of it, he was ordered to redeem them at his own expence, to carry them back to their native country, and to bring a certificate from the Portugueſe governor, importing the execution of theſe orders. The circumſtances of theſe iſlands ſeem not to have been ameliorated ſince; for, in 1792, when the Lion ſtopped at *St. Jago*, on her outward paſſage to China, the iſland was in an abſolute ſtate of famine. Little or no rain had fallen there for about three years before. The rivers were, almoſt all, entirely dry. The ſurface of the earth was, in general, deſtitute of herbage. The greateſt part of the cattle had already periſhed, not leſs through drought, than want of food. Of the inhabitants, many had migrated, many were famiſhed to death. It is remarkable, that, in oppoſition to the preſent parched and deſolate ſtate of theſe iſlands, the frequent ſhowers, which were obſerved by the firſt navigators, who touched at this identical place, the iſland of *St. Jago*, induced them to give it the name of *Pluvialis*. *T.*

without

without a lock, to the government-houſe, which made a very wretched appearance, where they had to wait, till the governor was in readineſs to receive them. They thought that he had firſt to dreſs himſelf, as they ſaw clothes carried in doors.

At laſt being conducted in, they were received by his excellency, without a coat, and in his waiſtcoat, having his hair turned up ſmooth over the head, and making, upon the whole, a ſtrange figure *. He mentioned, among other things, that the outward-bound Eaſt-India Company's ſhips, *Honkoop*, the *Veldhoen*, *Zuidbeveland*, and *Bothland*, had lain at anchor here, from the 22d of January till the 12th of February laſt, that they had brought many ſick with them, and left many dead behind them.

The furniture of the chamber of audience, conſiſted of two chairs, a ſmall table, and two little pictures hung againſt the wall: in the middle, it was divided acroſs by a mat,

* The name and ſtyle of this auguſt perſonage, was Don JOACHIM SALAMA SALDANHA DE LOBOS, governor general, for the crown of Portugal, of the Cape de Verde on the main land of Africa, and of the Cape de Verde iſlands oppoſite to it. *T.*

and

and the part on the other ſide ſerved for a kitchen.

They were then carried to the vice-governor, who was dreſſed in a red cloth coat, with gold lace, and a large pair of ſpectacles upon his noſe. His abode was alſo furniſhed ſomething better. Againſt the wall hung three watches, and a little wooden cuckow-clock, which he ſaid had been given to him by a Dutch captain. In one corner of the room lay ſeveral folio books, which ſeemed to be in a very ſhabby condition.

Wherever they came, they were importuned by the common people for aſſiſtance of proviſions. There was even a Portugueſe, who, by his dreſs, ſeemed to be an officer, and who offered one of my men ten Spaniſh dollars, to be taken on board my ſhip, promiſing to do the duty of a common ſailor, if he could but get away from this wretched country, where he expected in a ſhort time to die of hunger.

As I now found that neither any refreſhments, nor any water, were to be procured here, I determined to depart with all ſpeed, and proſecute my voyage. I left two letters to be forwarded to Holland, one of which

was

was for the directors of the Eaſt-India Company, informing them of the ſituation of my ſhip and crew. I ſent the governor two or three cheeſe, and ſome ſtockfiſh, to induce him to take particular care of my letters; he received my preſent with many thanks, and aſſured me, he would, without fail, diſpatch the letters by ſome opportunity for Europe.

On the 7th of April, early in the morning, we began to heave our anchors; but the common bower came home without a ſtock, and with all the force we could bring to man the capſtan, we could not move the beſt bower; we, therefore, determined to cut the cable, to get the ſhip out of her dangerous ſituation, which we did, and got under ſail about half paſt ſeven o'clock.

The firſt day after we left *St. Jago*, it blew hard from the N.E. but the wind ſlackened in the following days; though we retained the N.E. tradewind till the 14th of April, in 4° north latitude; where we met with calms and variable winds, accompanied by thunder, lightning, and heavy ſhowers of rain.

We availed of this opportunity to catch ſome rain-water, and, for two mornings running,

running, we ſecured ſeven or eight leagers, though the heavy rain did not laſt longer than two hours each time. This allowed me, with greater eaſe, to give the men plenty of water; by which I had the good fortune to find, that in a hot and unhealthy climate, where the thermometer was frequently at 82°, my ſhip was without a ſingle ſick man, except one of my lieutenants, and a gunners' mate, who had both, for years before, been valetudinarians.

To the circumſtance of being able to give them a plentiful allowance of water, I chiefly attributed the healthineſs of my crew, during the remainder of the voyage; and I have found, by experience, that no more water is expended, by having an open water-caſk upon deck, than when the crew are put upon an allowance of ten *muts* * per day, if care be taken that none of it be ſpilt, or unneceſſarily expended, which may eaſily be prevented by placing a centinel at the water-caſk.

The reaſon why the men derive more benefit from it, in this way, is, that the ſame quantity then ſerves them for four or five

* About two pints and a half. *T.*

draughts,

draughts, which they otherwiſe conſume at once, in the morning (the time when the allowance is given out), partly out of greedineſs, or from the thirſt which they have ſuffered during the night, and partly becauſe they have no means of keeping the remainder of their allowance. Hence, when they have thus drank up all at once, in the morning, they muſt, in a burning climate, endure the moſt dreadful thirſt, for the remainder of the four-and-twenty hours, which is not a little aggravated by the ſalt and dry nature of their proviſions.

I likewiſe took particular care that every thing was kept clean and neat between the decks, and conſtantly fumigated with gunpowder, juniper-berries, and frankincenſe, as well as ſprinkled with vinegar. When the calms and heat were exceſſive, I had two or three quarts of lemon-juice, put into a leager of water, which proved very refreſhing to the crew, and I mixed gentian-root, jeſuits' bark, and orange-peel, in their allowance of ſpirits: all which had a decided good effect upon the health of my people.

Calms, light, variable, and contrary winds, and currents, which laſt, I found, by

two

two obſervations, ſet ſtrongly to the north-weſtward, accompanied us, before we paſſed the line, till the 25th of April, on which day, at noon, we were in 0° 50′ ſouth latitude.

This was a day of joy and merriment. I had ſome hogs and ſheep killed, and likewiſe ſome excellent ſoup made, to which a ſufficient quantity of lemon-juice was added; and their good cheer, both at noon and at night, which was encreaſed by half a pint of punch, which I gave to each man, ſo exhilarated the crew, that all was boiſterous joviality, with repeated ſongs, and uncouth dances, ſo that we rather ſeemed to be at a country-wake, than on board of a ſhip, bound on a diſtant voyage.

My ſatisfaction was enhanced by the reflection, that we had not one ſick man on board, and that all the people looked as hale and freſh, as if they were juſt come from ſhore.

As ſoon as we had paſſed the line, the ſea ſwarmed with fiſh, albicores, bonitos, flying-fiſh, and ſharks; and we caught a great many, which proved a ſeaſonable and agreeable refreſhment to the crew.

On the 9th of May, we had paſſed the

Abrolhos

Abrolhos ſhoals, and the next day the iſlands of *Trinidad* and *Aſcenſion*; I wiſhed much to have ſeen the laſt, but could diſcover no appearance of land, not even any birds, which made me think, that we were more to the eaſtward than we computed.

Two days afterwards, in 23½° ſouth latitude, under the tropic of capricorn, we loſt the eaſt tradewind, and met with variable winds, moſtly from the s.w. with which we ſteered s.e. till in 28½°, thence e.s.e. till in 33°, then eaſt by ſouth, till in 34½°, being the latitude of the weſt point of *Falſe*-bay, and laſtly eaſt, in a direct line for the ſame.

On the 19th of May, we ſaw, for the firſt time, the birds called cape-pigeons *. Theſe birds belong to the genus of gulls, and are of the ſize of our ſea-gulls, but have not ſuch long and pointed wings, and are heavier of flight. The head, and the back of the neck, are quite black, as is the tail, and the end of the wings, which are otherwiſe, together with the back, variegated with black and white ſpots; the breaſt and belly are entirely white. Theſe birds are met with, in large

* A diverſity of the ſpecies *larus catarrhactes*. *T.*

flocks,

flocks, both to the eaſt, and to the weſt, of the *Cape of Good Hope*, eſpecially in ſtormy weather.

Beſides theſe, we ſaw likewiſe a number of other birds, moſt of which belonged to the genus of gulls. Of theſe, the *mantel-meeuwen* * were the handſomeſt; they are about half as large again as the former, of a ſnowwhite colour, with black wings. Likewiſe another ſort, of the ſame ſize, which were wholly black, with yellow bills.

We ſaw alſo the dead body of a *noordkaper*, or ſpermaceti-whale †, floating by us; we gueſſed it to be fifty feet in length: a great number of cape-pigeons, and other ſea-birds, were ſitting and feeding upon it.

Till the 23d of May, we had almoſt continually had the fineſt and moſt agreeable weather that can be deſired at ſea, and which had only been interrupted, now and then, though very ſeldom, by a ſhort ſtorm.

We now, however, began to experience a change. The wind blew harder from day to day; the ſea ran higher; the ſun was

* The *larus marinus*, or great black and white gull of PENNANT. *T.*

† *Phyſeter macrocephalus.*

ſometimes

ſometimes hidden from us for entire days; the cold encreaſed ſo much, that the thermometer declined, at times, even in the middle of the day, to 56° ; ſo that all conſpired to prove to us, that the winter, or bad monſoon, is as unpleaſant in theſe parts, as the months of November and December are in Europe; I muſt, however, except froſt, but inſtead of it, we had violent ſhowers of rain and hail.

Although the winds blew hard, and often encreaſed into a ſtorm, with a high-running ſea, yet they ſhortened our paſſage, as they were conſtantly favourable.

On the 29th of May, however, the wind had encreaſed to ſuch a pitch, that although, with reſpect to the point whence it blew, it was favourable for us, we were obliged to lye by, as the mountainous waves were no more to be avoided, and threatened to overwhelm us at every time; in addition to which, the head-way of the ſhip was ſo great, that we could ſcarcely ſteer her.

The next day, the wind abated a little, ſo that we could again make ſail, and follow our courſe.

We had, however, a continuance of high

winds, eſpecially from the N.W. with rain and dark weather; and ſometimes it ſuddenly veered, with a violent ſquall, to the S.W. after which it generally grew more calm.

From the 25th of May to the 3d of June, we had ſailed over a ſpace of three hundred and forty German leagues; at noon, on that day, the wind began to encreaſe in violence from the weſtward, and in the evening, it had grown into a ſtorm, with dark rainy weather, ſo that we were obliged to hand almoſt all our ſails.

This, however, was nothing compared to the next day, the 4th of June, when, about eight o'clock, A.M. the tempeſt blew with ſuch dreadful violence, and in ſuch heavy ſqualls, that it exceeded all deſcription. The ſtupendous waves, which ſeemed to reach the clouds, broke againſt, and ſometimes over, the ſhip with ſuch force, that had we not had a fluſh-deck, that is, one that lies even from ſtem to ſtern, I do not believe that we ſhould have preſerved one of our maſts, not to ſay any thing of worſe accidents.

Fortunately, both wind and ſea began to abate

abate towards the evening, we ſhould otherhave paſſed a very diſmal night.

After midnight, when the wind had veered to s.w. the weather cleared up a little; and we again ſet our ſails, and purſued our courſe, without having ſuffered any material damage.

We had favourable weſterly winds, although generally blowing hard, with hazy weather, till the 8th of June, when they changed to s.e. with the new moon, and thus turned againſt us exactly a day too ſoon; as, by all ſigns, namely, the variation of the compaſs, the ſeeing of ſeals, trumpet-weed, petrels and pintados, and the change in the colour of the water, we were warranted in our expectations of ſeeing land the next day.

The s.e. and eaſt winds continued till the 15th of June, when it fell calm. But, towards noon, we got a breeze from the s.w. with which we endeavoured to make ſome northing, as we found ourſelves in the ſouth latitude of $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

On the 17th, we experienced a ſudden change, and a heavy ſquall from the weſt and N.W.

As we thought ourſelves ſo near the land,

we durſt not ſtand on with this wind, which was accompanied by thunder, lightning, and hail, but towards evening, we took in all our ſails, except the main and mizen ſtayſails, under which we lay by during the night.

The ſea, forced on by the violence of the rain and hail, ran ſo high, and broke with ſo much violence againſt the ſides of the ſhip, that ſhe was frequently under water to leeward, as far as the hatches, and the yardarms ſwept the ſurface of the ſea.

This weather continued till the 19th, when the wind abated a little, and enabled us to make ſail. In the forenoon, we ſteered N.E. in order to make the land. In the afternoon, we ſaw two ſeals and a whale, which made us expect to diſcover the land every moment; but the weather growing hazy, and the evening beginning to fall, we again loſt all hope of it.

In order, however, that we might not overſhoot the land, we judged it adviſable, to bring to, and wait till daylight.

We ſounded with a line of one hundred and fifty fathoms, but found no bottom. But at half paſt nine in the evening, we got

ſoundings

ſoundings in ninety fathoms. This indicated, that had the weather been clear, we ſhould have ſeen the land at ſunſet.

Unfortunately, the N.W. wind had encreaſed to ſuch a degree, after ſunſet, that the proximity of our deſtined port, was of no avail, for it lay in the exact direction whence the wind blew; and we were, on the contrary, forced to make ſail off ſhore, not knowing how far we were from the land, and being ſure that if the wind veered round to the ſouth or S.W. we ſhould run the greateſt danger of loſing both the ſhip, and our lives.

We were driven along, on the reef of *Anguillas*, in this ſtorm, from the northweſt, till the 22d of June, in the forenoon of which day, the weather abated, in ſo far, that we could ſet our lower ſails, and the main top-ſail with three reeves; flattering ourſelves with the hope that we ſhould ſoon meet with a favourable gale.

This was, however, but of ſhort duration, for the wind again grew to ſuch a head, about half paſt two o'clock, P.M. that we were forced to hand all our ſails; and at four, the ſtorm had become a perfect hur-

 ricane,

ricane *, which continued to rage with the greateſt fury, till about midnight, the wind inceſſantly veering round from north to s.s.e. with violent hail, thunder, and lightning. The ſky and the ſea were, in appearance, ſo thoroughly blended and confounded, that it was only cloſe to the ſhip, that we could diſtinguiſh what was really ſea. We ſeemed to be enveloped in impenetrable obſcurity, while the lurid light afforded by the inceſſant lightning ſhooting cloſe down by the ſhip, ſerved only to perplex and dazzle the ſight, and to encreaſe the awefulneſs of the ſcene. The ſurges, towering above our heads, fell upon the ſtern and ſides of the veſſel with hideous violence, and threatened, every moment, to overwhelm us entirely; the force of the waves frequently made the ſhip

* The denomination of hurricane, belongs properly to that ſpecies of tempeſt, in which the wind, blowing with the utmoſt fury, does not come from any fixed quarter, but runs round from north, to weſt, and through ſouth, to eaſt, raiſing the billows, on all ſides, with repeated blaſts, and accompanied with violent thunder and lightning, ſo that all the elements ſeem to be intermingled in one confuſion. All this took place in the hurricane here mentioned, with the exception, that, in in the eight hours which it continued, the wind, inſtead of running all round the compaſs, was confined between north and s.s.e.—*S.*

heel

heel ſo much, that ſhe was under water on one ſide as far as her maſts, while the howling wind, bearing perpendicularly down upon them, preſſed them, as it were, into the water, and kept the ſhip for ſeveral minutes ſeemingly in the very action of overſetting.

As nothing could now be done, by the art of man, we were forced to abandon the ſhip to the power of the winds and waves, and the mercy of heaven.

In this tremendous conjuncture, we owed our preſervation, next to God, to the conſtruction of our veſſel; for although ſhe was expoſed, without any guidance, to the fury of the ſea, and the tempeſt, and was often wholly overwhelmed by the waves, the water could not penetrate any where, but flowed off on all ſides, when ſhe roſe again; whereas had ſhe been a deep-waiſted ſhip, ſhe would infallibly have been water-logged, and would, at leaſt, have rolled away her maſts, if not foundered.

It is difficult to conceive, why this manner of building has only been adopted, for the Eaſt-India Company's ſhips, by the chamber of *Zealand*; for it is incontrovertable, that a flush-decked ſhip is much more able to with-

ſtand the force of the waves, than a deep-waiſted one.

After midnight, the ſtorm began to abate a little, but the wind was ſtill too high to admit of any ſail being bent. I, however, directed the flying jibſail to be ſpread in the mainchains, to leeward, in order to give the ſhip ſome ſtem, againſt the violent rolling.

The next day, at ſix o'clock, A.M. the high wind changed ſuddenly to a dead calm, which, however, laſted no more than four or five minutes, when it again blew a violent ſtorm from S.S.E. accompanied by hail; but it ſubſided by degrees during the forenoon, after which we purſued our voyage, with a fair wind, and fine weather, for *Falſe*-Bay.

By the bad weather, which had thus continued for ſeveral days, we computed that we had been driven a great way to the eaſtward of Cape *Anguillas:* but on the next day, being the 24th of June, about one o'clock, P.M. getting ſight of the land of *Africa*, we found that we were much more to the weſtward, than we had reckoned, ſince we had firſt ſtruck ſoundings, which muſt only be aſcribed to the currents which now ſet forwards, or towards the eaſt. What

confirmed

confirmed me in this opinion was, that, according to a journal of the ſhip *Baarzande*, commanded by that very intelligent and experienced ſeaman, Captain HARINGMAN, his ſhip had been carried one hundred and eight leagues more to the weſtward, than by her reckoning, in the ſpace of fifteen days, ſince ſhe had firſt fallen in with the coaſt of *Africa*, near *Punto Primeiras*.

But our reckoning, ſince our laſt obſervation at the iſland *St. Jago*, on the 7th of April, differed more from our true ſituation; for we computed that we had ſailed one hundred and thirty leagues more than we, in reality, found to be the caſe.

The next morning, we endeavoured to work into *Falſe*-Bay, but were firſt fruſtrated by its falling calm, and on the enſuing day by a ſtorm from the N.W. which drove us out to ſea, and prevented us from making the bay again till the 28th.

The day after, we were fortunate enough to caſt anchor within the bay, on the weſt ſhore, in thirty-eight fathoms, about a league and a half from *Simon*'s-Bay, which we could not reach, on account of its falling calm.

I had, at this time, three hundred and fifty men

men on board, who were in perfect health, and I had loſt no more than nine, ſince leaving *Zealand*.

On the next day, being the 30th of June, the wind blew hard from the north; I ſhould, nevertheleſs, have endeavoured to work up to the anchorage, if I had then known that it was ſo near; but the Company's chart, which I afterwards found to be of no uſe to me, together with what one of my lieutenants told me, who had before been here in a ſubordinate ſtation, induced me to think, that this could not be effected in one day, for which reaſon, I choſe to remain at anchor where I was, till the wind became a little favourable.

But the time was not yet come, to put a period to our wanderings; for, in the evening of the 30th of June, the wind again rapidly encreaſed, and at half paſt nine o'clock, our anchor began to drag, and the ſhip ſwung with her head towards the ſhore, ſo that we had only time to cut the cable, to come round before the wind, and put to ſea again, being in the utmoſt danger of ſtriking upon the rocks of the weſt point.

The ſtorm, which drove us from our anchor,

anchor, laſted till the 5th of July, when it ſubſided, and we again got ſight of the coaſt of *Africa*, near *Rio Dulce*.

We ſtill were tormented, ſometimes by ſtorms, and ſometimes by contrary winds, till the 12th of July, when we found ourſelves, at daybreak, under the eaſt point of *Falſe*-Bay, called the *Hanglip*.

Although the wind then blew from the S.W. with much force, and the ſea ran very high, we were fortunate enough to weather the point, and at two o'clock, P.M. to anchor in the outer road of *Simon*'s Bay; but as it then fell calm, we could not get farther; and though we made every exertion to warp in, we could not effect it. The reſident of the bay, came on board of me, the ſame afternoon, and I delivered the Company's papers to him.

On arriving here, we counted twenty-five men on the ſickliſt, ten or twelve of whom were down by external accidents, and, as beforeſaid, nine had died ſince our departure from *Zealand*.

The next day, being the 13th of July, we warped in, between the *Rooman*'s Rock, and

and the *Ark*, which is equally a rock above water, and anchored in twelve fathoms.

False-Bay is a large and deep inlet, ſituated to the ſoutheaſt of *Table*-Bay and *Capetown* and caſtle. Its weſt ſide is formed by a range of mountains, which run from the *Lion*'s Mountain, ſouthward, and terminate in the ſea, ſeven leagues off, with a low point, upon which, however, there are two middling high hills, by which it is diſtinguiſhable. This ridge makes a bend, from *Simon*'s Bay, to the northeaſtward, nearly a league and a half in length, and ends at a place, where there is a poſt of the Company, called *Muizenburg*. Thence, for three leagues eaſt, the beach is beſet with low ſandhills, at the end of which it trends ſoutheaſt, for about two leagues, till it reaches a chain of high mountains, which form the boundary of *Hottentot Holland*, and terminate in the ſea, two leagues farther to the ſouth, in a very remarkable hill, called the *Hanglip*.

The mouth of the bay, from the *Hanglip*, to the weſt point, which lie eaſt and weſt from each other, is full four German leagues broad;

broad; its extent inland may be a little more.

Along the weſt ſhore, where there is every where good anchorage, as well as in the middle of the bay, though in deep water, there are ſeveral bights, which are alſo called bays, as *Buffalo*-Bay, *Kalk*, or *Lime*, Bay, &c. in which ſhips may lie at anchor, but they are no where ſheltered from the ſouth-eaſt winds, except in *Simon*'s Bay, which runs farther in, and is covered by two rocks at the entrance, upon which the ſoutheaſt ſwell of the ſea breaks, and behind them, ſhips lie ſheltered from all winds, or, as our ſeamen expreſs it, ſea-blind. Twenty ſhips may lie here with eaſe, at once, to take in water and refreſhments.

Beſides the Company's hoſpital, their magazine, and ſhambles, there are only four or five houſes here, one of which is inhabited by the reſident, who had formerly the rank of junior merchant, but was now book-keeper.

The hoſpital is an edifice, in which one hundred patients can, with eaſe, be admitted. It is built upon the brow of a hill. It has a triple front towards the ſea. The apart-

apartments, which are lofty, and without ceiling, are very airy. In the center is a large ſquare court; ſo that the ſick here, have always freſh air, which contributes largely to their recovery. The hoſpital at the *Cape*, as we have before obſerved *, is deſtitute of this advantage; whence, likewiſe, twice as many of the patients die there as here.

The hoſpital formerly ſtood upon the beach, where now the magazines and work-ſhops are placed; theſe laſt form one long building, which, however, is only twenty feet in breadth.

We found two Engliſh ſhips lying at anchor here, bound to *Madras* and *Bengal*. On board of one of them, had embarked, Lieutenant General CLAVERING, who was ſent out to take the command of the military in *Bengal*, in behalf of the king; he was accompanied by Colonel MONSON, and other officers; there were likewiſe ſome counſellors of juſtice on board, for *Bengal*, where the Engliſh poſſeſſions were about to be put upon a different footing.

Beſides theſe, there were three French ſhips anchored in the bay. The largeſt,

* See page 550, of volume I.

commanded

commanded by M. DE ST. HILAIRE, was bound to *Surat*, and had on board M. DE BREINCOURT, French conſul of that place.

This ſhip, called the *Duc d'Arras*, had been built for the king, and to carry ſeventy-four guns, but ſhe was now private property.

The captain, although not in the ſervice of the king, but only in that of private individuals, when he firſt came here, ſome time before, had been much diſſatisfied that his ſalute had not been returned, although the government had taken care to apprize him, before he ſaluted, that, according to a reſolution of the council of India, they were not allowed to return the ſalute of any French ſhip, not in the king's, or Company's, ſervice. This gentleman was highly affronted at this, becauſe he conceived, that his having recently been favoured by the king, with an order of knighthood, was a ſufficient qualification, to be looked upon as a king's officer, and he threatened to take ſatisfaction for the ſlight put upon him, by attacking the Eaſt-India Company's ſhip *Alkemade*, which lay at anchor here.

Whether the government were afraid that he would put this menace in execution, and thereby

thereby endanger a Company's ſhip, or whether any other reaſons ſwayed them to change their reſolution, I cannot tell; but only, that, to make an end of this diſpute, the *Alkemade* received orders to return the Frenchman's ſalute, a long while after it was made, with an equal number of guns.

The inhabitants of the *Cape*, complained, in general, of the inſolent behaviour of the French, who, it was ſaid, were much more favoured by the government, than any other nation.

CHAP-

CHAPTER II.

Journey to CAPETOWN.—*The Welzand, or Quick-ſand.*—MUIZENBURG.—*Militia, and Means of Defence, at the* CAPE.—*An Excurſion inland.—Remarks on the planting of Vines, and preſſing of Wine.—Rivers inland ſometimes are large Streams, and ſometimes run dry.—Deſcription of a large Farm.—Diſeaſes of the Cattle.—Account of the Farmer.—Converſation with him on the Produce, &c. of the Country.—Tithes and Duties paid to the Company.—Farm of Wine and Spirituous Liquors.—Plans for Improvement.*—MUSCLE *and* SALDANHA *Bays fit Objects of Attention.—Hoſpitality of an African Coloniſt.—Their happy Lives.* — *Village of* STELLENBOSCH. — HET MODDERGAT. — HOTTENTOT HOLLAND.— *Abuſe of Authority by one of the Governors, with Regard to this Tract.—Friendly Reception at another Farmer's.—Further Enquiries and Particulars reſpecting the Produce and Trade of the* CAPE.— MUSCLE, AGVA, SALDANHA, *and* ST. HELENA *Bays.—The Seat called* VERGELEEGEN.— *Return to* CAPETOWN.—*Short Stay of the Ship, the Occaſion of much Diſeaſe afterwards among the Crew.—Return to* TABLE-*Bay of a Veſſel*

that had been driven far to the South.—Return to FALSE-*Bay.—Arrival of a Ship from Holland with a great Number of Sick.*

EVERY thing being in due order on board of my ſhip, and my preſence not being further neceſſary, I made an engagement, on the 14th of July, with three gentlemen, to ride to the *Cape*.

We ſet off about one o'clock; the road firſt led along the beach, the ſea being on our right, and a high ridge of mountains on our left, which hung over us. After riding for about an hour, we came to a place, which is called the *Welzand*, or *Quickſand*.

The mountains here take a large bend inland, and form a ſandy valley, which extends to the ſeaſhore, and is peculiarly dangerous for travellers, as it does not unfrequently happen, that people, ignorant of the circumſtance, getting into the looſe ſand, are in great danger of ſinking into it, and being buried alive, if ſpeedy aſſiſtance be not at hand to extricate them.

Two days before I paſſed here, an Engliſhman, who belonged to one of the ſhips in the bay, got into this place with his horſe, in

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the evening, and he would moſt probably have loſt his life, had he not inſtantly, as ſoon as he felt his horſe ſinking under him, ſprang off and got away, while the animal was preſently ſwallowed up in the ſand, and ſtifled, without his rider being able to give him any aſſiſtance.

As I did not find any one, who had been inclined to examine this part with accuracy, or who could give any reaſon for the phenomenon of the ſand being ſo looſe, as to ſwallow up thoſe who attempted to paſs over it, and my own time, and opportunity, would not permit me to uſe my poor abilities for this purpoſe, I am wholly ignorant of the cauſes to which theſe circumſtances are to be attributed.

The ſureſt means of avoiding the danger of this road, which is about a quarter of a Dutch mile long, is by riding cloſe down by the ſea, or even through the ſurf, where the ground is hard; though here, likewiſe, prudence muſt be uſed; for if one ride too far through the waves, there is no little danger of being carried away by them.

A too great fear for the *Welzand*, had nearly coſt my ſecond lieutenant his life;

for riding too far through the water, he got out of his depth with his horſe, and the animal ſwam away from under him; fortunately he was an adept in the art, and he ſaved his life by ſwimming, reaching the ſhore at the ſame time with his horſe.

Nothing is produced in this ſandy valley, but in ſome places, a few green buſhes, which ſomewhat reſemble the broom that grows upon our downs.

Beſides this *Welzand*, there is another ſmaller paſſage, which is equally dangerous, from the ſame circumſtances, and lies about halfway between this and *Simon*'s-Bay.

Having paſſed this dangerous ſpot, at full gallop, in order to run the leſs peril of ſinking in, we came, a ſhort half hour afterwards, to a place called *Muizenburgh*, which is a poſt of the Company, who keep two or three men conſtantly on the look-out here, for the purpoſe of ſending immediate advice to the *Cape*, of the arrival of ſhips in *Falſe*-Bay, or their departure from it.

There are ſtables here belonging to the Company, which were erected, in the years 1755, and 1756, for the cavalry of the country, who, upon the leaſt alarm of an enemy

enemy attempting to land in the neighbouring *Kalk* or *Lime*-Bay, muſt inſtantly repair thither, with ſome light artillery, to prevent their landing; or, if they have landed in ſome of the other bays higher up, their paſſage farther muſt here be diſputed, the place being of that nature, that fifty determined men, may ſtop the progreſs of ſeveral thouſands, for a conſiderable time; for the road is very narrow, with high mountains on one ſide, and a precipice of upwards of forty feet on the other, the bottom of which is waſhed by the ſea. The chain of mountains, which half incloſe *Falſe*-Bay, likewiſe terminates here.

After having taken ſome refreſhment, we followed the road which leads north into the country, leaving the vineyards of *Conſtantia* *, and ſome other farms and country-ſeats,

* Theſe conſiſt of two farms, called *Great* and *Little Conſtantia*. Their annual produce is, of red wine, about ſixty pipes, and of white, about ninety; yet the vintage here, as in other places, is different, in different years. Theſe two farms were for a long time the only ſpots which could produce this delicate wine; but lately ſome other farms in this diſtrict, and in a few other places, have been able to bring their wines to the ſame degree of excellence. But as the

ſeats, which lie here in an extenſive hollow between the mountains, on the leftſide, and the ſandhills, which are interſperſed over a large plain of ſeveral leagues in extent, producing nothing but ſome bruſhwood, and a few inſignificant thickets, on the right hand. Every thing bore a barren and ſandy appearance. We, however, met, at intervals, with a few rivulets, running down from the hills, out of which we let our horſes drink.

About half paſt five o'clock in the evening, we reached *Capetown*. I immediately waited upon the governor of the colony, Mr. VAN PLETTENBURG, and upon Mr. HEMMY, the ſecond in command, to acquaint them of my arrival.

The next day I converſed with the governor, more amply than the preceding evening, upon the ſubject of the ſituation of my ſhip and crew. I requeſted his excellency

Company reſerved to themſelves the excluſive ſale of Conſtantia wine, which conſequently was conſidered as contraband, and was not to be bought, or tranſported to Europe, under that name, by individuals, they hit upon the expedient of giving their wine, which in point of goodneſs does not yield to Conſtantia, the name of *maag*, or *ſtomach* wine. *T.*

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to allow me to remain at leaſt for the ſpace of a fortnight where I was, in order that my people, who had been greatly fatigued by the length of the voyage, and eſpecially by the continued tempeſtuous weather we had experienced for the laſt five weeks, might be enabled, by the refreſhments to be obtained for them, to recover ſufficient ſtrength to encounter anew the boiſterous weather of a winter in the ſouthern latitudes: I likewiſe begged leave to ſend forty or fifty men on ſhore every day, in order, that by taking exerciſe among the hills, and by the effects of the land-air, the ſcorbutic tendency, which already began to manifeſt itſelf among them, might be combated. In both which inſtances the governor kindly complied with my deſires.

On the following Sunday I attended divine ſervice, and heard a moſt excellent diſcourſe, by the Reverend Mr. SERRURIER, who is really an eloquent preacher.

Dining that day with Mr. RONNEKAMP, the converſation at table turned upon the ſtate of defence of the country, and as that gentleman had acceſs to the ſecret affairs of the colony, I took the opportunity of aſking

him, how many men capable of bearing arms, he computed, could be muſtered at the *Cape?* He told me, that he could not determine this with accuracy, but that there were full one thouſand at the *Cape*, and twice as many of the country-people, who were enrolled, in order to take up arms upon any emergency *. As likewiſe that the number of the coloniſts could not be aſcertained, for that the colony was already ſo far extended, that the more diſtant farmers, required forty days (or rather nights, for they always travel by night), to ride with their

* In order, in ſuch a caſe, to apprize all the farmers, who live diſperſed far and wide over the country, of the impending danger, high poſts are erected all through the land, upon which lights are hoiſted at night: the chain of them begins at the caſtle, the next ſtation is at the *Zoute*, or *Salt*-river, and ſo on towards the country; upon the ſeeing of which ſignals, every one is obliged to repair armed to the caſtle.

When a youth is arrived at the age of fifteen, he muſt be enrolled, and every year he muſt reſort to the place of rendezvous, in order to perform his exerciſe. On this occaſion he muſt take the oath of allegiance. When a father has two ſons in the militia, he is himſelf exempt from duty. Theſe reviews, both of horſe and foot, are held every year, in the town for the burghers, and at *Stellenboſch* and *Zwellendam* for the farmers belonging to the colony. If any one neglect to appear at the rendezvous, he is fined. *T.*

waggons

waggons to the *Cape*; and that theſe, both in their manners and appearance, more reſembled Hottentots than Chriſtians.

As I had not much time to ſpend at the *Cape*, I arranged my affairs, ſo that I could make a little excurſion into the country for four or five days. For that purpoſe I made a party with Mr. ERNST (whom I had known as lieutenant of the cavalry at *Batavia*, and who was now here, with his wife, on his paſſage to Europe), and Meſſieurs VAN WIELINGEN, and LE SUEUR.

Having obtained the neceſſary permiſſion from the governor *, we left *Capetown*, at nine o'clock in the morning, taking with us a ſlave to attend upon our horſes.

We firſt rode to the *Zoute*-river, which we forded at half paſt nine, our horſes going into the water as far as their bellies; for the river had been encreaſed by the heavy rains, and the ſtream was pretty ſtrong.

Thence we rode, in an E.N.E. direction,

* As the coloniſts are enjoined by the laws, to ſeize and bring to the *Cape*, all ſuch as travel about the country, without being able to ſhew a permiſſion in writing for that purpoſe, a paſs from the governor is neceſſary. *T.*

to

to the *Tiger-valley*, where we ſtopped at eleven o'clock, at the farm of one EKSTEEN, to take ſome refreſhment, conſiſting of ſome bread and butter, and a good glaſs of wine.

Our road had hitherto led through a ſandy plain, upon which there grew nothing but a little bruſhwood; but we ſaw many cultivated tracts of country, at a diſtance, on the left hand, in the *Tiger*-Mountains.

After having ſtopped here for half an hour, we again mounted our horſes, and took our road a little more to the eaſtward, to the farm of VAN AS, ſituated on the ſlope of the *Boddelaary*, or *Butlery*-Mountains, which we reached at one o'clock. The man and woman of the houſe, received us in a very friendly manner, and gave us a diſh of tea, and a glaſs of good wine *, while our horſes were baiting.

We

* I have obſerved that we never drank any wine of one and the ſame flavour, at two different places; every ſoil that produces wine, gives a diſtinct taſte to it. The vines, which are planted by themſelves like currant-buſhes, are ſet in rows, three feet from each other, and when they are pruned, are not more than two, or two and a half, feet above the ground. They are planted in rows, and not cloſe to each other, in order

We ſtaid here for ſomething more than half an hour, and then purſuing our journey, we

order to afford room for the labourers to go between them, to weed the ground, without damaging the vines. A thouſand of them, it is calculated, will produce a leager of wine, and ſometimes more. ALBERTYN VAN DE KLAPMUTS, had a vineyard cloſe to his houſe, with fifty thouſand vineplants, which yielded him annually ſeventy leagers of wine. The preſſing of the grapes is performed in a more ſimple manner here than in Europe. The ſlaves gather them, and put them into a veſſel, the bottom and ſides of which are bored full of holes; this is ſet in the inſide of a larger one, upon a croſs-piece of wood laid at the bottom of the latter; this outſide veſſel has a ſpigot and faucet, through which the juice, as faſt as it is preſſed out, runs into a tub placed beneath. The grapes being heaped up, in the inner veſſel, to the brim, three or four ſlaves, after having waſhed their feet in a tub of water ſtanding at the ſide, get upon the fruit, and holding themſelves faſt by a rope fixed to the ceiling, trample upon it, and ſqueeze out the juice as long as they are able. In the mean time the muſt that runs out is put into large high veſſels to ferment. If the aperture be obſtructed by grapes, or ſtalks, ſo that the juice cannot eaſily run out, they puſh them away with a ſtick, to the end of which, a few bruſhes are fixed. The trodden grapes, before they are further preſſed, are put upon a coarſe ſtrainer, made of rattans, on which they are rubbed with the hand, till the huſks go through it; the ſtalks remaining behind, which are thrown away, as they are ſuppoſed to make the wine auſtere and bitter. The huſks are then put into the fermenting veſſel, which the next morning is in full fermentation; during this proceſs the thick parts ſubſide, and the muſt grows clear, when it is barrelled off,

we paſſed, ſome time afterwards, the *Keulſche*, or *Cologni*-river. This, as well as many other ſtreams in this country, little deſerves the name of river; for it was no more than a little rivulet, which could be paſſed on foot; yet Mr. VAN WIELINGEN aſſured me that it was ſometimes ſwollen ſo high, that the waggons and oxen were often obliged to tarry for ſeveral days, without being able to paſs it. At the *Cape* I was told by Mr. VAN SCHOOR, that the largeſt rivers, ſituated many days' journey inland, all run dry in the good monſoon, in January and February, although in the bad monſoon they were deep, rapid, and impaſſable ſtreams, ſo that the waggons were frequently obliged to ſtay a fortnight before them. Mr. VAN IMHOF had projected a plan for rendering them navigable, but it

off, being firſt filtered through a wicker baſket. The grounds remaining in the fermenting veſſel, are afterwards put into a ſquare veſſel pierced full of holes, and placed in a larger one with a ſpigot and faucet at the ſide; at the top there is a ſcrew of wood, or metal, by means of which the laſt drop of juice is preſſed out from the huſks. From the dregs and huſks that remain over from the laſt preſſing, brandy is diſtilled. No yeaſt is uſed for accelerating the fermentation. *T.*

had

had been demonſtrated that it was wholly impracticable.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, we came to the farm of MELK, which at a diſtance, and indeed cloſe by, appeared like a whole village. It lies among the mountains, upon the gentle declivity of a high ridge, and on the banks of an ever-running ſtream, which he has led, along his farm, between two brick walls, like a canal, and which turns a watermill, for the purpoſe of grinding his corn.

His dwelling-houſe, which was of a conſiderable ſize, had four or five large and handſome rooms, all furniſhed in a neat, and even in a coſtly ſtyle, ſo that it more reſembled a gentleman's villa than the manſion of a farmer.

Twenty-five, or thirty, paces from the corners of the houſe, he had four large barns, or warehouſes, each one hundred and fifty feet long, in which he houſed his corn and wine. Two of them were now empty; in the third were full one hundred and fifty leagers of wine; and in the fourth fifteen or ſixteen hundred *muds* of corn, twenty-ſeven of which make a Holland laſt, and eighteen

eighteen a laſt of the Cape; each *muid* being calculated at one hundred and eighty, or ninety, pounds weight Amſterdam, according as the grain be heavy or light.

Between theſe he had a blackſmiths' and carpenters' workſhop, and a cartwrights' manufactory, together with other work-people, neceſſary for ſo large and troubleſome a concern. But few of them were Europeans, the largeſt number were oriental ſlaves, who had coſt him a great deal of money. Among others, he ſhewed me a ſlave, who underſtood ſmiths' work, and making of tires on wheelbands, whom he had purchaſed for fifteen hundred rixdollars, or three thouſand ſix hundred gilders *.

A little higher up, ſtood a range of buildings, calculated for the ſlaves, of whom he had full two hundred; for he declared to me, that he did not know the exact number.

Every one had a ſeparate brick dwelling to ſleep in. Thoſe that were married were kept apart from the others; and every poſ-

* Upwards of 300*l.* ſterling. *T.*

ſible

ſible precaution was taken to prevent accidents by fire.

A little farther were two *kraals*, or inclofures for cattle; they were ſurrounded by high ſtone walls, of eight or ten feet, and contained each about two hundred and fifty acres. The ſheep, the horſes, and the horned cattle were confined at night in theſe, for ſecurity againſt the attacks of wild beaſts, eſpecially of wolves and tigers, who do not unfrequently make a great havock here, among the ſmaller-ſized cattle. He calculated the numbers of his ſheep by thouſands; and reſpecting his horned cattle, a ſmall proof of the numerouſneſs of his herds, was his informing me, in a careleſs manner, and as if it were a circumſtance of no conſideration, that he had loſt one hundred and twenty head of cattle, a few days before, by the diſeaſes called the *klaauw* and *tongziekte* *.

There

* Theſe diſeaſes of the cattle are peculiar to the *Cape of Good Hope*. In the *klaauwziekte*, the hoofs of the cattle grow looſe, ſo that they cannot walk; it appears to proceed from the ſummer-heats, eſpecially if the oxen have been driven on journies in the daytime; it is thought infectious; and whole droves

There were ſeveral other ſmaller outhouſes and offices, for various purpoſes, relative to the economy of the farm.

Beſides

droves are ſucceſſively affected by it; it, however, in general, leaves the cattle, of its own accord, in the courſe of one or two weeks. In the *tongziekte*, veſicles, or bladders, break out on the tongue, diſcharging a thin ichorous matter; in conſequence of this diſtemper, the cattle cannot eat, but grow lean, and ſometimes die; the farmers are accuſtomed to rub the bladders off with ſalt. Beſides theſe, the cattle are liable to other diſeaſes, which ſometimes prove fatal. The *blaar*, or *bloedziekte*, is a diſorder, in which the veins all over the body become extremely turgid; letting of blood and violent exerciſe are ſaid to be ſerviceable in it; the fleſh of the cattle who die of it, is not eatable. The *ſponſziekte* begins by the ſwelling of the foot, which proceeds by degrees to the whole body; this diſorder ſometimes laſts for three days, but at other times proves fatal in as many hours; if the foot be taken off immediately, the creature's life may be ſaved: the fleſh of ſuch an animal is likewiſe not eatable: it ſeems to proceed from no other cauſe than the bite of ſome ſerpent, or reptile, which, in this warm quarter of the globe, is but too common. The *lamziekte*, is when the cattle are not able to ſtand; it comes on gradually, and is ſlow in its progreſs; after the death of the animal, the bones of its legs are found to be without marrow, inſtead of which they are filled with water. The horned cattle, as well as horſes, are afflicted with the ſtrangury, after feeding on the *euphorbia geniſtoides*, which contains a milky juice, that does no injury to the ſtomach and bowels, but corrodes the bladder, and eſpecially obſtructs the urinary paſſages; if the penis be preſſed, this viſcid matter is ſqueezed out; the peaſants, therefore, either

preſs

Beſides this, he was owner of ſeven or eight other farms, upon which he had placed ſtewards, who managed them in his behalf, upon hire. Some of theſe produced corn, ſome wine, and ſome were ſimply deſtined for paſturage.

With all this, MELK could neither read nor write; but having a good memory, he had the whole in his head of what was neceſſary for the due management of his extenſive concerns, for which any other would require a number of books, and a great deal of writing.

He was a native of *Pruſſia*, and had arrived at the *Cape*, many years ago, in a very low ſtation. Underſtanding the burning of lime, the making of bricks, and ſomething of agriculture, he had entered, as head-ſervant, into the ſervice of the former proprietor of this farm, but which, at that time, had not by far the ſame extent as at

preſs it out, or with a ſtraw puſh it back again. When the cattle are ſupplied with good and freſh water, this diſeaſe cannot get the upper-hand; but in ſummer, when the water is thick and impure, ſo that it cannot dilute the peccant matter, the cattle die. As a remedy for this diſtemper the farmers give their cattle a teacup-full of powdered oſtrich egg-ſhells, mixed with vinegar. *T.*

preſent. When his maſter died, he married the widow (which does not unfrequently happen in this country), and extending his enterprizes from day to day, he at length obtained from the Company, the excluſive farm for the ſale of wine and ſpirituous liquors, by which he cleared one hundred thouſand gilders * in one year, chiefly by the arrival of the French fleet at the *Cape*. This enabled him to undertake ſtill more important objects, ſo that he once bought up all the wine produced in the country, which amounted to ſome thouſands of leagers. Though this did not conduce to the benefit of the public, yet it ſufficiently ſhews the ſpirit of enterprize which animated the man.

Two things in him excited, in particular, both my admiration and ſurprize. In the firſt place, his ſteady love for his king, of whom he always ſpoke with the deepeſt reſpect and affection; he decorated the chimneypieces, and other parts of his houſe, with the arms of his ſovereign, and cheriſhed a fond attachment to his perſon. The other

* About 9000*l.* ſterling. *T.*

circumſtance

circumſtance I allude to, was his gratitude towards his wife, by whoſe means, he invariably declared, he had become the man he was; he would not ſuffer her to be put to the leaſt trouble in any thing, however trifling; and was anxious that ſhe ſhould live entirely at her eaſe, and take every diverſion in her power: he even took upon himſelf the care of managing the houſes, ſo that his wife had her time entirely to herſelf.

Finding that he ſpoke with much intelligence, reſpecting the ſituation of the country, as I, in fact, had before been informed was the caſe, I aſked him his opinion of the plan at preſent in agitation, of exporting the produce of the *Cape* to Holland. He aſſured me, that this would, in time, be of great benefit to the colony, and moſt probably alſo to the Company; but that to effect this purpoſe, other means muſt be put in practice, and better arrangements made, than had hitherto taken place.

In the firſt place, he ſaid that the Company ought to erect ſtorehouſes in various parts, where the produce of the country could be received, from time to time, when

the farmers had opportunities of conveying it from their farms, to thoſe places, in the good ſeaſon, or as ſoon as the harveſt was got in, in January and February; for the rivers and roads were at that time the eaſieſt paſſable: whereas the conveyance was otherwiſe both difficult and expenſive: and that the corn would ſtand the Company in much leſs, if this method were adopted.

Further, that the tithes, which the Company exacted of the corn grown, were of detriment, inſtead of producing an advantage for the farmers; who, for inſtance, grew five hundred *muds* of corn, only declared one hundred, which they ſold at a high rate, while the other four hundred were diſpoſed of at a much lower price under the hand, by indirect means, in order to avoid payment of the tithes *.

That

* Van Renen told me, that the tithes on the wine were calculated at three rixdollars per leager.

That further, the Company's duties conſiſted in two and a half per cent on the ſale of immoveable property; but that buildings erected ſince the year 1750, were charged twice as much; thus five per cent.

That

That the ſervants of the Company, at the *Cape*, to whom the purchaſe is confided, ſhould act more diſintereſtedly, and not ſo arbitrarily towards the farmers, whom they, in fact, were even apt to defraud.

That the overſeers of theſe ſtorehouſes would be able to avail of the beſt opportunities for purchaſe, when the produce was at the cheapeſt; houſing it in them, till the time of diſpatching it to the *Cape*.

That, eſpecially, ſuch ſtorehouſes ought to be erected at *Moſſel*, or *Muſcle*, and *Saldanha*, Bays, as the Company could, in both places, fetch the produce, direct, by their ſhips, inſtead of its being, as at preſent, firſt conveyed to the *Cape* by land-carriage, where

That the farming of the wine conſiſts herein, that whoever is the farmer, has the excluſive right of ſelling wine and ſpirituous liquors in ſmaller quantities than by the half-awm; that foreigners are obliged to pay five rixdollars to him for each leager which they take away; our own nation is exempted herefrom, but they may not buy wine from any other perſon, as long as their ſhip has not received her diſpatches; but if there be any time afterwards, they may purchaſe it of other individuals.

The Cape wines, as the country people ſay, muſt be twice drawn off the lees every year, without any other preparation than being fumigated with brimſtone.

their ſervants, who muſt all derive their emolument from it, receive, or reject it, at their own good pleaſure *.

And finally, that the land all round the above bays, was very fit for the production of corn; nay, better than in other parts; ſo that one *mud* ſown, commonly yielded an encreaſe of ſixty or ſeventy, while, at moſt other places, between ten and twenty, and ſometimes thirty, *muds* was the uſual harveſt from one *mud* of ſeed. That the Company would doubtleſs be able to purchaſe wheat there at one rixdollar per *mud*; whereas they now paid eighteen, twenty, and ſometimes twenty-four, rixdollars per cartload of ten *muds*, becauſe the conveyance by wheel-carriage is ſo expenſive to the farmers, that they could not do it at all,

* Van Wiellingen was of opinion, that if the Company would allow a ſociety of ten, or a dozen, farmers, of ſome property, to be formed, for the purpoſe of undertaking the cultivation of the land at *Muſcle*-Bay; who, without having any thing to do with the ſheriff of the diſtrict, might take as many Hottentots into their ſervice as they liked, and pay them what wages they could mutually agree upon, without his interference; the beneficial effects of ſuch a meaſure would ſpeedily be perceived.

if they did not receive the above prices per cartload *.

I ſhould have liked to have ſtayed a little longer with this man, that I might procure further information from him on theſe intereſting topics; but it was evening, and we had to ride a good hour before we could reach the place where we were to paſs the night.

We left MELK's eſtate about half paſt five o'clock, and at half paſt ſix, we came to ALBERTYN's farm, lying at the foot of a mountain, called *de Klapmuts*, where we paſſed the night.

I found in this farmer unadulterated nature. Sincerity, friendlineſs, and benevolence, were the amiable qualities of himſelf, his wife, his two ſons, and two marriageable daughters.

They laid before us the beſt of what they had, and the ingenuous cordiality of theſe happy and unoffending children of nature, ſeemed to me a true picture of the period whence

"The fabling poets took their golden age;"

* DE VOS, together with other farmers whom I converſed with on the ſubject, told me the ſame thing; alſo, that every cartload is reckoned at thirteen hundred pounds weight.

when humanity and benevolence reigned in the earth, and falſity and deceit were unknown. I could not ſufficiently admire the ſincere, the artleſs, affection which manifeſted itſelf in the father, mother, brothers, and ſiſters, and formed the felicity of the whole family; an affection, which, however ſtrongly dictated by nature, and enforced by religion, we may often ſeek for in vain among our European countrymen. Happy, thrice happy mortals, who, ſituated at the extremity of the globe, amidſt the wilds of Africa, formerly ſo barren and deſolate, though now fertiliſed and embelliſhed by your labour, can lead a life of content and innocence! I was frequently ſo wrapped up in theſe thoughts, that I ſcarcely heard what was ſaid to me.

The next day, at nine o'clock in the morning, we left this agreeable place, to ride on to *Stellenboſch*, where we arrived at ten.

This is a pleaſant village, conſiſting of forty or fifty houſes, built along two broad ſtreets, which are planted with trees on both ſides. The church, which ſtands at the north end of the village, is a ſmall but neat edifice,

edifice, having ſufficient room for a congregation of full two hundred people: a circular ſpace round it, walled off, is the churchyard, and the entrance is through a handſome iron-gate. A miniſter, a clerk, and a ſexton, belong to this church.

The houſe of the *landdroſt*, or ſheriff, of *Stellenboſch*, which office was then filled by Mr. BERGH, deſerves equally to be taken notice of, on account of its ſpacious and handſome apartments.

After having walked through the village, and ſtopped for about half an hour at the houſe of Mr. VION, we proceeded, at eleven o'clock, for the farm of the widow GROENENWALD, lying a ſhort half-hour's ride to the northeaſt, at the foot of a range of mountains, which make here a hollow, or *cul-de-ſac*, called *Jan Jonkerſhoek*.

We dined here, and about two oclock ſet out again for *Hottentot Holland*. Our way led us firſt back through *Stellenboſch*, and then to the ſouth, over ſeveral ridges, which are high enough to deſerve of themſelves the name of mountains, but which were low in compariſon to the towering ſummits of thoſe on our left hand, which were,

were, for a great part, covered with more.

Having proceeded full a quarter of an hour ſouth from *Stellenboſch*, we paſſed the *firſt*, or *Stellenboſch*, river. This runs, with a rapid ſtream, over a bed of large pebbles, which have, from time to time, being waſhed down from the mountains, by the torrents. Notwithſtanding its rapidity, it is very ſhallow, for in fording it, the water did not riſe higher than the knees of our horſes.

Thence the road led along ſome uncultivated ſpots, till, at half paſt four o'clock, we reached a large and deep hollow, which is called *het Moddergat*, or the *Mudhole*. In it lay ſeven farms; which produced much wine, and but very little corn.

About half paſt five o'clock, riding round the foot of the *Heldere*, or *Clear*, Mountain, we entered *Hottentot Holland*, and preſently afterwards we came to the farm of De Vos.

Hottentot Holland is a flat country, and has derived its name from its reſemblance, in this reſpect, to our own.

It lies within a range of hills, that ſurround it on the north, eaſt, and ſouth. To the weſt, a flat ſandy beach, of full half a Dutch

Dutch mile in breadth, extends along the ſide of *Falſe*-Bay.

I computed this tract of country to be about four Dutch miles in circumference; it contains eight farms, or cultivated ſpots of ground.

In the beginning of this century, Governor VAN DER STEL had appropriated to himſelf the whole of this diſtrict, or had granted ſome parts of it to his particular favourites, among which was one parſon S——, of whom it was ſaid, by old people, who had known him in their youth, that he laboured with more zeal in extending and improving his vineyards and cornfields upon earth, than the ſpiritual vineyard to which his vocation ought to have rendered him more attentive.

He was once preaching at the *Cape*, and hearing ſeveral carts ride by the church, he ſuddenly ſtopped in the middle of his ſermon, and called out to the clerk, "Pri-" thee, my friend, look out, and ſee whether " that is my wine which is going by."

The object of Mr. VAN DER STEL was, that all the corn and wine wanted by the Company, ſhould, in time, be only furniſhed by him, or his minions and dependants, that,

by

by that means, the coloniſts might be impoveriſhed; his maxim being, that people in a ſtate of indigence and dependence, are the eaſieſt to be governed *.

The farm of DE VOS was the place where we intended to paſs the night; it is, in fact, the firſt that occurs on entering *Hottentot Holland* from the ſide of *Stellenboſch*. Although it was already dark, and five of us came together, for a ſon of the widow GROENENWALD had joined us, in order to ſhew us the way, we received a hearty welcome from this hoſpitable countryman, and were ſoon as eaſy and familiar together, as if we had known each other our whole lives.

We obſerved no derangement, or extraordinary buſtle in the family, on account of ſo

* Since the abuſe of authority by Governor VAN DER STEL, and by ſeveral others of the Company's ſervants, they have been ſtrictly prohibited from holding any farms. In lieu thereof, ſeveral perquiſites have been allowed them; ſuch as the *d'ſpenſier*, or purveyor, five per cent on all wares imported or exported, the collector has two and a half per cent on the monies, the ſtorekeeper four, the commiſſary of the hoſpital five, and the inſpector of the auctions five per cent, on all goods ſold by auction; and all this, beſide their uſual monthly ſalary. So that it is only ſome few of the higher people in office that have a ſmall villa for their pleaſure near the Cape, but whence no commodities may be carried out, or diſpoſed of. *T.*

many

many unexpected gueſts. A good ſupper of nine diſhes, and comfortable ſeparate beds for each of us, proved that we were not the firſt who had experienced the hoſpitality of theſe honeſt people.

As the chief inducement for my making this little excurſion, was to obtain ſome knowledge of the ſituation, and the produce of the country, as well as to diſcover what could conduce to the furtherance of the plan of the Company in agitation, before alluded to, and on which head I was ſure of procuring much better, and more impartial, information from the country people, than from the Company's ſervants at the *Cape*, I equally made particular enquiries concerning the ſame of this De Vos, who appeared to me to be a man of ſound judgment.

What Melk had told me the day before, gave me an opportunity of making my enquiries with greater exactneſs. Without, however, that I named the other, De Vos told me the ſame that he had done with reſpect to *Muſcle* and *Saldanha* Bays, equally from his own experience, having been at both places ſeveral times. He added, that, in particular, at *Muſcle*-Bay, there was much excellent corn-ground, and that there were

were fields, which would admit of an hundred *muds* of ſeed-corn being ſown in one patch, without any intervention of barren or unprofitable ſoil.

He thought, likewiſe, that there was a ſafe birth for ſhips in the bay, where they might even be ſheltered from the E.S.E. wind *.

In

* This harbour, though rather open to the eaſterly winds, and not reſorted to by ſhips except in caſes of neceſſity, might, in many reſpects, prove very uſeful were it better known. SPARRMAN informs us, that there is a good ſandy bottom for anchorage, and a ſmall creek or inlet to the ſouth-weſt, with depth of water ſufficient for a ſhip, and a rill of freſh water running into it. On the north ſide of the bay, there is a flat ſhore, where boats may appproach with ſafety. In the journal of the voyage of the Dutch admiral P. VAN CAERDEN, there is an account of the firſt diſcovery of this bay; that commander returning in 1601, with two ſhips, from the Indies, caſt anchor on the 8th of July here, *to repair one of the veſſels that was very leaky, and had loſt a great part of her ſheathing*; they found no other refreſhments than water and muſcles, and hence they gave the bay the name of *Muſcle*-Bay; they left it on the 14th, after having *completed the purpoſes for which they entered it*: theſe veſſels coaſted along from this place to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and likewiſe caſt anchor in, and gave names to, *Viceſch* or *Fleſh* Bay, and *Viſch* or *Fiſh* Bay, calling them from the nature of the ſupplies of proviſions they obtained in each. The narrow policy of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company has always been directed to prevent the true ſituation of the whole of this coaſt from becoming known.

Little,

In riding hither, I had obſerved that there was a large inlet of the ſea before the diſtrict of

Little, therefore, can with certainty be ſaid of it; but if ſecure harbours be diſcovered along it, the benefits to be derived from them would be very important. Farther to the eaſtward, is *Agoa*, or *Blettenberg*'s, Bay, which, though it is only an open road, is ſpacious, and affords good anchorage for the largeſt ſhips, ſheltered from the northeaſt, weſt, and ſouth winds; there is plenty of freſh water, the bay abounds in fiſh, and the rocks are covered with excellent oyſters. The fineſt timber grows in the neighbourhood of theſe bays; and if, inſtead of having it brought by land-carriage to the *Cape*, a navigation were eſtabliſhed, the difference would be immenſe, both to the ſellers and to the buyers. Among the various ſorts of timber, either unknown, or extremely rare in Europe, the following abound here, viz. *geelhout*, or yellow wood (*ilex crocea*), which is of a yellow colour, almoſt like box, and of a cloſe texture; it is uſed for making of furniture; *buckuhout* (*olea capenſis*); *roode elſe*, or red alder (*cunonia capenſis*); the *keureboom* (*ſophora capenſis*); *zwarte yzerhout*, or black ironwood (*gardenia rothmannia*); *zwarthaſt* (*royena villoſa*); and *doornhout*, or thornwood (*mimoſa nilotica*); which are all uſed in the conſtruction of waggons and their appurtenances; *eſſenhout*, the aſh (*ekebergia capenſis*), which is hard and of a cloſe texture, and is uſed for making of tools and implements of various kinds; *olyvehout*, olive wood (*olea Europea*), which is a heavy, ſtrong wood, of a brown colour, uſed in the conſtruction of mills; *wilde catjepiering* (*gardenia thunbergia*), a ſtrong kind of wood uſed for clubs; *ſtinkhout*, or ſtinkwood, which is a beautiful brown wood, like *walnuttree-wood*; houſehold furniture of all kinds is made of it; it is ſuſceptible of the fineſt poliſh, and has the valuable property of being proof againſt the attacks of worms; it has its name from the excrementitious odour which it

of *Hottentot Holland*, in which it appeared to me, that a ſhip might lie ſheltered from both wind and ſea, to take in the produce of the country, as well as what might be conveyed hither from the interior parts.

To aſcertain this, I particularly queſtioned De Vos, who frequently went thither to fiſh, reſpecting his opinion on the ſubject. He gave for anſwer, that with regard to the lying of a ſhip there, he conceived that there was a ſafe birth in twenty and leſs fathom water, and a good ſandy bottom, in the ſoutheaſt or good monſoon; but that the ſhore was, in moſt places, lined with a range of ſunken rocks, although not in ſo uninterrupted a chain, but that there were ſome paſſages between them, through which ſmall veſſels might reach the ſhore, to load goods. This was confirmed to me, when I returned to the *Cape*, by old Mr. Kersten, who had many years lived as reſident at *Falſe*-Bay, and had ſeen a large Engliſh ſhip anchor in ſafety at the place in queſtion.

it exhales when cut down, but which goes away as ſoon as it is dried; *camaſſiebout*, which is uſed for veneering; it is one of the fineſt and heavieſt kinds of wood; &c. Some of theſe might, perhaps, if acceſs to the immenſe foreſts which produce them were eaſy, become articles of trade, even to Europe. *T.*

Poſſibly

Poſſibly the difficulty of landing might not be found ſo great as is ſuppoſed, if proper ſurveys were to be made by intelligent people. It is certain, that if the conveyance of produce to the *Cape* could, in this manner, be made eaſy, it would afford a conſiderable advantage both to the Company, to the coloniſts of this diſtrict, and to others ſituated over the mountains. The diſadvantages which the coloniſts labour under at preſent, will plainly appear, if we conſider that, according to the univerſal teſtimony of the inhabitants of this diſtrict, the expence of the conveyance of every cartload to the *Cape*, which is at the diſtance of twelve Dutch miles, muſt be calculated at ſix rixdollars, ſo that the farmers here cannot poſſibly ſell the cartload of ten *muds* of wheat, or of one leager of wine, for the ſame price, as thoſe who have their ſettlements from three to five Dutch miles from the *Cape**.

If

* Every new-made cart coſts one hundred and eighty rixdollars. This high rate is chiefly cauſed by the ſcarcity of wood required for the conſtruction, which the Company formerly uſed to have ſent from *Holland*. This, however, is

If we ſuppoſe that, of the ſix rixdollars per cartload, here ſaved, only the half be to the benefit of the Company, and the other half to that of the coloniſts, it would be ſufficient to compenſate for the little trouble which the accurate inveſtigation of this matter would occaſion.

Although *Hottentot Holland* has few cornfields, and is chiefly uſed for the cultivation of the vine, this would, nevertheleſs, make a difference of three rixdollars upon every leager of wine, for a cart can load but one leager at a time: and the lands ſituated over the hills, which almoſt all produce more corn than wine, would reap the benefit of it upon their grain.

Yet as all this, unfortunately, does not agree with the ſelf-intereſt of the Company's ſervants, I firmly believe, that theſe meaſures, calculated for the mutual advantage of the Company, and of their coloniſts,

not now practiſed, but moſt of the timber wanted is brought, with much trouble and inconvenience, over the mountains, from an extenſive foreſt, ſituated ſeveral days' journey from the *Cape*; and it may not be cut without a ſpecial permiſſion from the government.

will

will never be endeavoured to be put in execution *.

The

* Theſe cauſes, and perhaps the ſupineneſs of the direction in Holland, and their conſidering the *Cape* as a ſubordinate eſtabliſhment, have been the means, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to notice, of its being a yearly charge upon them, inſtead of yielding any revenue. In the hands of a more enterpriſing nation, it may perhaps be rendered a colony of more intrinſic and territorial value, than even its relative importance, as a place of refreſhment, and reſort, for the navigation of the Indies. Of the numerous catalogue which may be formed, of articles for trade, actually to be met with, or eaſy to be introduced into this country, none but its corn and wine have hitherto made any figure in the records of commerce. Peas, beans, and butter, indeed, are ſometimes exported to the Indies: the farmers, who have a tolerable ſhare of paſture-ground, make from 2,000 to 3,500*lb.* of butter annually, which they carry to the *Cape* in one or two journies, and diſpoſe of it to the town's people at from three to ſix ſtivers per pound, who reſell the greateſt part to the ſhips at a profit of from 20 to 100 per cent. The wool of their ſheep, though extremely coarſe, has, in one or two inſtances, been manufactured into common cloth, and might perhaps be brought into uſe for the conſumption of the country people. An inconſiderable quantity of oil is procured from the ſeals and penguins, which abound in the neighbourhood of the *Cape*, and the ſkins of the former are much uſed in the colony; but the ſpermaceti, and other whales, which are eſpecially remarkably numerous in *St. Helena* and *Saldanha* Bays, have hitherto been wholly neglected. An article, however, which has of late been exported from the *Cape*, is gum aloe; it is procured from the leaves of the *aloë perfoliata*, which is very abundant in many parts of the country: PETER DE WITT, a farmer ſtill living, was the firſt who prepared this gum here, and he,

The next day, being Sunday, the 24th of July, we left De Vos's at nine o'clock in the morning,

in conſequence, obtained the excluſive privilege of delivering it to the Company, whence the quantity produced has always been ſmall: the juice, tapped from the leaves, generally yields one-third of ſolid gum; it is packed in wooden boxes, containing from three to five *cwt.* and is ſold at the Cape for three and four ſtivers per pound. The Cape aloe is more tranſparent, and equal, if not ſuperior, in quality, to thoſe ſorts, ſold under the denominations of aloe ſuccotrine, and aloe hepatica. Almonds are likewiſe produced here, and are bought by the ſhips' officers to carry for ſale to *Batavia*. Tobacco is ſometimes cultivated by the planters for their own uſe, and hemp by the Hottentots, for the purpoſe of ſmoaking, inſtead of the former; but neither have ever been thought of as articles of trade. The wax-ſhrubs (*myrica querifolia*, and *cordifolia*) afford a ſubſtance reſembling bees'-wax; the berries of them, which are quite black, are covered with a greyiſh powder: they are gathered when ripe, in the month of March, and boiled till this white powder is melted, and floats on the ſurface of the water, like fat; this, when ſkimmed off and cooled, grows hard, and reſembles grey, impure wax; it is uſed by the farmers for candles, which burn better than thoſe made of tallow: Might not the uſe of it become more extended? From the *mimoſa nilotica* gum arabic might be collected. The camphor-tree (*laurus camphora*) has been brought here from the Eaſt-Indies, and has thriven very well, yet no pains have been taken to encreaſe the number, or to collect any camphor. Turmeric (*curcuma longa*) might be cultivated here, for it is found in the Company's garden. The mulberry-tree (*morus nigra*) flouriſhes; and might not ſilkworms be reared here? The olive-tree (*olea Europea*) is common on the hills near the town, and in other places, growing wild; its fruit is ſaid ſeldom to come

morning, and rode on to *Vergelegen* (far-ſituated), that famous ſeat, formerly laid out, in

come to maturity: Will not cultivation and care alter this? Orchilla-weed may alſo be procured at the *Cape*, which has otherwiſe been excluſively imported from the Canaries, but it has not hitherto been ſought after, and perhaps it is very little known that it does exiſt here. *Indigoferas* of ſeveral ſorts are enumerated among its productions, by the different botaniſts who have explored this country; but the manufacture of indigo has never been attempted. We have the aſſurance of LE VAILLANT, that in the diſtrict of *Waveren*, otherwiſe called that of the *four-and-twenty-rivers*, indigo, as well as ſugar and cotton, might be cultivated with ſucceſs: in this diſtrict, beſides corn and wine, the planters have engaged in the raiſing for the Cape market, where they have no competitors, all kinds of fruit, lemons, oranges, limes, ſhaddocks, figs, pomegranates, &c. they are ſold at four, five, and ſix, rixdollars the hundred, and are eagerly purchaſed. Though this is one of the moſt fertile and pleaſant parts of the colony, it is but thinly inhabited, and contains no more than forty or fifty farms; much land in it lies waſte: the rivers which traverſe it fall into the *Berg*-river, and this into the bay of *St. Helena*, at its ſouthern part. By theſe channels, the produce of this diſtrict, together with that of the neighbouring one of *Zwartland*, might be carried to the bay, where there is good anchorage for ſhipping, and where it would be eaſy to eſtabliſh repoſitories, whence the paſſage by ſea to the *Cape* would be quick and eaſy. *Saldanha*-Bay, which is well known to be a moſt excellent and ſpacious harbour, might likewiſe ſerve for an enterport for that part of *Zwartland* which adjoins to it, and is too far from the *Berg*-river to ſend its produce that way; and this would be the more uſeful, as a permanent ſettlement there would be a great accommodation for the re-

in the beginning of this century, by Governor A. VAN DER STEL, for his own pleaſure, but at the expence of the Company, which afterwards, together with other additional circumſtances, was the cauſe of his being recalled to Europe, by his employers. The whole of this caſe may be amply ſeen in the memorial which he drew up of it, and the contra-memorial of the coloniſts, whom he had treated in a very unreaſonable and unjuſt manner, ſending ſome of them priſoners

freſhment of ſhips, that might not be able to put into *Table*-Bay. It is ſurpriſing that, notwithſtanding the many ſwarms of bees, which fly wild about the country, no hives have yet been introduced, nor any honey or wax collected; Dr. SPARRMAN ſays, that he neither ſaw nor heard of any one that kept home-bees, except a young lad, the ſon of a coloniſt, near *Conſtantia*, who uſed ſometimes to ſet out empty cheſts and boxes, in which a wild ſwarm would ſettle without fail in the ſpace of a few days; but the liquoriſh lad ſoon deſtroyed the hive, and conſumed the honey almoſt immediately. Ivory, though elephants are now very ſcarce near the *Cape*, is a commodity that may alſo be procured here. Even oſtrich feathers, which faſhion has rendered an almoſt indiſpenſable article of dreſs to our fair countrywomen, may be added to the liſt of marketable wares. In ſhort, though it is ſcarcely poſſible that all theſe ſhould ſucceed, as articles of trade, yet trials may be made, and encouragements offered; while the enumeration of them ſuffices to ſhew, of what importance this colony may be rendered by an active, enterpriſing, and liberal nation. *T.*

to Holland, and aiming at the oppreſſion and impoveriſhment of all.

He had called this ſeat *Vergeleegen*, becauſe it is ſituated full twelve or thirteen hours' ride from the *Cape*, nearly in the deepeſt part of the valley of *Hottentot Holland*.

The front of the houſe faced the eaſt. Before it lay a large garden, of a regular octagon form, incloſed by a wall. The walk which led up to the houſe, was bordered on each ſide by orange and lemon-trees; but the outer avenue was planted with large oak-trees; they were, however, leſs in ſize than thoſe of Europe; between theſe, ſtood almond-trees, which were then in bloſſom, and did not contribute a little to embelliſh thoſe pleaſant walks.

To the ſouth, was a ſimilar long and broad avenue, but bordered with cheſtnut-trees, the fruit of which was very good.

To the north, lay a large wood of very ancient oaks, which extended alſo to the weſt: it had been more extenſive, but the preſent owner of the eſtate, one VLOK, had had a conſiderable part cut down and cleared, in order to have a full proſpect over the flat

country into *False*-Bay, and the view was now only bounded by the high mountains of *Simon*'s-Bay and the weſt ſhore.

Along the back of the houſe ſtood a row of very high and large camphor-trees, which, with their evergreen foliage, afforded a pleaſant ſummer proſpect, even in winter. The leaf of this tree reſembles, in ſome meaſure, that of the orange and bay-tree, and has the ſame gloſſy green hue; it is, however, much maller: when taken in the mouth, or bruiſed between the fingers, it has a ſtrong camphorated taſte and ſmell. The wood of the tree is uſed for all kinds of cabinet-work, and, when poliſhed, is of a light brown colour, with black veins; but it is ſold at a dear rate.

The dwelling-houſe, not to ſay any thing of the other buildings, as ſlave-houſes, ware-houſes, ſtables, &c. is a handſome edifice, though of only one ſtory (as, in fact, all the countryhouſes here are, as well as moſt of the houſes at *Capetown*), with a long and broad gallery, which is the ſitting and eating-room of the family, and many large apartments on each ſide.

The garden, the buildings, and the planta-

tions,

tions, all bore very evident ſigns of the magnificence and wealth of the founder, who ſpent large ſums of money upon this ſpot; but every thing is now much decayed, as the ſucceeding proprietors did not poſſeſs the ſame means as Mr. VAN DER STEL, to keep it in proper repair.

The *Laurens*-river, the largeſt and moſt rapid which we had met with in this little excurſion, runs juſt without the woods belonging to this eſtate. We had to croſs it twice, and for want of bridges, which are a convenience unknown in this country, we forded it on horſeback, the water reaching up nearly as high as our ſaddles.

Having taken a view of every thing, as well as the ſhortneſs of time would admit, we rode away at eleven o'clock, and in half an hour we returned to the farm of DE VOS; whence, after having dined, and heartily thanked our friendly entertainer, we took our departure at half paſt one o'clock. At four, we rode paſt *Stellenboſch*, and at half paſt ſix, we came to ALBERTYN's farm, near the *Klapmuts*, where we took up our night's lodging.

The next morning, about nine o'clock, we

we left theſe honeſt and hoſpitable people, on our return to the *Cape*, dined by the way upon bread and butter and a glaſs of wine, in the open air, not far from *Tiger*-Valley, on the banks of a little rivulet, and in the middle of a grove of low trees, and arrived at the town, at half paſt four o'clock, in the afternoon.

I was informed, upon my arrival, by Mr. HEMMY, that the muſtering of my crew, and diſpatch of my veſſel, would take place on Friday next, the 29th of July*.

On

* No more than fifteen days had thus elapſed, from the time of my arrival in *Simon*'s-Bay, to that of my diſpatch, in which the crew had to refreſh themſelves, and recover from the fatigues of a long and boiſterous paſſage. It may eaſily be conceived, that their bodies could not, in ſo ſhort a time, be fully diveſted of the bad humours, and ſcorbutic matter, which had been accumulated in them, in the conſiderable ſpace of time they had been on board, namely, from the 6th of January, the day I received them at *Rammekins*, till the 13th of July; and this was very apparent afterwards, when I was at ſea; for in a few days, the uſual ſhips' diſeaſes manifeſted themſelves on board; as likewiſe continued fevers, which were immediately followed by a total proſtration, ariſing from the impure ſtate of the whole frame, and the corruption of the fluids; theſe fevers were alſo accompanied by the ſcurvy, which ſoon likewiſe made its appearance. It is true, that the moſt and worſt ſickneſs occurred among thoſe of my crew, who had been ſent, for a few days, as a help, on board

On Wedneſday, the 27th, I rode in the forenoon to the Company's garden called

board of the ſhip *P*——; this veſſel had arrived at the *Cape*, with eighty ſick; cleanlineſs ſeemed to have been very little attended to on board of her, for ſhe was between the decks ſo choaked with filth, that ſome of my officers aſſured me, they had never ſeen ſo much dirt, not even on board of any French ſhip. Though it is probable, that my men were infected by the ſick of this veſſel, it is, however, reaſonable to conclude, that their bodies were not in a perfect ſtate of health, nor their fluids wholly purified, or this contagion could never have ſpread ſo rapidly among them.

I ſhould, therefore, be of opinion, that the outwardbound ſhips ſhould ſtop longer at the *Cape*, and ſtay there four weeks, inſtead of a fortnight, in order that by a proper length of time to refreſh, the bodies of the ſailors might be cleanſed of their accumulated peccant matter. Returning thus on board in good health, and with renewed ſtrength, they would not only be able to cope with the fatigues of the remainder of the voyage, but arriving in the Indies, with a hale and healthy frame of body, they would, in ſome meaſure, be able to withſtand the firſt attacks of the unwholeſome climate.

It may, perhaps, be objected to this, that the additional charges to be incurred by a longer ſtay, would conſiderably encreaſe the ſhip's expences. But this is of little importance, for the articles of refreſhment procured at the *Cape*, do not coſt much; my ſhip, the *Ouwerkerk*, conſumed during her ſtay:

4,708 pounds of freſh meat, amounting, at $5\frac{1}{2}$ pennings ($\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{0}$ of a ſtiver, or penny) per pound, to *f.*	80 18 8
40 *muds* of wheat, for baking, at *f.* 5 $17\frac{1}{2}$ per *mud*	234 13 8
	f. 315 12 0

Thus a ſhip ſtaying half a month longer, would only expend twice that ſum.

Newland,

Newland, which is about one Dutch mile and a half from the *Cape*, where the governor, Mr. VAN PLETTENBERG, then was, in order to take leave of his excellency.

On the following Saturday, the Company's hoy, the *Neptune*, commanded by Captain DE HAAS, came to an anchor in *Table*-Bay. This veſſel had left the harbour on the 20th of May, with goods for *Falſe*-Bay; when at ſea, ſhe had been overtaken by a violent ſtorm, and driven upon the reef of *Anguillas*, where ſhe continued to ſwerve about till the 22d of June; on the evening of that day, the ſame on which we had been haraſſed by the dreadful hurricane before deſcribed, ſhe rolled away all her three maſts. She was then driven to the ſouthward, as far as 41°, and got ſight of the iſlands *Dina* and *Marſeveen*. They had, for a great part of the time, been in want of water; but they fortunately had plenty of wine on board, ſo that they kept themſelves alive with bread and wine.

The next morning, being Sunday, the 31ſt of July, I ſet off, at eight o'clock, in company with Mr. ERNST, for *Falſe*-Bay, where we arrived at one. We found my

ſhip

ſhip in good condition, and ready for ſea; but the wind blowing from the S.E. for this, and the two following days, we were prevented from ſailing.

This morning, came to an anchor here, the Company's ſhip *P*——, Captain *S*——, who had ſailed from *Goerée*, on the 12th of May, for the chamber of *Delft*, with two hundred and nine men, of whom twenty-eight had died on the paſſage, eighty were now confined by ſickneſs, and the remainder were moſtly unfit for the ſhip's duty: and as, for want of hands, they were incapable of mooring the ſhip, or taking in their ſails, I directly ſent them ſixty men, to aſſiſt them in doing this, who I let remain on board her till Tueſday evening.

CHAP.

CHAPTER III.

Departure from FALSE-*Bay.*—*Violent Thunder-ſtorm.*—*Meteors called Caſtor and Pollux.*—*Dreadful epidemical Diſorder which raged on Board.*—*The Surgeon's Report concerning it.*—*Treatment of the Sick, &c.*—*Paſs the Iſlands* AMSTERDAM *and* ST. PAUL.—*Bear away for* NEW HOLLAND.—*Diſappointed in falling in with it.*—*Paſs the Latitude of the Trial's Rocks.*—*View of the South Coaſt of* JAVA.—*Range along it.*—*Great Inaccuracy of the Company's Charts.*—*Paſſage of the Straits of* SUNDA.—*Anchorage at* BATAVIA.

ON Wedneſday morning, the 3d of Auguſt, the wind being northweſt, we weighed anchor, with a ſtiff gale, accompanied by hail and rain, and got under ſail at eleven o'clock, A.M. ſaluting the road with ſeven guns, which was returned us by the ſhip *P*——, with five. At two o'clock, P.M. we were out of the bay, and ſteered our courſe firſt in a ſoutherly direction, for fear the wind ſhould come round to that quarter. At this time my crew conſiſted of three hundred

dred and twenty-three men, all ſeemingly in good health.

The next morning, the wind ſtill blew hard from the N.W. and we ſaw a ſail lying by to the S.W. with a Prince of Orange's flag * flying from her mizen-topmaſthead. We paſſed her at the diſtance of a quarter of a league, and ſhould have hailed her, but the high wind made us think it not ſafe to approach near enough to underſtand each other.

On the 9th and 10th of Auguſt, we had violent thunderſtorms in the evening; the claps of thunder were ſo loud and inceſſant, that the ſhip ſhook by their exploſion; and the flaſhes of lightning ſhot between the maſts, and ſo cloſe along the hull of the ſhip, that we were apprehenſive of the loſs of the former, and of fire in the latter. Large hailſtones fell at the ſame time, accompanied by rain, and a high wind; yet we ſuffered no great damage from this concuſſion of the elements.

I am of opinion, that the iron ſpindles for the vanes, which are generally uſed at the

* See the note to page 141, of the firſt volume. *T.*

topmaſt-

topmaſtheads, are very bad in thunder-ſtorms, as they cannot but attract the electric matter; the topmaſts of my ſhip had not ſuch ſpindles, but knobs.

On the 10th, at ſix o'clock in the evening, when the thunderſtorm was at the higheſt, we ſaw the meteors called Caſtor and Pollux, upon the topſailyardarms, which gave a clear light, and appeared like ſmall lambent flames; ſhortly after which the ſtorm abated.

We likewiſe ſaw them, on the mizen and maintopſail-yards, on the 5th of September, at eleven o'clock at night, when we had a lowering ſky, with thunder and lightning, but not ſo violent as at former times.

Towards the end of the month of Auguſt, the ſcurvy began to appear, more and more, among the people; and on the 1ſt of September, we loſt two men by it, who had only begun to complain the day before, and who died, as it were, in the midſt of their uſual occupations. This ſoon convinced me, that my fears, reſpecting the ill conſequences of the too ſhort ſtay of my men at the *Cape*, were not imaginary. Since my departure from that place, I had, however, given

given the whole of the ſhip's crew ſoup, made of freſh mutton, twice a week, and had made the ſoldiers exerciſe, when it was good weather, every day, to keep them in motion.

But this was only a commencement of our ſufferings. It was not alone the ſcurvy which manifeſted itſelf on board, but likewiſe a moſt malignant putrid fever, which attacked a great number, ſo that, on the 10th of September, we had one hundred on the ſickliſt. The ſoldiers, and ſuch ſailors who had not before been at ſea, were chiefly the victims of this diſorder; but it attacked, in particular, thoſe who had been on board of the ſhip *P*——.

The firſt ſymptoms of the fever, and which occurred ſome days before it actually came on, were a violent headache and pains in the ſtomach, debility, and loſs of appetite. Some died during the firſt fit of the fever; others two or three days afterwards. A ſtrong putrid ſmell was perceived even before they died, and many of the bodies emitted ſo dreadful a ſtench, in half an hour after the breath had left them, that they were forced to be inſtantaneouſly com-

mitted to the deep. Immediately after their death, and, in ſome caſes, even before it, the bodies were blotched with black and blueiſh ſpots, eſpecially upon the neck and breaſt, which indicated an entire corruption of the whole ſyſtem.

The following is a relation of the commencement, progreſs, and termination, of this ſickneſs, as couched in the report concerning it made to me by my ſurgeon, Mr. L. Vinke.

" This epidemic began in the latter part " of the month of Auguſt, and did not end " till the beginning of October. The ſuf- " ferers firſt felt a chilly ſhivering; then " a liſtleſſneſs and pain in the joints; this " was followed by a flushing heat exter- " nally, but internally they always com- " plained of cold. Some had a violent " fever, with a throbbing pulſation; others " no fever at all, with a low and weak " pulſe. In general, they were overcome " by a ſudden debility, in ſo far, that ſome " who endeavoured to keep up, fell down " from weakneſs. Some had their uſual " and natural evacuations, others none at all. " Their urine was ſomewhat turbid, yel-

" lowiſh,

" lowiſh, and very ſharp. In the beginning,
" the tongue was whitiſh, but afterwards
" covered with a brown coat, and with a
" black ſlime over the teeth. In the night,
" they were very reſtleſs, and generally de-
" lirious. Some had violent retchings on the
" ſecond day, and brought up a blackiſh
" matter; yet the patients felt no eaſe from
" it, but experienced a great degree of
" anxiety, accompanied by profuſe perſpira-
" tion. On the third day they got a hic-
" cough, with a coldneſs of the extremities;
" ſome bled, at the ſame time, copiouſly
" from the noſe; and, at laſt, they loſt the
" power of retention of their urine and ex-
" crements, which they voided involunta-
" rily; their evacuations were of a dark
" brown colour, and intolerably fetid; at
" laſt, a profuſe cold and clammy ſweat
" came upon them, at which time they died.
" I examined ſome of them, after they were
" dead, who were full of purple blotches,
" on the breaſt and face; I ſaw two, who
" had a blackiſh ſpot, of the ſize of two
" handbreadths, along and under the ſhort
" ribs, at the place where the liver lies,
" which is a certain ſign of the entire mor-

 " tification

" tification of that part; and theſe bodies
" were ſo putrid, that they could not be
" kept on board half an hour after the de-
" ceaſe. Some of the patients, who had
" immediately complained, or given them-
" ſelves in as ſick, got, on the fifth, or
" ſeventh, day of their illneſs, a *diarrhœa*;
" which in ſome was critical, or favourable,
" and in others ſymptomatic, or incidental:
" the *diarrhœa critica* ſeldom laſted longer
" than three or four days; they voided a
" quantity of dark brown and blackiſh mat-
" ter, and the fever then left them entirely;
" theſe patients were far gone in a decay of
" ſtrength, and the worſt was, that they
" continually relapſed, even four or five
" times: three times were the uſual run:
" and by theſe continual relapſes, many
" were alſo attacked by the ſcurvy, by
" which ſeveral of them died. Thoſe who
" got a *diarrhœa ſymptomatica*, had a violent
" colic, together with very fetid and looſe
" ſtools, ſometimes accompanied by the eva-
" cuation of a ſlimy matter, with ſtreaks of
" blood running through it. Some of theſe
" patients were attacked by a violent vomit-
" ing, hiccough, and convulſions, and, laſtly,

" they

" they fell into a profuſe cold and clammy
" ſweat, in which they died. Few of thoſe
" who had the *diarrhœa ſymptomatica* re-
" covered, except when the ſymptoms were
" not very violent. Some had their criſis,
" or rather metaſtaſis, with a ſwelling
" behind the ears, upon the breaſt, or
" ſhoulders, which changed to a ſuppuration,
" whereby they were cured. Others again
" felt violent pains in the ſhoulders, knees,
" or feet, which, after having laſted two
" days, left them, and they recovered.
" Thoſe who tried to keep up, and waited
" two or three days before they gave them-
" ſelves in as patients, almoſt all died within
" the fourth day after they came under my
" care. Theſe were, in general, full of
" puſtulous ſpots, and half an hour after their
" deceaſe, the abdomen turned quite black,
" which is a certain ſign of an entire morti-
" fication of all the viſcera of the belly.
" From the time of its commencement, till
" the 2d of October, when it ceaſed, twenty-
" nine men died of this diſeaſe, beſide thoſe
" who were carried off by the ſcurvy, and
" other diſorders."

I attribute this dreadful epidemic to no

 other

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other cauſe, than that my healthy men, whom I ſent, as abovementioned, as a help, on board of the ſhip *P*——, caught the infection there; eſpecially ſince the individuals who had been on board of her, were the firſt who were attacked by it.

The prevalence of this ſickneſs occaſioned ſo much diſmay among thoſe who remained in health, that they imagined that the ſhip was infected with the plague, and I had the greateſt difficulty to convince them, and eſpecially my officers, of the contrary, by daily going myſelf to viſit the ſick, to ſee that they were properly treated, and to encourage and conſole the poor ſufferers, as much as lay in my power.

The ſailors who had been much at ſea, were the laſt who were attacked by this diſorder, and they, for the moſt part, recovered.

By this dreadful and malignant diſeaſe, as well as by the ſcurvy, I loſt forty-two men of my crew in September, and at the cloſe of that month, I had ſtill one hundred and eight confined by ſickneſs.

In this ſituation, ſo diſtreſsful to me, we ſcarcely knew how to proceed. The

ſurgeon

ſurgeon and his mates did all in their power, and whatever art could deviſe, according to their beſt abilities, to ſtop the progreſs of the diſeaſe; but it may eaſily be conceived, that, where the number was ſo great, they could not attend to every individual, with that entire ſolicitude, which the nature of the diſtemper ſeemed particularly to require.

Beſides this, thoſe medicines which were the moſt neceſſary, were ſoon conſumed; and what is a moſt ſhameful neglect in the equipment of the Company's ſhips, at leaſt at the chamber of *Zealand*, as I experienced it myſelf in both my voyages, there was not a ſingle drop of white wine-vinegar to be found on board, which, in theſe caſes, is an article of the utmoſt neceſſity, and yet, perhaps, it is charged in account to the Company. However it be, this is certain, that the want of it was the occaſion that many of our ſick died.

Notwithſtanding all this, we yet thought ourſelves fortunate, that we met with fine weather, in running down through the ſouthern latitudes, ſo that the gratings and airholes could always remain open, by which the contamination of the air was greatly mode-

rated; while, on my part, I took eſpecial care that the ſick-ward, which was, as uſual, between the firſt and ſecond decks, was kept clean and neat.

The air in it was continually refreſhed and renewed, by the opening of the port-holes, and by a coolſail, made like a funnel, in the manner of M. DU HAMEL; and at night, when this could not be done, for fear of accidents, the ventilators were kept conſtantly at work.

I allowed no water to be made uſe of in cleaning it out, that the moiſture might not contribute to encreaſe the contagion; and on the other hand, daily fumigations were made with juniper-berries and frankincenſe, likewiſe by burning of gunpowder, and pouring of vinegar on red-hot bullets.

The cribs of the ſick were ſprinkled with vinegar, and the patients were directed to waſh their hands and faces, and rinſe their mouths with it, every morning.

Their victuals conſiſted, one day, in mutton-broth, with lemonjuice; the next, in rice-porridge; and the third, in bread and beer, with wine; and in the morning they had grouts, with Spaniſh wine.

Thoſe

Thoſe who recovered were put to a ſeparate meſs, and theſe were allowed, for the firſt ten days, nothing but ſpoonmeat, peeled barley, and peas, without their ration of pork or beef, becauſe their ſtomachs were much too weak to digeſt theſe laſt. It alſo appeared, that thoſe who had eat a little pork or beef in ſecret, fell immediately ill again.

To ſuch as remained in health, I gave every day a quartern of wine (which they did not receive elſe but three times a week), and I cauſed bitters to be put into their uſual morning and evening drams, in order to oppoſe, as much poſſible, the commencement of corruption.

Our ſouthern navigation was very good; we met with no bad weather of any conſequence, but the winds were almoſt always too ſlack, to admit of a quick paſſage, although it was in the winter-ſeaſon, in theſe latitudes.

When, on my former voyage, I paſſed this way, in the month of January, which is here the middle of ſummer, we met with much harder winds, and often with violent ſtorms, during which we were frequently obliged

obliged to lie by, which did not once happen this time.

On the 2d of September, in the afternoon, we thought that we ſaw the iſland *Amſterdam*; but could not, on account of the hazineſs of the weather, be certain of it.

On the 5th, we ſaw a good deal of ſea-weed, which made us conclude that we had paſſed the iſlands of *Amſterdam* and *St. Paul*, or were to the eaſtward of them: the more ſo, as the variations of the compaſs, and two lunar obſervations, which I had made, according to the manner of M. DE LA CAILLE, corroborated the conjecture.

Upon conſidering theſe circumſtances, we determined to bear away for the *Land of the Eendragt*, in *New Holland*, in order to correct our reckoning, and to ſteer for the iſland of *Java*, ſo as to fall in with it, to the eaſtward of the Straits of *Sunda*. But we were fruſtrated in our hopes of ſeeing this land, by the ſoutheaſt tradewind, which we now met with, and which carried us too far to leeward; wherefore, on the 25th of September, we changed our courſe to N.E. and bore away afterwards in a northerly track, availing likewiſe of the

variation

variation of the compaſs, in order to get to the eaſtward of the Straits of *Sunda*; for I found, by ſeveral journals, that there was a variation of 2½° north, at the eaſt end of *Java*, and by my own experience I knew that there was no variation at all at the Straits of *Sunda*.

On the 26th of that month, we paſſed the latitude in which the *Trial's Rocks* are laid down.

On the 4th of October, a large bunch of green weed floated by the ſhip, and the next day, half an hour before ſunriſe, we diſcovered the ſouth coaſt of *Java*.

The part which we ſaw ſhewed like a very long iſland, ſeemingly about eight or nine leagues in length, and appearing to ſtretch out to the northeaſtward, moſtly in an equal direction, and of a moderate height. The weſt point appeared craggy and broken, and the eaſt point run gradually round in a circular ſhape: this was the iſland called *Nouſſa Baron*.

Juſt after eight o'clock in the morning, we ſaw, a little to the weſtward of this land, the ſpiry ſummit of a mountain, which appeared above the clouds, and look-

ed

ed of a blue colour, but underneath, we could not ſee any land: this mountain was higher than any one I had ever ſeen.

The land which appeared afterwards, during this day, was high, bare, and ſtony, with a rocky ſhore; and in ſome places ſhoals and rocks, which ſeemed to extend about a league from the land.

The next day, at eight o'clock, A.M. we thought we ſaw the *Hoornſhoofd*, or the *Horn*, being a high mountain, ſo called, N.E. by N. from us. The coaſt was ſtill higher, and equally bare; but, a little before noon, we perceived ſome trees upon the tops of the hills. At half paſt two o'clock, P.M. we were abreaſt of a large opening, which ſeemed to run far inland, and appeared to us to be the mouth of a river. The land ſhewed here in four ridges, lying behind each other, riſing gradually higher, in proportion as they were more inland, and all of them being wholly covered with thick woods. At four o'clock we ſaw a building cloſe to the ſhore, which looked like a fort; this edifice, together with ſome habitations which we ſaw adjacent to it, I then thought conſtituted the old city of *Mataram*, at leaſt

the

the obſervation of the *Hoornſhoofd*, and the diſtance we had ſince ſailed along the coaſt, indicated as much; but his excellency, Governor VAN DER PARRA, told me afterwards that that city lay farther inland. At eight o'clock we had ſoundings in one hundred and twenty-five fathoms, blueiſh clay. At night, having little or no wind, we made no progreſs, but floated about without any determinate direction.

At daybreak the next morning, being the 7th of October, we could but juſt ſee the land, and I according ſteered again directly for it. At eight o'clock, we diſcovered a very low coaſt, which began at a middling elevated point, where the high land terminated.

This low land was entirely covered with trees, among which we perceived ſeveral groves of cocoa-nut, and areca trees, the ſhore was bordered by a white beach, againſt which the ſea rolled without interruption.

At ten o'clock, we ſaw, among the woods, a very high tree, which ſpread out its branches very far, and appeared, at a diſtance, like a beacon;

beacon; and from the maſthead we diſcerned ſeveral negrees, or villages.

We here ſaw high land again, though the low land continued all along before it, till three o'clock, P.M. when we again ſaw nothing but low land with trees.

We ſailed along the ſhore, from eight o'clock, A.M. till ſunſet, at the diſtance of a league, over the depth of thirty or forty fathoms, black ſandy ground, like fine gunpowder.

The land which we beheld in the morning of the eighth of October, ſhewed like a double range of broken hills, of a middling height. Shortly afterwards we ſaw the appearance of an iſland, in the N.N.W. on each ſide of which there was a deep inlet, with high mountains inland; we conceived that theſe were *Maurice* and *Dirk de Vries* Bays. We likewiſe ſaw a high cape, and land N.W. by N. which, at three o'clock, P.M. bore due north from us. Juſt beyond, and eaſt of this cape, lay a rock above water, upon which the ſea broke.

Hence the coaſt ſtretched, as far as we could ſee, W. by N. and W.N.W. being tolerably

tolerably high land, covered with trees. We ſailed along it, two and a half leagues from the ſhore, and ſaw a heavy ſurf breaking upon it. Our depth of water was forty and forty-five fathoms.

At ſunſet we ſteered weſt, but finding the depth decreaſing, we edged gradually away to the ſouth, as far as s.s.w.

At daybreak, the following morning, being the 9th of October, we found ourſelves cloſe under a woody iſland. We here perceived that the ſouth coaſt of *Java*, inſtead of being laid down, in the Company's charts, with requiſite accuracy, is, on the contrary, placed very erroneouſly; for, with the courſe which we had ſteered at night, we ought, according to the charts, not only not to have approached the land, but to have bore away from it more and more. I am not the only one, who has been deceived in this reſpect, for having accidentally on board a journal of the Company's ſhip *Zuidbeveland*, commanded by Captain HALFMAN, I found the ſame occurrence noted down in it, at the ſame place.

It is really to be lamented, that ſo powerful a body as the Eaſt-India Company, and whoſe

whoſe proſperity ſo much depends upon the ſafe and proſperous voyages of their ſhips, ſhould trouble themſelves ſo little with the improvement of navigation in general, and the correction of their charts in particular. I could adduce many inſtances of their faultineſs, both with reſpect to the Indies, and to the coaſt of Africa. Other nations purſue this object with indefatigable aſſiduity, eſpecially the Engliſh, whoſe maps are, in general, infinitely preferable to our's.

On the 9th and 10th of October, we had very little proſpect of the land, by reaſon of the continual rain, accompanied by violent thunder and lightning, which we experienced thoſe days; except that we ſaw, at intervals, the blue ſummits of the mountains breaking through the clouds. Here we caught a dorado, which afforded us an agreeable refreſhment.

On the following days, and till the 14th of the month, we had continual rains, moſtly with dead calms; or elſe the little breezes which we had, were in general weſterly.

But on the 15th, the wind blew ſo hard from the weſt, that we could not even carry

carry a topſail, with two reeves; this was accompanied by a ſtrong current, ſetting to the eaſt, ſo that we continually loſt ground. We therefore determined to bear away to the ſouth, in order to get into the eaſterly tradewind again, and to run down ſo far to the weſtward with it, that we could make the Straits of *Sunda*.

On the 20th, finding that we had advanced far enough for this purpoſe, we again ſteered north; on the 22d, in the morning, we got ſight of the weſt point of *Java*; at nine o'clock, P.M. we ſucceeded in gaining the paſſage between *Java* and *Prince*'s Iſland, and at ten we anchored cloſe to *New* Iſland.

On the evening of the enſuing day, we reached the ſecond, and, on the day after, the third point of *Java*. On the 25th we dropped anchor, at night, cloſe to the point of *Bantam*, whence we ſet ſail the next day at noon; and on the 28th of October, we anchored, at four o'clock, P.M. in the road of *Batavia*, whence ſeven ſhips had ſailed the ſame morning for *Holland*, being the firſt diviſion of the return-fleet.

CHAPTER IV.

Departure from BATAVIA *for* SAMARANG.—*Paſs the Reef of* SEDARY.—*Of* CHERIBON.—*Mount* TAGAL.—*The Two Brothers.*—*Anchorage in the Road of S* ...G.—*Directions for ſailing along the* ...*count of the G* ...*t at* SAMARA ...*ution between* ...OE-HOENA ...ANKO BOE ...*atter ſuppor* ...*ompany.*—*T* ...JA *parc* ...*The Seacoc* ...*pan* ...*ike themſ* ...BO ...ERA C ...S ...AM.— ...*Short* ...A. ...Re- ...*rers.* ...ly ...few

A few days afterwards, it was determined that the voyage thither ſhould be made by way of *Macaſſer*, in order to fetch Mr. BERNARD VAN PLEUREN, the ſecond of that ſettlement, who was elected governor of *Amboyna*, and to carry him to his new appointment.

The ſhip being made ready for this voyage, I received my diſpatches, on the 2d of December, from the governor general, with orders, to ſet ſail the next day for *Samarang*, where I was to receive directions at what factories in *Java* I was to touch, in order to take in my cargo.

We had on board, ſixty-five European ſailors, twenty-five laſcars, fifty-one ſoldiers for the ſettlement at *Macaſſer*, and nine paſſengers; namely, the bookkeeper, WARNER, his wife and two children, for *Samarang*; Enſign BOUDON, his wife and ſon, for *Macaſſer*; and Enſign FETTER, with KRAMER, a matroſs, for *Amboyna*.

We ſailed on the 3d of December, at nine o'clock, A.M. from the road of *Batavia*, ſteering firſt for the iſland *Edam*, afterwards for the point of *Carawang*, and thence, in eighteen and twenty fathoms

water, in order to paſs the reef of *Sedary*, at a tolerable diſtance.

Having weathered the reef about five o'clock, we ſteered towards the ſhore, in order to get into more ſhoaly water; and at ten, P.M. we came to an anchor, in ten fathoms, as I did not judge it prudent to attempt paſſing, during the night, the rock which lies three, or three and a half, leagues from the point of *Pamanoekan*, and on which the *Caſtle of Woerden* was wrecked.

In the night, and on the following day, it blew hard from W.N.W. with a high ſea, by which the ſhip ſtrained very much, as ſhe rode at anchor, ſo that we ſaw no chance of weighing our anchor; while, in the mean time, it was dangerous to lie here, if the wind veered to the northward, which would alſo have much delayed the proſecution of our voyage. We accordingly determined upon cutting the cable, which we did, and ſet ſail, ſteering, about ten o'clock, A.M. for the point of *Indramaye*, and afterwards along the reef of *Cheribon*, till having paſſed it, we ſteered eaſt, during the night.

On the following day we diſcerned little of the land, on account of the hazy weather, except

except Mount *Tagal*, which is a volcano, but of which we ſaw nothing, as it was covered with thick clouds, from its ſummit, halfway down.

The next day, the 6th of December, at daybreak, we got ſight of two hills, cloſely reſembling each other, and called the *Two Brothers*; and a little more to the eaſtward the hill of *Samarang*, which is ſomewhat larger and higher; which are the landmarks, by which the chief ſettlement of this government is diſtinguiſhed. We anchored in the road of *Samarang*, at eight o'clock in the evening, and I went on ſhore the next day, to deliver the Company's papers to Mr. ROBERT VAN DER BURG, the governor, and to receive further orders.

Reſpecting the navigation from *Batavia* to *Samarang*, the following directions may be of ſervice.

On leaving the road of *Batavia*, ſteer for the iſland of *Edam*; then between that and the iſland *Leyden*, or elſe between *Leyden* and *Enkhuizen*; and afterwards round Point *Carawang*, and ſo far from the ſhore, to have offing enough to paſs the reef which runs out from *Sedary*; the lead is in this

reſpect the beſt guide, ſince you muſt not ſuffer it to ſhoal more than ten fathoms, till this reef be paſſed, of which you may be certain, in the daytime, when the high trees of *Sedary*, which are a few ſingle trees, eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed on account of their height, bear s.s.w. and in the night, ſteering to the eaſt, in twelve fathoms water, it deepens when you are paſt the reef; upon which ſteer more ſoutherly, keeping however your depth, into the bight of *Pamanoekan*, till the water ſhoals to ten and nine fathoms, when you muſt ſteer again more eaſt, in order not to approach too near the ſhore of *Java*; you may be ſure you will then run clear of the rock, upon which the *Caſtle of Woerden* was loſt, although there is ſixteen fathoms water cloſe to it: but the ſafeſt is to anchor here, during the night. Having doubled the point of *Pamanoekan*, ſteer for that of *Indraymaye*, in ten, eleven, twelve, and thirteen, fathoms water; upon approaching the laſt, be ſure to keep in thoſe depths, to avoid falling upon the reef of *Cheribon*, which having paſſed, ſteer as much to the ſouthward of eaſt, as to retain nineteen or twenty fathoms depth; or in the

the daytime, keeping within ſight of the ſhore, till you begin to near *Pamalang*, when you muſt ſteer ſo far off ſhore as to double the rock which lies N.E. by N. from that place: you will then come in ſight of the hills of *Tagal*, *Samarang*, and the *Two Brothers*; when the laſt bear due ſouth, ſteer for the ſhore, and afterwards along it, till the enſign's ſtaff of *Samarang* bears S.S.E. and let drop your anchor, in five, or four and a half, fathoms. All along the north coaſt of *Java*, the bottom is a ſoft clay.

This government, which is one of the moſt lucrative for the Company's ſervants which they have, was twenty years ago only a commandery; but it was changed into a government, upon the conſiderable acquiſition of territory made by the Company, along the ſeacoaſt, by ceſſion to them by the SOESOEHOENAM, at the concluſion of peace, during the government of Mr. HARTING, who terminated the war of *Java*, in which the empire was ſplit into two parts, one remaining under the SOESOEHOENAM, and the other becoming ſubject to the preſent reigning ſultan, MANKO BOENI.

It is of the utmoſt importance to the Company that this eſtabliſhment be well governed, on account of the immediate relation which it has to the two abovementioned Javaneſe princes, who nouriſh the moſt implacable enmity towards each other. The Company would not wiſh to ſee a termination of their mutual hatred, for as long as it remains in force, they retain the ſecure poſſeſſion of their acquiſitions along the ſeacoaſt; and, though not nominally, they are always, in reality, likewiſe maſters of the inner parts; for, upon uniting with either of theſe two princes, they can make the balance lean ſo much againſt the other, that they are both conſtrained to remain quiet.

This was, in fact, their object, in fomenting the diſſention which aroſe between the SOESOEHOENAM and MANKO BOENI, and whence the war of *Java* had its origin.

The laſt-named, a prince of the imperial family, and a deſcendant of the former SOESOEHOENAM, wanted to have, as an appanage, a certain territory, the province *Mataram*, which had already been allotted

to

to the hereditary prince MASSEYD, ſon of the SOESOEHOENAM.

This MASSEYD was of a ſhort ſtature, and an excellent diſpoſition; he gloried in the circumſtance that he had never killed an European, except in battle. MANKO BOENI, on the contrary, and his ſon and heir apparent, more than once, cauſed the captive Europeans to be pounded in their rice-blocks; or he cut off their genitals, and forced them into their mouths. The laſt-mentioned, in particular, ſhewed himſelf an implacable enemy of all Europeans; and being of a moſt cruel and bloodthirſty temper, the Company will probably not remain long unmoleſted, if he ever come into power, provided the fear of the SOESOEHOENAM do not prevent him from attacking them.

As *Mataram* was an extenſive and wealthy diſtrict, which the Company did not wiſh to ſee remain under the power of the SOESOEHOENAM, they clandeſtinely encouraged MANKO BOENI to require it at the hands of the SOESOEHOENAM. The Company did this, agreeably to their adopted ſyſtem, of weakening the empire as much as poſſible, in order

order to preſerve their poſſeſſions in *Java* with greater eaſe; and they ſecretly promiſed MANKO BOENI to maintain him in his pretenſions.

Immediately hereupon he left the court, and retired to his domains, where he directly roſe in arms againſt the emperor, and began a civil war.

The Company, in order to ſave appearances, and to render their conduct more defenſible, than if they had openly eſpouſed the part of MANKO BOENI, offered themſelves as mediators between theſe two princes, foreſeeing that the SOESOEHOENAM, who relied upon the ſuperiority of his power, far from being conceding, or placable, would reject all overtures of peace, and proſecuting the war with vigour, would endeavour entirely to ſubdue his opponent.

Exactly as they foreſaw, the emperor rejected all offers of conciliation, and entered eagerly into a war which was to end in his diſcomfiture and diſgrace.

There was now the moſt urgent neceſſity for the Company to eſpouſe, in earneſt, the quarrel of MANKO BOENI, partly in order to perſevere in their propoſed ſyſtem, and partly

partly to ſecure themſelves from the ill will which would infallibly, and not unreaſonably, be entertained againſt them by the SOESOEHOENAM, as he ſoon became acquainted with the manœuvres they had put in practice, to kindle thoſe flames of diſcord. And if MANKO BOENI were ſubdued, the power of the SOESOEHOENAM would thereby be ſo much augmented, that the Company would, in all probability, have ſtood in need of the exertion of all their power, to ſtand againſt his attack.

Fortune favoured their arms; and though incalculable ſums were expended in the conteſt, they attained their object—the diviſion and ſeparation of the empire.

A conſiderable part of the provinces of the empire of *Java*, among which *Mataram* was one of the principal, was given to MANKO BOENI, under the title of Sultan; the whole of the northeaſt coaſt of the iſland was ceded to the Company, upon condition of their paying a yearly acknowledgement of twenty thouſand rixdollars * to the SOESOEHOENAM, who retained poſſeſſion of the remainder under his former title.

* About 4,350*l.* ſterling. *T.*

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The juriſdiction of this government was further extended by the conqueſt of the land of *Balambouang*, ſituated at the moſt eaſtern extremity of *Java*.

This province, the productions of which can never yield the Company a ſufficient compenſation for the blood and treaſures which it coſts, would doubtleſs have never become an object of their ambition, if the cupidity of one of their ſervants had not excited in them the deſire of poſſeſſing it. Setting no limits to his luſt of wealth, he rather, as ordinary methods could not ſurfeit his rapacity, put the intereſt of his employers to the hazard, than to ſuffer his boundleſs thirſt of gold to remain unſatisfied.

The plauſible pretext by which the government in India, and afterwards the direction in Holland, were inſtigated to diſturb the tranquillity of this country, which they had, for ſo many years, looked upon with ſo much indifference, was the repreſentation, that there was reaſon to fear that the Engliſh wanted to take poſſeſſion of it; nay, that an expedition for that purpoſe was already ſet on foot, and was expected, or had

had arrived, at the Straits of *Bali*; that they had probably already landed, and would in conſequence eſtabliſh themſelves in time, on the iſland. There was ſome truth in this report, but the Company would, in all likelihood, never have begun that ruinous war, had it not been for theſe intereſted inſtigations; for their competitors would not have found it an eaſy matter to eſtabliſh their trade here, notwithſtanding this was ſo much inſiſted on at *Samarang*.

In this manner was this empire, formerly ſo redoubtable, ſplit into three parts; and it has thereby, not only become a leſs dangerous neighbour to the Company, but is likewiſe entirely under their controul, by means of their holding the balance between the two abovementioned potentates. Even the prince who has the greateſt right to the throne is not appointed heir to the crown, without the conſent of the Company; and the nomination of the prime miniſters of both the princes is likewiſe made by the Company.

The capital city of the SOESOEHOENAM is *Soere Carta*, commonly called *Solo*, and is

is ſituated about two days' journey inland, ſoutheaſt from *Saramang*.

That of the ſultan has the name of *D'Jokje Carta*, and lies five days' journey ſouthweſt from *Samarang*, at the ſouth ſide of *Java*, in the province of *Mataram* *.

To the government of *Java's Northeaſt Coaſt*, the ſeat of which is at *Samarang*, belong all the factories, commonly called reſidencies, which the Company poſſeſs from *Oelopampang*, as far as the province of *Cheribon*; which laſt, in the ſame manner as *Bantam*, is under the immediate adminiſtration of the government at *Batavia*.

The ſeacoaſt, thus ceded to the Company, and belonging to the government of *Samarang*, extends from *Oelopampang* to *Tagal*, full one hundred German miles in length: the breadth inland is various, running farther

* The reſting-places, or ſtages, on the road from *Samarang* to *D'Jokje Carta*, are:

from *Saramang*	to *Onara*	5 (Dutch) miles.
from *Onara*	to *Jambou*	7 ditto.
from *Jambou*	to *Sombou*	7 ditto.
from *Sombou*	to *Surrigenent*	6 ditto.
and from *Surrigenent*	to *D'Jokje Carta*	9 ditto. *S.*

into

into the country at one place than at another *. It is divided into nine reſidencies.

Oelopampang

* As Captain BLIGH, on his return from the South Sea, in September, 1789, ſailed along this coaſt in a ſmall ſchooner which he had purchaſed at *Timor*, and has given us ſome particulars reſpecting the ſettlements he touched at, the additional information which his account of them contains, may not be unacceptable; we, accordingly, extract the following particulars from his journal.

" Sunday the 6th. In the afternoon, we ſaw the high land " of Cape *Sandana*, which is the northeaſt part of *Java*. The " next day, we were off the Cape, which is a low point, pro- " jecting from the high land. It is placed by the Dutch maps " in 7° 52′ ſouth; but, according to my obſervation, and our " eſtimated diſtance from the land, I make it in 7° 46′.

" We ſteered to the weſtward, along the coaſt of *Java*, " and on the 10th, at noon, we anchored off *Paſſourwang*, in " two fathoms, diſtant from the ſhore half a league; the en- " trance of the river bearing S.W. The coaſt hereabouts is ſo " ſhoal, that large ſhips are obliged to anchor three or four " miles from the land. As ſoon as we were at anchor, I got " in my boat, and went on ſhore. The banks of the river, " near the entrance, were mud, on which grew a few man- " grove-buſhes. Among them, we ſaw hogs running, and " many were lying dead in the mud, which cauſed a moſt " intolerable ſtench, and made me heartily repent having " come here; but proceeding about a mile up the river, the " the courſe of which was ſerpentine, we found a very " pleaſant country, and landed at a ſmall and well-con- " ſtructed fort. The houſes at *Paſſourwang* are neatly built, " and the country appears to be well cultivated. The pro- " duce of this ſettlement is rice, of which they export large " quantities. There are but few Dutch here; the Javaneſe

" are

Oelopampang is the firſt, beginning from the eaſt. This ſettlement was only eſtabliſhed

" are numerous, and their chief lives with conſiderable ſplen-
" dour. They have good roads, and poſts are eſtabliſhed
" along the coaſt; and it appears to be a buſy and well-regu-
" lated ſettlement. Latitude 7° 36′ ſouth.

" The next day, about noon, we ſailed; and on the
" 12th in the evening, anchored in *Sourabaya*-road, in ſeven
" fathoms: the flagſtaff bearing s. ¼w. diſtance from the ſhore
" one mile. We found riding here ſeven ſquare-rigged, and
" ſeveral ſmaller veſſels. *Sourabaya* is one of the moſt pleaſant
" places I ever ſaw. It is ſituated on the banks of a river,
" and is a mile and a half diſtant from the ſea-ſhore, ſo-that
" only the flagſtaff can be ſeen from the road. The river is
" navigable up to the town for veſſels of 100 tons burthen,
" and the bank on one ſide is made convenient for tracking.
" The Chineſe carry on a conſiderable trade here, and have
" a town on the ſide of the river oppoſite to *Sourabaya*. The
" country near the town is flat, and the ſoil light, ſo that they
" plough with a ſingle bullock, or buffalo. Our latitude ob-
" ſerved in *Sourabaya* road, was 7° 11′ ſouth.

" On the 17th, we ſailed from *Sourabaya*. At noon, we
" anchored at *Griſſee*, which is a town, with a ſmall fort,
" belonging to the Dutch. We remained here about two
" hours. Latitude of *Griſſee* 7° 9′ ſouth.

" The navigation through the Straits of *Madura* is ſo intricate,
" that with the little opportunity I had, I am unable to un-
" dertake a deſcription of it. The next day, September the
" 18th, having paſſed the ſtraits, we bore away to the weſt-
" ward, along the coaſt of *Java*. We had regular ſoundings
" all the way to *Samarang*, off which place we anchored on
" the 22d, in the afternoon; the church bearing s.e. diſtance
" from the ſhore half a league, depth of water two fathoms.

" The

bliſhed after the war of *Balambouang*, and is under the direction of a junior merchant. It is expected that it will yield a conſiderable quantity of rice, but it has not hitherto been able to furniſh any.

Sourabaya is the next; the chief of which has, at preſent, the rank of ſenior merchant, and the title of commander of the eaſtern diſtrict. It moſtly yields rice.

Upon this follows *Griſſee*, where the reſident has the rank of merchant, and the chief produce of which is alſo rice.

Samanap, ſituate on the iſland of *Madura*, is the reſidence of a junior merchant. It yields no article of trade that I know of,

" The ſhoalneſs of the coaſt here, makes the road of *Sama-*
" *rang* very inconvenient, both on account of the great diſ-
" tance which large ſhips (of which there were ſeveral in the
" road) are obliged to lie from the ſhore, and of the landing,
" which is in a river, that cannot be entered before half-flood.
" This river reſembles the one at *Paſſourwang*, the ſhores being
" low, with offenſive dead animals lying about them. *Sama-*
" *rang* is ſurrounded by a wall and ditch. Here is a very good
" hoſpital, and a public ſchool, chiefly for teaching the mathe-
" matics. They have likewiſe a theatre. Proviſions are re-
" markably cheap here, beef being at ten doits per pound,
" and the price of a fowl twelve doits. The latitude of
" *Samarang* is 6° 57′ ſouth.

" On the 26th, we ſailed from *Samarang*, and on the 1ſt of
" October, we anchored in *Batavia*-road." T.

and ſerves only to keep a watchful eye over the iſland in which it lies.

Then follows *Rembang*, where formerly a junior merchant was ſtationed, but the chief has now the rank of merchant. It yields ſalt and timber, and is the place where the ſmall veſſels of the Company are built *.

At a little diſtance from *Rembang* lies *Joana*, which is under the controul of a junior merchant. It yields rice and timber, likewiſe a little indigo and cotton-yarn.

Then comes *Japara*, where the reſident has the rank of merchant. Its productions are the ſame as thoſe of *Joana*.

The next is *Samarang*, the reſidence of the governor of *Java*, for the Company. The chief produce of its diſtrict is rice and cotton-yarn.

Farther on is *Pacalonga*, governed by a junior merchant, and yielding ſugar and rice.

And, laſtly, the moſt to the weſtward, *Tagal*, where a merchant is the reſident, which produces rice.

Beſides the reſidents at theſe places along

* A ſhip of 500 tons, and three or four ſmaller veſſels, are annually built here for the ſervice of the Company. *T.*

the

the coaſt, thoſe at the courts of the SOESOEHOENAM, and the ſultan, are alſo ſubordinate to this government. There are two at each, the firſt having rank of ſenior merchant, and the ſecond that of merchant; with the difference, however, that at *Soera Carta* the firſt is a captain in the military, while at *D'Jokje Carta*, they are both belonging to the corps of *penniſts*.

The Company maintian a body of about one hundred and fifty men, in the ſervice of each of theſe princes, nominally as a body-guard in honour of them; but this number was not complete when I was at *Samarang*, there being a great want of men in this government *.

Both

* The whole eſtabliſhment of the Company, in the government of *Java*'s *Northeaſt Coaſt*, conſiſted, in 1776-1777, of 234 perſons in civil, and 13 in eccleſiaſtical, employments; 35 ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, 109 belonging to the artillery, 268 ſeamen and marines employed on ſhore, 1,356 ſoldiers, and 30 mechanics; in all 2,045 Europeans. The governor has a very lucrative office; it is eſtimated to yield from 80 to 100,000 rixdollars, or nearly 20,000*l.* ſterling annually. He is, therefore, generally ſuperſeded in two or three years, and muſt, in his turn, make room for a more unfledged ſucceſſor, that each may have his due ſhare of the good things of the land. The greateſt part of this immenſe revenue accrues from the trade which the governor is enabled to carry on. His oſtenſible

 emoluments,

Both theſe Javaneſe princes have a number of children, by means of the many concubines they take, ſo that the portion of

emoluments, beſides his ſalary, conſiſt in $\frac{3}{10}$ of an allowance of five per cent, which is granted to the Company's ſervants; the reſt being diſtributed in various proportions to the inferior officers, on all the import and export duties, and other territorial ſources of revenue of the Company, and in a yearly contribution levied from the ſtrand-regents, as they are called, or native magiſtrates of the ſeveral diſtricts, amounting together to 1,713 Spaniſh dollars. Beſides the articles mentioned by our author, a large quantity of lentils, called here *cadjang*, which are much uſed for the conſumption of the common people, with ſome cardemon (the *amomum compactum*), ginger (*amomum zinziber*), and turmeric, are exported from this colony. They are moſtly employed in the country-trade. Part, however, of its produce comes to Europe. In 1778, the following goods, brought from *Java*'s *Northeaſt Coaſt*, were ſold in Holland, viz.

20,000*lb.* of indigo, at *f.*6 (11*s.* ſterling) per *lb.* which ſtood the Company in *f.*1 10 (2*s.* 9*d*).

50,000*lb.* of turmeric.

and 65,000*lb.* of cotton-yarn.

On the other hand, this colony takes a large quantity of opium (to the amount of *f.*1,500,000, or about 136,000*l.* ſterling, annually), ſilk clothes, India piecegoods, and European manufactures, on all which large profits accrue both to the Company and to their ſervants. The ſtatements of Governor Mossel, make the yearly receipts of the Company here amount to *f.*400,000, and the charges to *f.*380,000; but, in 1779, the former were *f.*436,874, and the latter only *f.*281,873, ſhewing a favourable balance of *f*155,001, or about 14,000*l.* ſterling, which makes a handſome appearance, if we conſider the heavy eſtabliſhment. *T.*

each

each child is not very brilliant, and ſome of them are merely common regents at different places: thus I met with one, at the reſidency of *Joana*, who was *tommagong*, or regent, of the province of *Patti*, and at the ſame time uncle of the reigning SOESOEHOENAM.

CHAPTER V.

Combats of Wild Beaſts among the Javaneſe.—Of Tigers with Buffaloes.—Of Criminals with Tigers.—The Company appoint Succeſſors to the Princes of JAVA. *—Likewiſe their Prime Miniſters.—Tommagongs, or native Regents.—Prices paid for the Rice.—Account of the Depatti of* SAMARANG. *—Entertainment at the Governor's Houſe.—The River of* SAMARANG.*—Tides.—Fortifications.—Chineſe Temple.—Warehouſes and Workſhops.—Guardhouſe.—Governmenthouſe.—Suburbs.—Garriſon.—Departure for* JAPARA. *—View of* FISHER'S *Iſland.—Anchorage at* JAPARA.*—Account of that Settlement.—The Fort, Houſe of the Reſident, &c.—Old* JAPARA.*—Ancient Javaneſe Tombs.—Old Mooriſh Temple.—Character of the preſent Reſident.*

THE moſt favourite diverſions of the Javaneſe emperors, are combats between wild beaſts.

When a tiger and a buffalo are to fight together for the amuſement of the court, they are both brought upon the field of combat in large cages. The field is ſur-

rounded

rounded by a body of Javaneſe, four deep, with levelled pikes, in order that if the creatures endeavour to break through, they may be killed immediately; this, however, is not ſo eaſily effected, but many of theſe poor wretches are torn in pieces, or dreadfully wounded, by the enraged animals.

When every thing is in readineſs, the cage of the buffalo is firſt opened at the top, and his back is rubbed with certain leaves, which have the ſingular quality of occaſioning an intolerable degree of pain, and which, from the uſe they are applied to, have been called buffalo-leaves* by our people. The door of the cage is then opened, and the animal leaps out, raging with pain, and roaring moſt dreadfully.

The cage of the tiger is then likewiſe opened, and fire is thrown into it, to make the beaſt quit it, which he does generally running backwards out of it.

* By the Javaneſe they are called *kamadu*. They ſting like nettles, but much more violently, and even ſo as to cauſe an inflammation in the ſkin. On every vein they have ſharp-pointed prickles, which are tranſparent, and contain a fluid that occaſions the irritation. Dr. THUNBERG ſays, it is a ſpecies of nettle, before unknown, to which he gave the name of *urtica ſtimulans*. *T.*

As ſoon as the tiger perceives the buffalo, he ſprings upon him; his huge opponent ſtands expecting him, with his horns upon the ground, to catch him upon them, and throw him in the air: if the buffalo ſucceed in this, and the tiger recovers from his fall, he generally loſes every wiſh of renewing the combat: and if the tiger avoid this firſt attempt of the buffalo, he ſprings upon him, and ſeizing him in the neck, or other parts, tears his fleſh from his bones: in moſt caſes, however, the buffalo has the better.

The Javaneſe who muſt perform the dangerous office of making theſe animals quit their cages, may not, when they have done, notwithſtanding they are in great danger of being torn in pieces by the enraged beaſts, leave the open ſpace, before they have ſaluted the emperor ſeveral times, and his majeſty has given them a ſignal to depart; they then retire ſlowly, for they are not permitted to walk faſt, to the circle, and mix with the other Javaneſe.

The emperors ſometimes make criminals condemned to death fight with tigers. In ſuch caſes, the man is rubbed with *borri*, or turmeric, and has a yellow piece of cloth

put

put round him, a *kris* is then given to him, and he is conducted to the field of combat.

The tiger, who has, for a long time, been kept faſting, falls upon the man with the greateſt fury, and generally ſtrikes him down at once, with his paw, but if he be fortunate enough to avoid this, and to wound the animal, ſo that it quits him, the emperor then commands him to attack the tiger; and the man is then generally the victim: and even if he ultimately ſucceed in killing his ferocious antagoniſt, he muſt ſuffer death, by the command of the emperor.

An officer in our Company's ſervice, who had long been ſtationed at the courts of the Javaneſe emperors, related to me, that he was once witneſs to a moſt extraordinary occurrence of this kind, namely, that a Javaneſe who had been condemned to be torn in pieces by tigers, and, for that purpoſe, had been thrown down, from the top, into a large cage, in which ſeveral tigers were confined, fortunately fell exactly upon the largeſt and fierceſt of them, acroſs whoſe back he ſat aſtride, without the animal doing him any harm, and even, on the contrary,

trary, appearing intimidated; while the others alſo, awed by the unuſual poſture and appearance which he made, dared not attempt to deſtroy him; he could not, however, avoid the puniſhment of death, to which he had been condemned, for the emperor commanded him to be ſhot dead in the cage.

According to the ſtipulations of the laſt treaty, the Company determine which of the ſons of either emperor ſhall ſucceed his father, who is then nominated heir to the crown; they equally appoint the *pangorang*, or prince, who has the adminiſtration of the empire, and is firſt *warin*, or prime miniſter.

The Company's poſſeſſions along the coaſt, are alſo divided into regencies. A Javaneſe, of ſomewhat more than common birth, is appointed regent in each, by the Company, under the denomination of *tommagong*, to whom the determination of diſputes of ſmall moment, among his ſubordinate Javaneſe, is left; they may even inflict corporal puniſhment, but not death; crimes which require the laſt being only adjudicable

adjudicable by the native council at *Samarang*.

They muſt likewiſe take care that the Javaneſe inhabitants deliver the produce of their land to the Company, or rather to themſelves, in order to convey it afterwards to the ſeveral reſidencies, or factories.

A certain contingent, or aſſeſſment, of produce, is laid upon each of theſe regents, which they muſt be attentive to furniſh punctually, or they run a riſk of being diſmiſſed.

The Company pay a fixed price for every article. That of the rice is ten rixdollars, or twenty-four gilders, for every *coyang* of 3,400 pounds weight *; but when the harveſt fails, they ſometimes pay five rixdollars more; or when the wants are very large, as in the year 1773, when the ſcarcity of this grain at *Batavia*, occaſioned by a certain occurrence reſpecting the firſt adminiſtrator in the grain-magazine, was very great; or when ſeveral ſucceeding harveſts have failed, orders are then given to the reſidents to buy the rice immediately from the natives,

* Equal to about 1*l*. 6*d*. ſterling per *aut*. *T*.

and

and the *coyang* then ſtands them in fifty rixdollars.

Samarang alone has a *depatti*, who is higher in rank than the *tommagongs*, and a prince of the blood, or *pangorang*. He has however, no juriſdiction over the other regents, than alone over thoſe who are within the diſtrict of *Samarang* itſelf. He is likewiſe the chief of the native council.

I was once in company with this prince, at the houſe of the governor of *Samarang*, who gave an entertainment that evening, on the occaſion of the birthday of his little boy. The *depatti* was placed next to the governor, at his right hand; he appeared to me to be a man of full fifty years of age, rather above the uſual ſtature, thin, and of a brown complexion; he had little beard, a grave deportment, and was very ſedate in converſation, without, however, any affectation.

He was dreſſed in a ſhort brown coat, with ſilver buttons, and ſilver-edged button-holes; the ſleeves ſet tight to the arms, below the elbow, as far as the wriſts. Under this he wore a chintz *ſaron*, which reached to the ground. On his feet he had large ſlippers,

ſquare-

ſquare-toed, and turned up. His cap, or headband, was made of white linen, which having been much beat, and prepared with ſtarch made of rice, was as tranſparent as gauze. He was addreſſed by the governor by the title of *towang depatti*, and treated with great reſpect. His *dalm*, or dwelling, ſtands on the *Paſcébaan*, near the houſe of the governor, whom he is likewiſe obliged to accompany, when he goes to reſide at *Boeyang*, about half a league farther, where he has alſo a manſion cloſe to that of the governor.

On the occaſion of this feſtivel, two of the elders of the church at *Samarang*, the fiſcal, and the lieutenant of the artillery, danced a reel, for the diverſion of the company.

I only notice this circumſtance to ſhew that, in theſe parts, no ſuch rigid diſcipline prevails, with reſpect to the conduct of elders of the church, and no ſuch ſcandal is occaſioned by their dancing in public, as at *Groningen* *, although the parſon was himſelf one of the ſpectators, and highly applauded

* Mr. STAVORINUS here alludes to the auſtere and puritanical ſpirit which prevails among the calviniſts in the United Provinces, and proverbially ſo at *Groningen*, the chief town of the remoteſt of the ſeven. *T.*

the

the agility of their dancers, ſaying with SOLOMON, that there was "a time to weep, and "a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a "time to dance."

The town of *Samarang* lies on the eaſt ſide of the river of the ſame name, which takes its riſe about three Dutch miles inland, and falls into the ſea, about two hundred roods below the place; at its mouth, it is not more than three hundred and thirty, or forty, feet broad. A bridge is thrown over it, leading from the town to the uſual reſidence of the governor, which is called the *Vryherd* (freedom), and is a large and handſome building. The Chineſe and Javaneſe campons, or ſuburbs, are on the ſame ſide of the river.

This river, like all others in *Java*, has a bank lying before its mouth, which is, in ſome places, compoſed of ſoft mud, and in others, of hard ſand. At low water there is ſcarcely more than one foot water upon it.

Here, as well as all along the coaſt of *Java*, the tide riſes but once in four-and-twenty hours. In the bad monſoon (*kwaade mouſſon*), or when the weſt winds blow, it is high-water in the day-time, and low-water

water at night, and during the good, or eaſt, monſoon, the contrary takes place. When it is low-water without the banks, the rivers are at the higheſt; and the moon ſeems to have no influence at all here upon the tides.

The fortifications of *Samarang* are in the ſame ſtate as all thoſe of the Company which I had opportunities of ſeeing, to wit, moſt deplorably bad. The walls which ſurround it, and connect the projections, which can ſcarcely be called angles, are low and ruinous.

The moſt remarkable object which I ſaw at this place, was a temple of the Chineſe, which is a middling-large building, with two courts before it; it is decorated within with the gigantic images of their gods, which are ſtrongly gilt, and make a ſplendid appearance.

Samarang has a ſmall, but neat, church; near it is an elegant tomb of Mr. TOUTLEMOND, formerly head adminiſtrator and ſecond in command here.

The warehouſes and workſhops ſtand in a row, all under one roof, projecting out, and covering a piazza before them, full three

three hundred feet in length. They are to the ſouthweſt of the town, by the river-ſide.

The guardhouſe, which has been lately erected, has, beſides the place for the privates, two large apartments for the accommodation of the officers, whoare upon duty.

The government-houſe, which was formerly the reſidence of the governor, and where the ſeveral offices are actually held, is near the river, and faces it. There are three campons, or ſuburbs, the Chineſe, the Javaneſe, and the Bougineſe, of which the two firſt are to the weſtward, and the laſt to the eaſtward, of the river.

When the garriſon of *Samarang* is complete, it amounts to one hundred and fifty men, beſides an independent company of dragoons, which are under the command of a captain lieutenant; all the other military of the place are ſubject to the orders of the captain commandant of *Samarang*.

On the 16th of December, after having taken on board one hundred *coyangs* of rice, for account of the Company, and fifty for myſelf, I received my diſpatches from

from Mr. VAN DER BURG, with orders to ſail for *Japara*. Going on board in the evening, I immediately weighed anchor, and ſet ſail with a ſlack landwind, ſteering off ſhore, in order not to be embayed in the bight of *Japara*, by the weſterly wind; and that, if it veered to the N.W. ſo as to render it dangerous to touch at *Japara*, I might have offing enough to ſtretch out to ſea, withoutſide of the iſland *Mandelique*.

The next morning we could not diſcern the land, by reaſon of the hazineſs of the weather; but at noon we got ſight of *Viſſchers*, or *Fiſher*'s, Iſland, bearing S.E. three and a half leagues off. This is a ſmall and low iſland, about two leagues and a half S.W. from *Japara*, and particularly diſtinguiſhable by two or three high trees, which grow upon it.

The wind blowing moſtly from the N.E. during this day, we could not reach *Japara*, though we already perceived the flag flying at that ſettlement. At nine o'clock, P.M. we came to an anchor, in eighteen fathoms water, to avoid being miſled, during the night, by the currents.

On the 18th, at three o'clock, A.M. we again got under weigh, and at ſunriſe we were ſtill about three leagues diſtant from the road of *Japara*. At ten o'clock we caſt anchor, cloſe to the eaſt ſide of the iſland *De Nis*; though in the good, or eaſt, monſoon, the anchoring-place is ſomewhat more to the eaſtward, and cloſe to the oppoſite ſhore.

One may paſs both to the north and to the ſouth of this iſland, but the paſſage to the ſouth is more dangerous, on account of the narrowneſs of the channel.

Behind this, and a little to the S.E. lies another iſland, which is ſurrounded by very dangerous ſhoals, and contracts the extent of the road of *Japara*.

From the iſland *De Nis*, the water ſhoals gradually, firſt, from five to two and a half fathoms, and when, in this laſt depth, you are abreaſt of the foul iſland, it then leſſens, by degrees, to ſix feet, when you are cloſe to a high rock, called the *Walviſch*, or *Whale*, whence it ſhoals more and more, with ſome ſunken rocks, to the mouth of the little river of *Japara*, where there is

two

two feet water, and leſs, and which is about 140, or 150, feet over. The ſource of this ſtream lies no more than a ſhort league up the country.

On entering the rivulet, on the north ſide, lies a little gentle eminence, about fifty feet high, on the weſtern part of which ſtands a ſmall triangular fort, one baſtion whereof points to the ſea, and the other two to the land; in the middle of the curtain which connects theſe two laſt is the gate: this fort is mounted with ſeveral pieces of cannon of different calibers; it is built of ſtone, and is kept in good repair: the garriſon conſiſts of one ſerjeant, two corporals, and ſixteen privates. The reſt of the eminence is uſed for a burying-ground, in which the enſign-ſtaff is erected.

On the ſouth ſide of the rivulet, are ſome Javaneſe hetiſes and huts, and about ſixty roods from its mouth, it is croſſed by a bridge.

On the north ſide is the houſe of the reſident, oppoſite to a large plain, planted with ſhady trees, and railed round. It has ſeveral handſome apartments, furniſhed neatly

and elegantly, in the European ſtyle. On the left hand of it is a pleaſant bower, or pavilion, of one hundred feet in length, eighteen in breadth, and ten in height, ſo cloſely interwoven with flowering ſhrubs, that it is impervious to light ſhowers of rain. At the end is a grotto; and when, on an evening, the whole is illuminated, it forms a very charming *coup d'œil.* The laſt evening of my ſtay at *Japara*, we ſupped in the pavilion, which was lighted up.

About a mile and a half above the ſettlement, the ſtream turns a ſawmill, which ſaws the yearly quantity of four or five thouſand large logs of timber, into planks, which are called millplanks. The water is carried to the mill through a brick channel, and a dam is made acroſs the rivulet to prevent it from running off, till there is ſufficient to turn the mill.

One Dutch mile inland, lies the ancient Javaneſe city of *Japara*, called Old *Japara*, which was formerly the reſidence of the ſovereigns of an empire of that name. The tomb of one of them is ſtill in exiſtence; it contains the body of the emperor, that of

of his moſt beloved wife on the right hand, and of two other of his wives on the left, together with ſeveral of his children. The ſhape of theſe graves is oblong: the approach to them is through a ſort of portico, encloſed by a railing, in a large covered apartment. Over the graves of the emperor and his moſt beloved wife, a large piece of linen is ſtill continually expanded, which covers them both; and they are ſtrewed every Friday with freſh flowers.

Not far from this is an old and ruinous Mooriſh temple, of ſtone, with ſuch beautiful ſculpture of imagery and foliage, that the art and ingenuity of the Javaneſe of thoſe times excites our admiration. This temple is at leaſt three hundred years old.

At the ſeaſide, about two miles from *Japara*, the reſident has a wooden ſummer-houſe, in a pleaſant grove of cocoa-nut-trees, whence there is a very fine proſpect out to ſea, and of the neighbouring iſlands. We here caught a flying ſquirrel.

The actual reſident at *Japara* is Mr. WILLIAM VAN DER BEKE, a native of *Sluice* in *Flanders*, aged upwards of forty years: he is a man whoſe life is devoted to

the ſervice of his fellow-mortals, bleſſed with a liberal and compaſſionate mind, and ever ready to oblige wherever it is in his power. This gentleman has been the chief at *Japara* ever ſince the year 1765.

I had to ſhip ſeven hundred and fifty mill-planks at this place; and having taken theſe on board, I took my leave of the worthy reſident, with much regret, on the 21ſt of December, 1774.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VI.

Departure from JAPARA.—*The Iſland* MANDELIQUE.—*Anchorage before* JOANA.—*Account of that Settlement.—The River.—Inland Navigation to* SAMARANG.—*The Town.—Chineſe Campon.—Fort.—Houſe of the Reſident.—Character, &c. of the preſent Reſident.—His Emoluments.—Celebration of the New Year.—Account of the Tommagongs, or native Regents.—Of the Pattis, or Sub-regents.—Entertainment at the Houſe of one of the Tommagongs.—Departure from* JOANA.—*The Iſland* LUBOK.—*View of the Hill of* RADIONA.—*Of the Iſland* MADURA.—*Of Iſlands ſuppoſed to be the little* PULO LAUTS.—*Great Inaccuracy of the Company's Charts.—View of the* NOUSSA LINAS.—*Of the Iſland* ROTTERDAM. *Of the* HEN AND CHICKENS.—*Of the* SALINAS.—*The Bank called the* BOOT.—*View of the* TONINS *Iſlands.—Of the Three Brothers.—Of* TANAKEKE.—*Of* GALISSING.—*Anchorage in the Road of* MACASSER.

EARLY on the morning of the 22d of December, 1774, we weighed anchor, and put to ſea, in order to proceed to *Joana*,

where I was to take in the remainder of the cargo.

The next day, at ſunriſe, we found ourſelves abreaſt of the iſland *Mandelique*, often called the *Duivelſklip*, or *Devil*'s Rock, becauſe, in the eaſt monſoon, ſhips are detained here a long time by contrary winds and currents, before they can weather it.

This iſland is ſmall, but of a middling height, ſo as to be ſeen at the diſtance of five or ſix leagues. It lies about half a league from the coaſt of *Java*; between which and the iſland there is a paſſage, in three and a half, or four, fathoms water, but it is too narrow to be ſafe, and ſhips therefore very ſeldom paſs through it. At this place, we buried the third man who we had loſt ſince our leaving *Batavia*.

Having paſſed the iſland *Mandelique*, we ſailed round the reef which ſtretches out more than a league and a half from the point of *Fayo* (between which and Point *Leſſem*, lies the bight of *Rembang* and *Joana*), towards the road of *Joana*, but not being able to get ſight of the enſign-ſtaff of that ſettlement, we anchored, at ſunſet, in the outer road.

The

The enſuing day, the 24th of December, ſailing farther in, we dropped our anchor in three and a half fathoms water, the bottom being ſoft mud.

Having ſeen all ſafe on board, I went with the Company's papers to the reſidency, where I arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon

The river of *Joana* flows out of a large inland lake, into which ſeveral ſmall ſtreams diſcharge themſelves. It is called the inland ſea, and diſembogues its ſuperfluous water, moſtly through this river, which, after running a conſiderable way, with many ſinuoſities, falls into the ſea about four leagues to the weſtward of *Rembang*.

It is one of the largeſt and moſt navigable rivers along the whole north coaſt of *Java*, being at the mouth, and a great way up, beyond the reſidency, twenty and more feet deep. Its breadth is about two hundred feet.

In the bad monſoon, the afflux is much more violent than in the good monſoon. The water, as is the caſe with all rapid ſtreams, is turbid; but when it has ſtood

ſtill

ſtill ſome time in pots, or caſks, it becomes very clear and pleaſant.

Sailing up this river with the boats called *permayangs*, into the inland ſea, there is a paſſage along ſeveral other rivers, to *Samarang*, and thence farther up the country. This navigation may be performed in two or three days; and it is eſpecially availed of, in the bad monſoon, when the voyage by ſea, round the iſland *Mandelique*, requires too long a time, and is much too dangerous for ſmall craft.

A broad mudbank, upon which there is ſometimes leſs than a foot water, lies before the mouth of the river of *Joana*. From its mouth to the reſidency, which ſtands full a league up, on the weſt ſide, it runs between low and ſwampy grounds, which are uncultivated, and produce nothing but bruſhwood: they are ſometimes inundated when the river ſuddenly riſes, after heavy rains.

The town of *Joana* commences juſt above the reſidency. It conſiſts of two rows of houſes built along the river, about a quarter of a Dutch mile in length. At the farther

ther end lies the *Paſcébaan*, and not far from it is the dwelling of the *tommagong*.

On the oppoſite ſide, upon an iſland, formed by the river, of about half a Dutch mile in circumference, ſtands the Chineſe campon.

The odge, or fort, of *Joana*, is a redoubt, with four demi-baſtions, in which are the rice-warehouſes, the barracks for the ſoldiery, and ſome buildings which ſerve for a kitchen and other offices for the reſident. The houſe of the reſident ſtood formerly within the fort, but it has been pulled down, and a new one has been built of freeſtone, without it, on the eaſt ſide, which is kept in excellent repair.

This manſion was conſtructed according to the plan and drawing of the engineer HAAK: throughout India I have not ſeen any building that equalled it in grandeur and boldneſs of architecture. It conſiſts of two pieces, oppoſite to each other, which are connected by a lofty dome of full twenty-five feet diameter, ſupported by four columns of the Tuſcan order. Both theſe pieces are, however, but of one ſtory; they are ſixty feet long, and twenty-five broad, within

within the walls. One of them forms a ſingle hall of the ſame dimenſions. The other is divided into three apartments; the middle one, which is twenty-five feet in depth, and about ſixteen in breadth, is oppoſite to the door of the great hall, and to the great dome: it is fitted up as a chapel; the entrance to it is through a handſome arch, or portico: on each ſide of it is a large chamber, of the ſame ſize, making, together with the chapel, the length of the whole building on this ſide, and the ſame as that of the great hall. The walls of all theſe apartments are beautifully ſtuccoed, adorned with ſumptuous gilt corniſhes, and the roofs are concave, being wainſcoted, and curiouſly adorned with carved imagery.

Behind this pile, ſtands a building, conſtructed entirely of wood, provided with three handſome rooms, and above theſe is one large apartment for the unmarried female ſlaves, and which might therefore be called the ſeraglio. From this edifice, there is a moſt delightful view backwards, over the *paddee*, or rice, fields, interſperſed with ſmall groves, and terminated by the diſtant and lofty mountains of *Japara*.

In

In the front of all ſtands a handſome ſaloon, built cloſe to the riverſide, and equally erected at the expence of the preſent reſident. It is of an oblong octagon ſhape, and is ſtuccoed on the ſides and roof, but the corniſhes are not gilt. A large balcony projects from it towards the river, the only inconvenience of which conſiſts in the ſwarms of moſquitos which infeſt it every evening.

The actual reſident is Mr. PHILIP WILLIAM NEUWITH, a native of *Frieſland*, twenty-eight years of age, a moſt polite and friendly man. He ſerved as lieutenant in the navy, under the admiralty of *Amſterdam*, and obtained his diſcharge from that ſervice, with the rank of captain. A few months after he firſt came here as chief, he had the misfortune, that the lodge, or fort, was ſurprized early in the morning, by a gang of banditti, on which occaſion ſeveral Europeans loſt their lives, and ſome warehouſes were burnt down; on the ſame day, however, he ſucceeded in expelling them from the fort, by the aſſiſtance of ſome faithful Javaneſe, Chineſe, and Mandhareſe, who were lying here with their veſſels;

veſſels; and the freebooters fled on all ſides, leaving behind them ſeveral dead, and ſeveral were taken priſoners, who were immediately, and ſummarily, put to death, without any form of trial.

The emoluments of this reſidency amount annually to ſixteen thouſand rixdollars *, and more. They proceed from the ſurplus-weight of the rice, delivered by the native regents to the Company, and from the cheap rate at which this article is purchaſed, not to mention what he himſelf buys up, and diſpoſes of to individuals, for at leaſt, fifty per cent profit; likewiſe from the collection of the timber yearly furniſhed to the Company, at a fixed price, and which coſts him no more than the labourage, which is very cheap here, as he has only to ſend two or three hundred Javaneſe into the woods, to fell the trees, and hew them into logs.

The conſtruction of ſhips, likewiſe, affords conſiderable gain to the preſent reſident; for both timber and labour coſt him little; for a Javaneſe maſter-ſhipwright earns no

* About 3,500*l.* ſterling. *T.*

more

more than about ſix *dubbeltjes*, or two-penny-pieces, a day, his aſſiſtants, four, and the common labourers, two.

He lately built a ſnow of one hundred and one feet in length, according to the model of the ſtates' armed ſnow, the *Zephyr*, of *Rotterdam*, which was fitted up in as handſome a manner as I ever ſaw ſuch a veſſel. He offered it for ſale at twenty thouſand rixdollars, and afterwards took eighteen thouſand.

There are alſo profits attached to the *Bhandaary*, or farm of the duties, which accrue, nominally, to the Chineſe, but, in reality, to the reſident.

A few days before the new year, every Javaneſe, who had the leaſt connection, either with the Company, or with the reſident, came to make preſents to him, conſiſting chiefly of poultry, eggs, ſugar, fruit, &c. Thoſe who were of a higher order, ſuch as the Chineſe captain, brought rolls of ſatin.

On the firſt of January, 1775, a ſalute of one and twenty guns, was fired, at ſunriſe, from ſome ſmall pieces of cannon, planted before the ſaloon. On this occaſion,

caſion, an European, a ſtrong and corpulent man, who acted as gunner, met with a terrible accident. Paſſing before the muzzle of one of the guns, the priming of which had flaſhed, without diſcharging the piece, it went off the inſtant he was before it, and blew him upwards of ſix feet forwards; the loading had fortunately been rammed down without a wad, ſo that he was no otherwiſe hurt, than by being dreadfully burnt, on his ſide, arm, and belly, ſo that he was not cured when I left the place.

Two hours afterwards, came three Javaneſe regents, or *tommagongs*, belonging to the diſtrict of this factory, to congratulate the reſident, on the new year, in the following manner: *Sallamat taon baro Touwang alli caſſi ou mour panjang*; that is, "much joy with the new year, God grant "you a long life."

The firſt of theſe regents, who was *tommagong* over part of the province of *Patti*, appeared to me to be a man of full fifty years old. He had grey hairs, and a little beard. Mr. NEUWITH told me, that he was eſteemed one of the moſt intelligent

of

of the Javaneſe. He was even thought ſo much of, that the SOESOEHOENAM wanted much to have made him adminiſtrator of his empire, but he declined the dignity, preferring to be a common regent in the Company's poſſeſſions, than a powerful ſtateſman under an arbitrary monarch; for the miniſters of thoſe princes are not only liable to incur a ſpeedy diſgrace, and to be diſmiſſed from their offices, but they are often degraded to the rank of *battari*, which is little different from the condition of a ſlave, obliged to perform the moſt menial, and moſt toilſome, offices; while it is very ſeldom that the Company come to ſuch extremities.

His dreſs conſiſted of a ſhort coat, or jacket, of deep red velvet, which came a little below the hips, and was faſtened with little ſilver buttons, round the body, under the arms, and round the wriſts. The lower part of this jacket, below the buttons, was ſtiffened out all round. Under it he wore a *ſaron*, in the country-faſhion, round his body, which hung down to his heels, and was made of Javaneſe painted cloth. His kris was in a ſheath of gold, beautifully

worked, and the handle was made of *cajou pelli*, which is reckoned the moſt coſtly wood produced in the Indies; it is very ſcarce, of a greyiſh colour, with thin black veins running through it, and of a very hard, cloſe, and fine texture. His cap was of purple velvet, bordered with narrow ſilver lace. Like moſt Javaneſe of diſtinction, he ſpoke little, and with a becoming gravity.

The next regent was the uncle of the preſent SOESOEHOENAM, and equally regent of the province of *Patti*. The ſimplicity of this man was as remarkable as the intelligence of the former; and the reſident was always able to do whatever he pleaſed in the province of *Patti*, as the latter was very eaſily perſuaded to every thing.

The third regent was the *tommagong* of *Joana*, a large, comely man, whoſe goodnature was pictured in his open and friendly countenance: in underſtanding, however, he was alſo not to be compared to the firſt.

There was likewiſe another, who was regent of *Caylam*, as well as a native of the place. The other Javaneſe would not acknowledge

knowledge him, or any of the Caylammers, to be of their own race, or true Javaneſe, ſaying that they were produced from the unnatural connection of a woman with a dog. Indeed, the whole time that they were together, I did not perceive that one of the other regents condeſcended to addreſs a ſingle word to him.

Each regent had his *patti*, or ſub-regent, with him; but while the former ſat upon a chair, the latter was obliged to ſit upon the floor, upon his heels, and when called by his ſuperior, to creep along the ground to him, and ſit down at his feet, waiting till he was pleaſed to ſpeak, or to iſſue his commands.

At ſeven o'clock in the evening, theſe regents came, with a number of ſervants, with muſical inſtruments, &c. to ſupper to the reſident's houſe. Before ſupper we had muſic and dancing in the European ſtyle; but after it, ſeveral Javaneſe dancing girls were ſent for, with whom each of the regents, and after them their *pattis*, danced, or, as they term it, *tandacked*, in their faſhion, to the ſound of their own muſical

inſtruments, gomgoms, boudas, and a kind of violins, which continued till late at night, when they all left us for their own houſes.

On the 3d of January, I went, with the reſident, to pay a viſit to the *tommagong* of *Joana*. He received us dreſſed in ſtate, and during the playing of gomgoms, and other inſtruments. His favourite wife, and the wife of his ſon, together with his mother, likewiſe came and drank tea with us. A large ſilver plate with confectionary ſtood upon a table near us, and each took what he liked of it.

On the 14th of the ſame month, we were invited to ſupper by the ſame regent, who gave an entertainment on the occaſion of the marriage of his daughter, which had been ſolemnized ſome time before. The reſident had cauſed, at his deſire, the proviſions to be dreſſed by his own people, in the European manner, ſo that there was little or no Javaneſe victuals to be ſeen. After ſupper, ſome dancing girls were again introduced, with whom the *tommagong* and his ſons *tandacked*. Their wives were not preſent at this; and when, a ſhort time before

fore the company broke up, they came in, care had been taken that the dancing girls were gone before they entered the room.

During my ſtay at *Joana*, we had very unfavourable, windy, and rainy weather, by which the loading of my ſhip was delayed, and I was deprived of the pleaſure of taking a journey inland, to the inner ſea, or to the province of *Patti*, which the *tommagong* ſtrongly urged me to do, ſo that I did not go farther than about a Dutch mile and a half up the country, to one of the country-ſeats, or gardens, of the reſident, who has four of them.

At laſt the ſhip received the complement of her cargo, having taken in, both from this place and from *Rembang*, one hundred and fifty coyangs of rice, beſides a quantity of logs and planks.

On the 21ſt of January I went on board, with the Company's papers, but it was not till the 24th that I could leave the road, being obliged to wait till then for thirty leagers of water, which could not be ſhipped before, on account of the ſtormy weather.

On the 24th, at eleven o'clock, P.M. we weighed anchor, and left the road of *Joana*,

experiencing much difficulty in getting the ſhip afloat, as ſhe lay, at leaſt, two feet ſunk in the mud.

The next day in the morning, at ſunriſe, we were abreaſt of the point of *Leſſeum*, whence we ſteered direct eaſt, in order to run in ſight of the iſland *Lubok*, commonly called the *Baviaan*, or *Baboon*, but we did not ſee it, as we paſſed it in the following night.

This iſland is not large, but, as I was informed, extremely populous. Seventy or eighty veſſels go continually to and fro, between it and the coaſts of *Java* and *Borneo*. As far as I know, the inhabitants have no connection with, and are independent of, the Company.

On the 26th of January, at ſunriſe, we ſaw the hill of *Radiona*, which is a high mountain, ſituated far inland, in the iſland of *Java*; as likewiſe part of the iſland of *Madura*, whence we took our laſt obſervation of the land, ſteering for the iſland *Solombo*.

Along the coaſts of *Java*, from *Joana*, as far as the point of *Griſſe* (where the land turns firſt to the ſouth, to *Sourabaya*, and then,

then, behind the iſland *Madura*, in an eaſterly direction, to the Straits of *Bali*, through which it ſtretches to the ſouth again, as far as the ſouthern Indian ocean), there is no danger to be avoided. One may ſail without apprehenſion along the ſhore, at the diſtance of one or two leagues from the land, only taking care to ſteer clear of the projecting points.

Many high mountains lie inland; the foreland is, on the contrary, low, but may be ſeen at the diſtance of three and a half, or four, leagues.

I ſaw the land of *Madura* eight or nine leagues off; but the eaſtern part of it, it is ſaid, is viſible at fifteen, and more, leagues' diſtance.

We ſailed till the 28th of January, eaſt and north, without ſeeing any land. In the morning of that day, at ſunriſe, we diſcovered two iſlands, from the maſthead, bearing N.N.W. which we conceived were the little *Pulo Lauts*, or *Water*-Iſlands. We at firſt thought, that they were the *Nouſſa Linas*. But whichever they were, this is certain, that neither the one, nor the other,

are placed in their true ſituations, in the Company's charts.

Much ſtreſs is laid, among the Company's ſervants, upon the great danger of the navigation to the eaſtward of *Batavia*, which may poſſibly be encouraged underhand, for political reaſons, by perſons in power; but I did not, in fact, find it ſo bad, at leaſt as far as *Celebes*, or *Macaſſer*, as is pretended. It would be well if the charts of theſe parts, which the Company give to their veſſels, were correct; it is this that makes the navigation ſo dangerous. None of the iſlands which I met with, except the group called the *Hen and Chickens*, are laid down in their true latitudes, as may be proved by my log-book, and thoſe of other ſhips. This inaccuracy not only renders theſe charts uſeleſs, but likewiſe extremely dangerous; for inſtead of being, as they ought, the ſureſt guide and dependence of the navigator, they miſlead him, and become his bane. It is not impoſſible, but this may be purpoſely left ſo, and that it is an adopted opinion, that it is better to expoſe a few ſhips to the danger of ſhipwreck, than to correct errors,

errors, which might operate to render the navigation towards the Spice Iſlands difficult and hazardous for other nations; for it cannot be pretended, that this notorious faultineſs is unknown to the Company, ſince the commander of every veſſel, on his return to *Batavia*, muſt deliver a journal of his voyage to a maſter-mapmaker, or hydrographer, ſpecially appointed for that purpoſe; and no one, who, in any degree, deſerves the name of ſeaman, can paſs over ſuch groſs miſtakes, without noting them down in his logbook: for my own part, at leaſt, I have ſeen, and had in my poſſeſſion, for a long time, ſeveral logbooks, in which the ſame errors, which I have juſt noticed, have been equally mentioned.

The government at *Batavia*, moreover, ſtrictly enjoin the commanders of all veſſels, not only duly to note all ſuch matters in their logbooks, but likewiſe to give a particular account thereof to the governor general, or to the chief of the ſettlement where they arrive, agreeably to the reſolution, to that purpoſe, taken on the 10th of December, 1771; and yet the charts have never been

been altered, ſince that period, no more than before.

The next day, the 29th of January, at four o'clock, P.M. we ſaw, from the top, an iſland, bearing N.E. which, from its latitude, we ſuppoſed was that called *Rotterdam*.

This morning, one of our beſt ſailors, being upon the foretopſail-yard, looking out for the land, was ſeized with the epilepſy, and fell down, firſt upon the railings of the ſhip's head, and afterwards overboard; he ſunk inſtantaneouſly, without there being any poſſibility of ſaving him.

The above iſland was ſtill viſible from the maſthead the following morning, as we had made but little progreſs during the night.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, we came in ſight of another iſland, paſt which we ſailed at the diſtance of three leagues and a half, and recogniſed it, without any doubt, for that of *Rotterdam*; ſo that the iſlands of the preceding evening muſt have been the *Nouſſa Linas*, although there was a difference of four or five leagues in the latitude.

On the 31ſt, at ſunriſe, we got ſight of four or five ſmall iſlands, called the *Hen and Chickens*,

Chickens, and could juſt ſee the iſland *Rotterdam* from the maſthead, bearing N.N.W. We hence ſteered our courſe, in order to run in ſight of the iſlands the *Salinas*.

From theſe iſlands, a large bank ſtretches out, to the ſouthward, full five leagues, upon which there is a very uneven, rocky bottom, with a depth, in ſome places, of ſix, and, in others, of twelve, twenty, and more, fathoms. This is called the *Laars*, or *Boot*, and all the ſhips, which ſail to the eaſtward, run over it, in order to avoid taking the large circuit, which they would have to do, if they ſailed round its ſouthern extremity.

At four o'clock, P.M. we came in ſight of thoſe iſlands, bearing due eaſt from us, which differed, at leaſt, two points, from their ſituation as laid down in the charts. We immediately ſteered S.E. in order to keep at a good diſtance from them, and not to paſs the *Boot* in too ſhoal water; at the beginning of the firſt watch we ſteered E.S.E. and at midnight, conceiving that we had paſſed them, due eaſt: we continually ſounded with a line of forty and fifty fathoms, but found no bottom, ſo that we had paſſed to the ſouth of the bank.

The

The next day, being the 1ſt of February, we diſcovered, a little before ſunriſe, the *Tonins*, or *Tunny* Iſlands, which are three in number, but which we now ſaw in one, bearing N. by W. as likewiſe the iſlands the *Salinas*, bearing N.W. by W. We then ſteered E.N.E. for the iſlands the *Three Brothers*, which, together with the iſland *Tanakeke*, we got ſight of at eleven o'clock, A.M. the latter bearing eaſt, and the former E.N.E.

Keeping this courſe, we ſteered for the northernmoſt of the *Three Brothers*; ſhortly afterwards we ſaw the high land of *Celebes*, and found, at noon, by a good obſervation of the ſun's altitude, that all theſe parts lie twenty minutes, or five leagues, more to the ſouthward, than they are laid down in the charts.

At half paſt one o'clock, P.M. we ſtruck ſoundings in fifteen fathoms, upon the bank of *Tanakeke*, acroſs which we paſſed in fourteen fathoms, ſteering between the northernmoſt and middlemoſt of the *Three Brothers*, but ran within a cable's length of the firſt, in order to avoid the reef that ſtretches out into the middle of the channel, from the other. We afterwards ſteered for the iſland *Galiſſing*,

Galiſſing, and, at ſunſet, we anchored at the diſtance of a league from it.

On the 2d of February, we weighed anchor, and got under ſail, in order to work up to the eaſtward, for the road of *Macaſſer*, but were prevented from making much progreſs by the light winds and contrary currents.

At four o'clock, P.M. the intendant of equipment, XINSEN, came on board, with an order from the government at *Macaſſer*, to pilot the ſhip in; but half an hour after ſunſet, we again came to an anchor, not having advanced more than half a league during this whole day.

The following day, we continued to ply as before, without being able to reach the road, though we advanced a little. On the 4th of February, however, we were enabled to anchor in the outer road, though not without danger, as the intendant of equipment, who acted here as pilot, had the imprudence, notwithſtanding it was already dark, to attempt carrying the ſhip into the inner road, and thereby run her aground upon the rocky ſhoal, that extends about an eighth of a league from the ſouth end of the

iſland

ſland *Ly Ly*, although I repeatedly admoniſhed him of the danger; but after having been aground for more than half an hour, I had the ſatisfaction of bringing her off again.

On the 5th, at daybreak, we again went to work, and ſucceeded this time, ſo that, at noon, we let drop our anchor before Fort *Rotterdam*, which we ſaluted with thirteen guns, and were anſwered with five.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VII.

Deſcription of MACASSER.—*The Road.—Inſtructions for ſailing into it.—The Environs.—Seaſons.—Produce.—Manufactures.—Slave-trade.—Account of the Bouginese and Macaſſers.—Their Character.—Arms.—Dreſs.—Food.—Bouginese Women.—Religion.—Burials.—Great Trade.—Fort* ROTTERDAM.—*Church.—Village of* VLAARDINGEN.—*Campons.—Buryingground.—Excellent Character of the Clergyman.—Importance of* CELEBES *to the Company.—Their firſt Eſtabliſhment here.*

THE road of *Macaſſer* is, in the good, or ſoutheaſt, monſoon, one of the fineſt which I have ſeen in India, and is very ſecure.

The iſlands *Great Ly Ly* and *Little Ly Ly*, with their reefs, defend it from ſouth-weſt to north; and I conceive that there is a ſafe anchorage, cloſe under *Great Ly Ly*, in the bad monſoon, and when the north-weſt winds blow violently.

The entrance of the road is between the abovementioned iſland of *Ly Ly*, and a ſunken rock, which lies full a quarter of a league

league ſouth from the point of the reef of *Ly Ly*, cloſe to which you muſt keep, becauſe in a ſtill ſea, there is no appearance of the rock; but when there is any ſwell, the ſea may be ſeen breaking upon it from a diſtance, as ſoon as you have paſſed the *Three Brothers*. In ſailing up, you muſt keep between the middlemoſt and northernmoſt of theſe, and cloſer to the latter than to the former, becauſe there is a reef which ſtretches out from the middlemoſt, and you muſt then ſteer E.N.E. and N.E. by E. for the iſland *Galiſſing*, as beforementioned, over unequal depths of ſeventeen to eleven, ſixteen, nineteen, and twenty-two, fathoms, grey ſand, with ſmall ſhells.

The little iſland of *Galiſſing* lies a quarter of a league from the ſhore, to which it is united by a reef, which likewiſe ſtretches on each ſide a ſhort quarter of a league from it: it is ſoon diſcovered to be an iſland. As ſoon as you are abreaſt of it, *Great Hertebeeſten*, or *Stag* Iſland, appears in the north; you then ſteer, with the wind large, N.N.E. you then ſee more ſmall iſlands to the northward, namely, the ſouthernmoſt and northernmoſt of the *Barrings*, *Little Hertebeeſten*, or *Stag* Iſland,

Iſland, *Duivels*, or *Devil's* Iſland, and afterwards the iſland *Ly Ly*, for which, as ſaid before, you then ſteer; and, laſtly, for the anchoring-place.

The depths along this navigation are unequal, but they are confined between ten and twenty-two fathoms; the bottom is ſand, and ſandey clay. The currents, which muſt be carefully attended to, when it is neceſſary to work up for the road, ſet to the N.E. and S.W. Care muſt likewiſe be taken in working up, not to ply too much to the weſtward, as there are ſunken rocks, upon which there are no more than ſixteen or eighteen feet water: yet there is no danger, if the *Great Hertebeeſten*, or *Stag* Iſland, be not brought to bear more eaſterly than N.$\frac{1}{4}$E. You muſt ply to weſtward with the landwinds, and anchor till the ſeawinds blow, when you muſt bear up for the ſhore, taking likewiſe advantage of the currents.

When you have paſſed the iſland *Galiſſing*, you may run pretty cloſe in with the ſhore, till you get near the place called *het Witte Graf*, or the *White Tomb*, then look out for the rock which forms the ſouthern ſide of the entrance to the road; if you ſee no ſurf

breaking upon it, ſteer a little more off ſhore, till the iſland *Great Ly Ly* bears N.N.E. or N.E. by N. and you will then avoid the danger of falling upon it. The ſouth latitude is about 5° 40′.

After the ſhip was moored, I went on ſhore, at five o'clock, P.M. with the Company's papers, and waited firſt upon the governor, Mr. PAUL GODFREY VAN DER VOORT, and afterwards upon Mr. BERNARD VAN PLEUREN, late ſecond in command of this government, but now the governor elect of *Amboyna*; for the purpoſe of conveying whom to his government my ſhip had called at *Macaſſer*. I requeſted of both theſe gentlemen that all poſſible expedition might be uſed in the diſpatch of my veſſel, as there was great reaſon to fear, that the eaſt monſoon would ſoon ſet in, which would be the occaſion of a very long voyage; and they both promiſed me, that I ſhould be diſpatched with all ſpeed.

The environs of this place are very pleaſant; it lies in an extenſive plain, which reaches to the foot of a high range of mountains, ſituated ſeven or eight Dutch miles to the eaſtward, and which divides this part of

Celebes,

Celebes, lying to the weſtward of the bay of *Boni*, and ſouth of the gulph of *Tomini*, into two parts. This range is called the mountains of *Bontain*, becauſe the ſouthern part of it terminates in the diſtrict of that name.

This plain is covered, as far as the eye can reach, with rice-fields, and paſture-grounds, which are interſperſed, here and there, with ſmall groves of fruitbearing or ſhady trees, and watered by drains made out of the larger rivers which deſcend from the mountains.

The ſeaſons, known here, as throughout the eaſt, by the denomination of monſoons, are the ſame as at *Java*; the ſoutheaſt monſoon being called the good, and the northweſt the bad one. The firſt brings always (at leaſt, in the country weſt of the above range of mountains) a clear ſky, and dry weather; the laſt is accompanied with violent winds, and continual heavy rain: but to the eaſtward of the ridge, the exact contrary takes place; for, while the eaſt monſoon brings on fair weather to the eaſtward, nothing but guſts of wind and ſhowers of rain are to be met with to the weſtward; ſo that the different ſeaſons of ſummer and

winter are felt, at the ſame time, at no more than eight Dutch miles diſtance from each other.

The chief production of the iſland *Celebes* is rice, of which it yields more than a ſufficiency to maintain its own inhabitants, though they are very numerous; but it is not ſo good as the Java rice. Much cotton is likewiſe produced, of which the inhabitants make women's dreſſes, which are held to be the fineſt of all India *.

* Theſe garments are called *cambays*; they are red checquered, mixed with blue, but dull coloured; they reach from head to foot, and are often ſold from ſix to ten Spaniſh dollars a-piece. The Bougineſe often import cotton from the iſland *Bali*, both raw and ſpun into yarn: at *Bali* they do not underſtand packing cotton, but ſtuff it in baſkets. The Bougineſe likewiſe manufacture beautiful ſilk belts, in which they fix their kriſſes; alſo a kind of paper, from the inner bark of a ſmall tree, in which they wrap their fine cambays; they often dye this paper of various colours, and export much of it to *Manilla*, and many other places; it reſembles the Otaheite cloth. They make fire arms, but cannot make gunlocks; they alſo caſt ſmall braſs guns, which they call *rantakka*; the larger *rantakka* is about ſix feet long, and carries a half-pound ball. They are curious in fillagree work, both in gold and ſilver. Captain FORREST was informed, that they ſailed in their paduakans, or prows, to the northern parts of *New Holland*, probably *Carpentaria*-Bay, to gather ſea-ſwallow *(biche de mer)*, which they ſell to the annual Chineſe junk at *Macaſſer*: they ſaid alſo that gold was to be got there. *T*.

Gold

Gold is likewiſe found in the kingdom of *Loehoe*, and in the eaſtern parts of the iſland, which is partly collected for the Company at *Gorontalo*.

The ſlavetrade is alſo much proſecuted here, moſt of the eaſtern ſettlements, *Batavia*, and *Java*, being provided with ſlaves from *Celebes*. They are, in general, kidnapped, and ſold in ſecret to the Europeans, who carry them away in their ſhips *.

Of the various nations who inhabit *Celebes*, the Bonians, or Bougineſe †, and the Macaſſers, are the moſt known; the latter are the moſt conſiderable of thoſe who have been forced by the arms of the Company to enter into alliance with them; their lands likewiſe lie near thoſe of the Company, and they are, therefore, better known in hiſtory, than the more diſtant kingdoms and nations.

The Bougineſe, at preſent the moſt powerful nation in *Celebes*, though a century ago

* About one hundred ſlaves are annually purchaſed at *Macaſſer* by the Dutch Company, for their own ſervice, and conveyed to *Batavia*; the whole remainder of this iniquitous traffic is in the hands of private individuals and free inhabitants of thoſe two places. *T.*

† Called, in general, *Buggeſſes* by the Engliſh. *T.*

they came in no compariſon with the Macaſſers, who were then the moſt celebrated and potent nation of the iſland, are of a middle ſtature, ſtrong, and muſcular, and of a lightbrown complexion; there are ſome of them who are even nearly as fair as Europeans, eſpecially among the women, who have pleaſing countenances, except that their noſes are rather flattiſh.

The Macaſſers, on the other hand, are not ſo handſome, but have a more manly and more martial appearance; they poſſeſs likewiſe more courage, and are greater enemies of treachery, while the Bougineſe will never attack their adverſaries openly, but always endeavour to deſtroy them by treachery; they will even take away the lives of ſuch as have never offended them, if they can do it without being diſcovered, be it only, as they ſlightingly ſay, to try whether their kriſſes are good; to which diabolical temper the Europeans at *Macaſſer* often become the victims, as even happened during my very ſhort ſtay there.

Their kriſſes and aſſagays are, in general, poiſoned, as are likewiſe the little darts which

which they blow through their *ſampits*, or wooden tubes.

Their dreſs conſiſts in a piece of cotton cloth, red or blue, wound round the body, and drawn tight between the legs. The upper part of the body is naked. Upon the head they wear a piece of cotton, like an handkerchief, with which they cover their hair, which is very long, and quite black. Neither men, nor women, ſuffer any hair to grow upon any other parts of the body; but, as is cuſtomary with all the Mahomedans in India, they pluck it out, by the roots, as ſoon as it appears.

Their food is rice, fiſh, and piſang, and their drink water, though they have likewiſe *ſagwire*, or palmwine.

The Bougineſe women are, in general, much handſomer than thoſe of any other Indian nation. There are ſome among them, who, for the contour of their faces, would be eſteemed beauties even in Europe; and did they but poſſeſs the lilies and roſes of our northern fair, they would be equal to the handſomeſt of the ſex. They are all moſt ardently addicted to the ſenſual pleaſures of love; and, goaded on by the hotteſt fires

of luſt, are ingenious in every refinement of amorous enjoyment; on this account, the Bougineſe girls are preferred throughout the eaſt, for concubines, both by Europeans and by Indians. Mr. VAN PLEUREN, who had reſided here for eight years, and ſeveral other credible people, informed me, that among theſe women, and thoſe of *Macaſſer*, were many who, in common with ſome of the Portugueſe women at *Batavia*, poſſeſſed the ſecret of being able, by certain herbs and other means, to diſqualify their inconſtant lovers from repeating the affront to them, inſomuch, that the offending part ſhrunk entirely away; with other circumſtances, which decency requires that I ſhould ſuppreſs.

The religion univerſally received here, is that of Mahomet, which allows the men four legal wives, if they can maintain them; but if they do not like each other, they ſeparate with as much eaſe as they before became united.

Their burials are performed without much ceremony: the body is wrapped in a piece of white linen, and laid in the grave, upon which ſome ſweetſcented flowers are ſtrewn,

ſtrewn, and two ſtones erected, one at the head, and the other at the feet.

This is the whole of what the ſhortneſs of my ſtay allowed me to collect reſpecting the characters and cuſtoms of theſe people, ſo renowned throughout the eaſt *.

Fort

* "The Macaſſers and Bugueſs people, who come annually to trade at *Sumatra*, are looked upon by the inhabitants as their ſuperiors in manners; the Malays affect to copy their ſtyle of dreſs, and frequent alluſions to their feats and achievements are made in their ſongs. Their reputation for courage, which certainly ſurpaſſes that of all others in the eaſtern ſeas, acquires them this flattering diſtinction; they alſo derive part of the reſpect ſhewed them, from the richneſs of the cargoes they import, and the ſpirit with which they ſpend the produce." MARSDEN's *Sumatra*, page 174.

The Bugueſſes are a high-ſpirited people, and deſerve the character given of Malays in general by M. POIVRE, in his Travels of a Philoſopher: "fond of adventures, emigration, and capable of undertaking the moſt dangerous enterpriſes." The word Bugueſs has become, amongſt Europeans in the eaſt of India, an expreſſion meaning the ſame as ſoldier, juſt as ſepoy is in the weſt. The people of *Celebes* are very induſtrious; they are alſo adventurous merchants; their prows go weſtward to *Bencoolen*, *Malacca*, and as far as *Acheen* and *Queda*, northward to *Manilla*, and ſouthward to *New Holland*, and the Bugueſſes often find their way to the Spice-iſlands, in ſpite of the vigilance of the Dutch. The Bugueſſes write their language from left to right, in a character peculiar to themſelves: on the ſeacoaſt they univerſally ſpeak the Malay tongue, and have many Malay phraſes in their language. The

laws

Fort *Rotterdam*, which was built by the Macaſſers, with the aſſiſtance of the Portugueſe, lies about eight hundred feet from the beach, oppoſite to the road, where a pierhead extends, which ſerves for unloading of the ſhips, and cloſe to which there is fifteen or ſixteen feet water.

The plan of this fort has been publiſhed in the *Lives of the Governors General of India*, and the ichnography of it remains exactly the ſame.

The church has been neatly rebuilt a few years ago, and has room for two hundred perſons. The ſeat of the governor is wholly gilt, and is under a canopy, oppoſite to the pulpit.

The walls of the fortreſs are high and ſtrong, and conſtructed of rockſtone. Without the landgate there is a large plain, on the north ſide of which is ſituated the negree, or village, called *Vlaardingen*, where moſt of the Europeans reſide. The ſtreets croſs each other at right angles, pointing to the

laws of the inhabitants of *Celebes* are adminſtered according to old cuſtoms, handed down from their anceſtors, and retained in the memory of their old men (*oran tuo*); though, in ſome parts, they are committed to writing: in dubious caſes they refer to the Koran, if applicable. *T.*

four

four cardinal points: moſt of them are broad, and ſo med of tolerably good-looking houſes. At the end of one of them, ſtands the orphan-houſe, which is a large, but very ruinous, building. The Chineſe all live together here, in one ſtreet, which is named after them. Though it is called the negree, or village, it rather deſerves the appellation of town. It is paliſadoed all round, and is, at night, cloſed by gates, where a watch is conſtantly kept.

Without the village of *Vlaardingen*, to the ſouth, there is a row of buildings, which bound it on that ſide, and where likewiſe the houſe of the governor ſtands at preſent. The Bougineſe and Malay campons are not far from it.

The campon *Baro*, where moſt of the natives, and ſome Europeans, live, is ſouth of the fort: there are likewiſe a few brick houſes in it.

Between it and the fort is the burying-ground, where every European of any conſideration has a ſeparate grave, with a tombſtone over it, ſtuccoed white, and inſcribed with the names of thoſe who lie buried there, or to whom the grave belongs.

The

The ſervices of religion were adminiſtered by a clergyman of the name of De Graaf, a moſt excellent man, and one of the beſt whom I met with in all India. He was an enemy to all diſſention; he ceaſed not, as long as any diſcord reigned between any of the members of the congregation, to which he was a faithful paſtor, before he had conciliated matters, and yet he was never found to intermeddle in affairs that did not become him. He was wholly free from that ſpiritual pride, which is obſervable in ſo many of the ſacerdotal order. In converſation he was friendly and amiable; never dogmatical, and never inclined to condemn his fellow-mortals. In company he was both pleaſant and inſtructive; and nothing indecorous, or incompatible with purity of morals, was ever heard when he was preſent. In ſhort, he was a man who, as far as could be judged from his actions, ſought, in every reſpect, to follow the golden rule, of loving God and his neighbour. I have given a more ample ſketch of this worthy man's character, as it is very rare that ſuch miniſters of the goſpel are met with in India.

The office of governor is here a very intricate

tricate and important one. The concerns of the Company, which, in all their other ſettlements, except *Ternate*, are confined to the ſpeculations of commerce, are here of a very different nature. Conſidered ſuperficially, *Macaſſer* has been a prejudicial eſtabliſhment, as it is an annual charge upon the Company of ninety thouſand gilders; but if we conſider it more attentively, it is one of thoſe poſſeſſions which are of the greateſt importance to the Company, for the preſervation of their excluſive ſpice-trade. The ſituation of *Celebes*, in the proximity of the iſlands which produce thoſe invaluable articles, the power of the nations who inhabit it, and their bent towards navigation and commerce, early induced them to enter into this trade, even long before the arrival of the Europeans in theſe regions. They carried the ſpices they obtained to, the then emporiums, *Bantam* and *Malacca*, where they were fetched by other merchants from the weſt of India, and being conveyed by the Red Sea to *Alexandria*, or by caravans to *Aleppo*, they finally found their way to Europe.

Excluſive of the jealouſy which the Company

pany muſt naturally have entertained of theſe competitors in their ſpice-trade, a further motive for apprehenſion preſented itſelf in the attempts made by the Portugueſe, their hereditary enemies, to eſtabliſh themſelves here; by which the Dutch poſſeſſions in the *Moluccas*, and neighbouring iſlands, would continually run the riſk, upon the leaſt change of fortune, of being wreſted from them, or at leaſt kept in a conſtant ſtate of alarm and diſquiet.

This at laſt produced a determination in them, to remove the evil at once; in which they very happily ſucceeded, in the year 1667, under the conduct of Governor SPEELMAN, as general; when, among other advantages, Fort *Rotterdam* was ceded to them, which before bore the name of *Oedjongpandang*, corruptly called by us *Jan Pandan* *; but we muſt conſider that the war was then only waged againſt the Macaſſers, or the kingdom of *Goach*, and that the princes of *Boni*, *Soping*, &c. were at that

* Fort *Rotterdam* was ſo called from the birthplace of its conqueror, SPEELMAN; the Macaſſer name, *Oedjong Pandang*, implies the point of a ſacred leaf, and the ſpot is eſteemed holy by the natives. T.

time

time very inſignificant, and had united themſelves to the Company by the famous *Boni* contract, which was concluded on the 18th of November, 1667, and to which the Macaſſers were afterwards compelled equally to accede. Since that time the ſyſtem of policy adopted by the Company has been to exalt *Boni*, and to humble *Goach*; and in later times this conduct became the ſource of many wars.

But in order to throw more light upon the affairs of *Macaſſer*, it is neceſſary to become acquainted with the principal kingdoms and ſtates of *Celebes*, and to have a ſketch of their hiſtory down to the preſent time. A manuſcript on this ſubject has fallen into my hands, which Mr. BLOK, formerly governor of *Macaſſer*, compoſed from authentic records, and continued down to his time, that is, till 1759: in order, however, not to repeat too much of what VALENTYN may already have written, whoſe account of *Macaſſer* I have not by me, I ſhall only ſtate the moſt prominent parts of the hiſtory of *Celebes* ſince the beginning of the preſent century.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VIII.

Account of the Kingdom of MACASSER.—*Their ancient Traditions.—Sketch of their Hiſtory.—Oath of Fidelity to the Company taken by the Kings of* BONI *and of* GOACH.—*Conſtitution of* GOACH.—*Laws.—Religion.—Former Proſperity of the Macaſſers.—Kingdom of* TELLO.—*Of* SANDRABONY.

THE empire or kingdom of *Macaſſer*, which, before the conqueſt of it by the Dutch, was ſo cloſely united with thoſe of *Tello* and *Sandrabony*, that it made, as it were, but one ſtate, extended along the ſea-coaſt, from *Boeleboele*, in the bay of *Boni*, to the point of *Laſſem* (called *Laſſoa*, in our maps), and thence weſtward to the point of *Touratti*, or *Tanakeke*, and along the weſt coaſt, northward, to *Tanette*, or *Aganondje*, and reached inland as far as *Boni* and *Soping*, through the whole of which, the original language of the Macaſſers then prevailed.

The kings of *Goach* and *Tello* are both called

called kings of *Macaſſer*, although each is a ſeparate ſtates, taking their names from their reſpective capitals, *Goach* and *Tello*.

The ancient fabulous traditions of *Macaſſer*, according to a manuſcript, tranſlated out of their language, of which I had the peruſal, make mention of four kings, before the coming of TOEMANOERONG, which ſignifies, *one deſcended from heaven*.

It happened, as theſe traditions relate, at a certain time, after the death of theſe four kings, that a beautiful woman, adorned with a chain of gold, deſcended from heaven, and was acknowledged by the Macaſſers for their queen, under the aforeſaid denomination of TOEMANOERONG.

Upon hearing the report of the appearance upon earth of this celeſtial beauty, the king of *Bantam* went thither, and ſought her hand in marriage, though he had before wedded a princeſs of *Bontain*. His ſuit was granted, and a ſon was begotten in this marriage, of whom TOEMANOERONG was two or three years pregnant, ſo that the child could both walk and talk, immediately after he was born; but he was

very much diſtorted in ſhape. His name was TOEMA-SALINGABERIENG. When he was grown up, he broke the chain of gold, which his mother had brought with her from heaven, in two pieces, after which, ſhe, together with her huſband, and his brother, vaniſhed in a moment, taking with her the one half of the chain, and leaving the other, and the empire, to her ſon. This chain, which the Macaſſers ſometimes ſay is heavy, ſometimes, light, at one time, dark coloured, and at another, bright, was ever afterwards one of the principal regalia of the kings of *Goach*, till in the revolution of CRAIN BONTALANCAS, it was loſt, as I was informed, together with ſeveral other regal inſignia.

The manuſcript I alluded to, traces the origin of the princes of *Goach* from this ſon of TOEMANOERONG, who, together with his three ſucceſſors, it is added, did not die, but vaniſhed in the ſame manner as their parents; and the eighteenth king after him began his reign under the name of PADUCCA SIRI SULTAN SHAH BADIN ISMAEL.

Although this king did not long occupy the

the throne, he waged a furious war againſt the king of *Boni*, who was reinforced by the arms of the Company.

He was depoſed by the nine eſtates of the country of *Goach*, and they elected in his ſtead the king of *Tello*, who was called MAPPA ORANGIE, but as king of *Goach* he took the name of PADUCCA SIRI SULTAN SIRA JOUDEEN.

In the year 1718, the Macaſſer prince, and afterwards famous rebel, CARAING, or CRAIN BONTALANCAS, fled from *Goach*, having killed a daughter of the former king, and ſought an aſylum among the Dutch, living, under the Company's protection, in the campon *Baro*. He afterwards went from here to *Sumbawa*, and aſſiſted in the war which raged between the Sumbawers and Baliers, in which the king of the former was killed. He wedded the daughter of this prince, who was afterwards queen of *Sumbawa*, and whoſe mother, marrying with the king of *Goach*, perſuaded her daughter to be divorced from CRAIN BONTALANCAS, and to marry a prince of *Sumbawa*.

In the year 1724, the king, SIRA JOUDEEN,

gave up entirely to his ſon the kingdom of *Tello*, and taking upon himſelf the ſole adminiſtration of that of *Goach*, ſoon gave ſo much umbrage to the Macaſſer princes, and eſpecially to BONTALANCAS, that the latter, who was become both furious and deſperate, from his forcible ſeparation from his wife, formed a reſolution of taking ample revenge upon the king. In order to compaſs this purpoſe, he procured, not only ſeveral of the diſcontented Macaſſer princes, but likewiſe many Bougineſe of high rank, to take part in his conſpiracy; and he afterwards entered into the moſt ſolemn engagement with the famous pirate AROE SOENKANG, and his captain TOUASSA, to dethrone the kings of *Goach* and *Boni*, and wholly to expel the Dutch from *Celebes*.

Accordingly he kindled the flames of war, in the year 1734, in *Bontain*, whence they ſoon ſpread far and wide. In the beginning of the war, BONTALANCAS gained many advantages, and made ſo much impreſſion upon the king of *Goach*, that on the 5th of November, 1735, he fled from *Goach* to *Tello*; upon which the Macaſſer eſtates immediately elected his grandſon, ſurnamed

MALAWANGESE

MALAWANGESE ABDUL HAERMAN SHOER, twentieth king of *Goach*. But he likewiſe was forced to yield to the arms of the rebels, and abandon his capital, which was immediately taken poſſeſſion of by CRAIN BONTALANCAS; while the king, together with a conſiderable number of Macaſſers, fled as far as Fort *Rotterdam*, where, in the year 1739, he put himſelf under the protection of the Company.

CRAIN BONTALANCAS, being maſter of the country of *Wadjo*, and of part of the kingdom of *Boni*, came down, a ſhort time before, to the northern provinces of the Company, and cauſed himſelf to be inſtalled king of *Goach*.

Soon afterwards, he ſummoned Fort *Rotterdam*, in the name of the three united empires of *Boni*, *Goach*, and *Wadjo*. But the governor not being ſpeedy enough in his determination, the whole force of *Goach* and *Wadjo* ſoon appeared upon the plain before the fort. The garriſon, reinforced by a body of Bougineſe, who were attached to the Company, and by the Company's ſubjects, marched againſt the enemy the ſame day, being the 16th of May, 1739, and fall-

ing upon them with great fury, ſoon put them to flight, and throwing up a battery of ſixteen pieces of cannon, where a good number of them took poſt, they returned in triumph to the fort.

The enemy, on the other hand, intrenched themſelves againſt us, and daily ſkirmiſhes took place, till on the 14th of July, when the country being ſufficiently dry, that the artillery could be tranſported, the garriſon made another ſally, and being joined by their Bougineſe allies, and other auxiliaries, together with the Company's ſubjects and the Macaſſer refugees beforementioned, they fell upon the enemy, early in the morning of the 17th of July, by ſurprize, and after an obſtinate reſiſtance, and a bloody battle, which laſted till four o'clock in the afternoon, they gained a complete victory.

This victory was of the greater importance, as by it the treacherous hopes of the Macaſſer refugees were fruſtrated; for though they had joined our troops, they were almoſt all inclined to the rebel party, and had concerted with their chief, that, as ſoon as the balance turned the leaſt in his favour,

favour, they would join him, and turn themſelves againſt us.

Three days after this, when the rebels again tried their chance, they were beat anew, and put to flight by our troops, leaving behind them many dead and wounded. CRAIN BONTALANCAS, who had thrown himſelf into *Goach* with all his troops, was himſelf wounded. Our men purſued them hotly, and at three o'clock in the afternoon, they came before the town, and immediately threw up ſome batteries, which were ready in the evening, and played with ſo much effect during the night, that at four o'clock the next morning our commander in chief, Admiral SMOUT, received intelligence that the enemy had abandoned the town, and had fled to the mountains; by which the war, on this ſide of *Celebes*, was put an end to. The regalia of *Goach* were immediately collected, and, together with the kingdom of *Macaſſer*, were reſtored to the monarch who had laſt fled from *Goach*, ABDUL HAERMAN SHOER, and to the regent of the empire.

Moſt of the adherents of CRAIN BONTALANCAS then came in, and ſubmiſſively en-

treated for pardon. Among them, was a man of upwards of a hundred years of age, CRAIN ALAMANPANG, a younger brother of CRAIN POMLIAAN, who had been a fugitive of the former century. On ſurrendering his kris, he ſpoke as follows:

" I have beheld this city of *Goach*, in its " proudeſt luſtre, when it ruled over the " whole iſland of *Celebes*; I afterwards was " a witneſs to its firſt humiliation, when " we were ſubdued by the Company; it was " then thought its fame and honour were " greatly tarniſhed, yet it was ſtill populous " and reſpected; but now I look around me, " and behold nought but ruins and diſho- " nour. I ſurrendered my kris, the firſt " time at *Samboepo*, once more at *Sourabaya*, " and now here, for the third time, to the " conquering arms of the Company; leave " to an old man now the only conſolation " that remains—to die in peace."

He received a free pardon, and his kris was reſtored to him.

A ſhort time afterwards, intelligence was received that CRAIN BONTALANCAS had died of his wounds.

King ABDUL HAERMAN SHOER dying on

on the 27th of July, 1742, in the ſeventeenth year of his age, his brother, MAPPA BABASSA, a child of eight years old, was choſen ſucceſſor to the crown of *Goach*, under the guardianſhip of the regent, CRAIN MADJENNANG. Nothing material occurred during his reign. He died on the 21ſt of December, 1753, and was ſucceeded by his ſon AMAS MADINA, ſurnamed PATTEMA THARIE, who was the twenty-ſecond king of *Goach*, and in the year 1758, was renamed BATTARA GOACH, by the regent, who was, at the ſame time, his grandfather.

Thus far the manuſcript of Mr. BLOK. What follows, was related to me at *Macaſſer*.

After the death of his grandfather, the regency fell into the hands of the uncle of king BATTARA. This man, urged by the ambition of enjoying the crown himſelf, cauſed ſo much vexation to his nephew and ſovereign, that the latter abandoned his kingdom and *Celebes*, and fled to the weſtward, no one knew whither.

But the regent, ſeeing that matters were not yet ſufficiently ripe, nor the nobles of

Goach

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Goach properly prepared to admit of his uſurping the crown himſelf, contrived that a younger brother of the king ſhould be exalted to the throne; whoſe life, however, he equally found means to embitter ſo much, that he alſo quitted his dignity and country in deſpair *. Upon this, the artful regent was conſecrated king, and he took upon himſelf, at the ſame time, the office of regent, or prime miniſter, in order to avoid another's playing the ſame part which he had acted before.

This prince was on the throne in the year 1775, when I was there. He was deſcribed to me as a very wiſe monarch, who diſtributed impartial juſtice to his ſubjects, and kept a watchful eye over all the foreign relations of his country; eſpecially over the kingdom of *Boni*, for which, in

* It was in the year 1767, that the king of *Goach*, thinking himſelf inſecure on his throne, abandoned his kingdom, and fled to *Bima*, where he was overtaken and ſent to *Batavia*. He was a weak and puſillanimous prince, and preferred a petition to the Dutch government that he might be exiled to *Ceylon*, where he lived for many years, in the caſtle of *Colombo*, receiving a monthly allowance of fifty rixdollars (about 130*l.* ſterling per annum) from the Company. *Huyſers beſchryving der Oſt-Indiſche Etabliſſementen*, page 42. T,

common

common with all the other kings of *Goach*, he entertained the moſt inveterate hatred; for its preſent proſperity and power were founded upon the decline and ruin of *Macaſſer*. An equally deeprooted mutual hate exiſts at *Boni*, where they leave nothing untried, by means of their more ſtrict connections with the Company, to humble the power of *Macaſſer*, and render its fidelity ſuſpected.

An inſtance hereof occurred in the year 1770, upon the arrival of the preſent governor of *Macaſſer*, Mr. VAN DER VOORT. The king of *Boni*, having received information that a new governor was expected from *Batavia*, cauſed an intimation to be conveyed to the king of *Goach*, by a third or fourth hand, that one of the fugitive princes was coming over with the governor, who was to be reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors, while the uſurper would be taken priſoner, and ſent into baniſhment. In order to effect the latter purpoſe, it was alleged, that the opportunity would be availed of, when the king of *Goach*, according to ancient cuſtom, came to renew the oath of fidelity to the Company,

Company, upon the acceſſion of a new governor *.

This prince, deceived hereby, came, at the appointed time, to Fort *Rotterdam*, not with his uſual ſuite, but accompanied by five or ſix thouſand well-armed men, and refuſed to enter the walls of the fortreſs without theſe troops, ſaying, at the ſame time, the reaſon why he came in this manner; but when the Company's ſervants

* The oath of fidelity, and alliance to the Company, is taken by the kings of *Goach* and of *Boni*, with the following ceremonies: The king, dreſſed in cloth of gold, and wearing the chain which the Company have preſented to him, in token of alliance, and every link of which repreſents a flower made of maſſy gold, with a medal pendant from it, with the initial letters of the united Eaſt-India Company engraved upon it, preſents himſelf with his courtiers and lifeguards at the government-houſe in Fort *Rotterdam*. His attendants firſt dance their war-dance, with their kriſſes and aſſagays. A chapter of the Koran, relating to the taking of oaths, is then read to the king, in Arabian, to which he liſtens with great attention and veneration. He then folds his hands, and lays them three times upon the book, and afterwards upon his head. Next he takes his kris of ſtate, and dipping the point of it in a ſilver horn of water, ſtirs it about with it, and lets a few drops which remain upon the point fall upon his tongue; by which the oath is completed, in the moſt ſolemn manner. S.

pointed

pointed out to him the groundleſſneſs of his ſuſpicions, and the evident falſity of his information, he was prevailed upon to lay aſide his diſtruſt, and every thing paſſed off without further difficulty; ſo that the king of *Boni* was diſappointed in his object. Yet the king was ſo fearful, and upon his guard, at the feaſt which the governor gave that day to the native princes, that neither he, nor his attendants, would touch any wine, nor any of the proviſions which were ſet before them.

I ſaw this prince twice; he is rather corpulent, grave in his appearance and converſation, and attentive and reſerved in his manners.

The king of *Goach* is not an abſolute ſovereign: he is ſubject to the laws of the land, and may not perform any important regal functions, without the concurrence and approbation of the body of nobility. Crimes are puniſhed according to laws, and not by the arbitrary will of the monarch. His privy counſellors are called *tomani lalangs*.

Every negree, or townſhip, has a chief, called

called *galarang*: this rank was inſtituted by the eighth king of *Goach*, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, perhaps at the inſtance of the Portugueſe, who firſt arrived at *Celebes*, and obtained a footing there during the reign of that king, in the year 1512.

His ſucceſſor appointed and regulated meaſures and weights for general uſe; he fixed prices upon the articles of trade; he manufactured gunpowder, and firſt mounted artillery upon the walls of *Goach*. He afterwards, not only allowed the Malays to ſettle in his ſtates, but, together with other privileges, he granted them that of building a temple, and openly profeſſing the Mahomedan faith. This religion gained ſo much ground here, that the Macaſſers, by means of the Malays, diſpatched an embaſſy to *Mecca*, to fetch a *ſtadja*, or prieſt, from that place, for the purpoſe of inſtructing them in the religion of the Arabian impoſter, which was at laſt univerſally eſtabliſhed throughout the Macaſſer empire, in the year 1603, under the thirteenth king, SULTAN ALLAH OUDEEN; and three years afterwards

afterwards they forced the people of *Boni* equally to ſubſcribe to the doctrines of the Koran.

The power of *Macaſſer* was at its higheſt pitch about the middle of the laſt century, when its princes not only ruled over almoſt the whole of *Celebes*, but had likewiſe rendered *Loma*, *Mandelly*, *Bima*, *Tambora*, *Dompo*, and *Sangar*, tributary to them, and had conquered *Bouton*, *Bungay*, *Gapi*, the *Xulla* iſlands, and *Sumbawa*. They moreover held the government of *Saleyer*, which had been given to *Macaſſer*, by BAAB ULLACH, king of *Ternate*; they were in ſtrict alliance with the inhabitants of *Bali*, and coined the firſt gold coins, which were probably the gold *mas*, of the value of ſixty Dutch ſtivers.

About that time alſo, the alliance between *Goach* and *Tello* was renewed; and theſe two ſtates were ſo firmly united together, that it was a common ſaying, that there were "two lords, but one people." By the articles of union, it was ſettled, that all levies and contributions from conquered provinces, &c. ſhould be divided into five parts, two of which were to be given to *Goach*,

Goach, and two to *Tello*, while the fifth ſhould fall to the ſhare of the eldeſt of the two kings; that the eldeſt of the kings ſhould always exerciſe the office of regent, or prime miniſter, to his junior colleague; that they ſhould both be equal in dignity; and, laſtly, that they ſhould both enjoy the title of *ſambanco*, ſignifying as much as emperor.

The empire of *Macaſſer* has at preſent ſo much declined, under the influence of the powerful arms, and the artful policy, of the Company, that the king of *Boni* is now much ſuperior to *Goach*, both in extent of territory, and number of ſubjects; although in war a Macaſſer is better than three Bougineſe, on account of their martial character, and undaunted courage, which notwithſtanding all the adverſities which have fallen upon them, for a century paſt, have never been ſubdued, or diminiſhed *.

It

* In 1778, a finiſhing ſtroke was given to the independence, and power of reſiſtance, of *Goach*; the reins of government were, at that time, on account of the nonage of the king, in the hands of his mother, queen RADJA POLAKKA, a woman of an ambitious and intriguing diſpoſition, who, pro-

It is worthy of remark, that the kings of *Macaſſer* have a new name given to them after their death, and that their ſucceſſor muſt be nominated before their interment.

The kingdom of *Tello* was bounded, in the year 1667, to the north, by the *Coerees*, two iſlands, ſituated a little to the ſouthward of the river *Maros*, and to the ſouth it reached as far as Fort *Rotterdam*. The intimate connection between this kingdom and that of *Goach*, has before been mentioned; and both have, in conſequence, participated in the ſame changes of fortune.

The ninth king of *Tello*, ABDAL CARIE, died in January, 1709, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, MAPPA ORANGIE, who was elected king of *Goach* in the year 1712, and ruled over both kingdoms till the year 1724, when he gave up that of *Tello*, to his

probably aiming at the total emancipation of her country from the yoke of the Company, raiſed a rebellion againſt it, in which her forces were ſubdued, the city of *Goach* taken by aſſault, its fortifications razed, and the government new modelled, ſo as to be entirely conformable to the views of the conquerors. T.

ſon, MAN RADJA, or RADJA MOUDEN. To him ſucceeded, according to the records of the Company, but in what year is not mentioned, his brother, MAPPA ENGA, or JAPPEE OEDEN; this prince, known by the name of CRAIN TELLO, was the grandfather, and regent, of the king of *Goach*, in the year 1759, and an inveterate enemy of the Company. After his death, his daughter, the preſent reigning queen, ſucceeded to the crown.

The kingdom of *Sandrabeni*, lying within the bounds of *Macaſſer*, on the weſtern coaſt of *Celebes*, between the Company's lands at *Galiſſong* and *Poelonbanbeen*, is ſmall in extent, yet independant of *Goach*. In the time of TOENA PARIE, king of *Macaſſer*, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the queen of *Sandrabeni* entered in an alliance with the Macaſſers, its liberties and immunities remaining, however, unimpared; and ſince that time, it has, as well as *Tello*, been ſubjected to the ſame fortunes as *Goach*.

MAPPA DOELANG, afterwards king of *Goach*, ruled over this ſmall ſtate, at the time of the war conducted by General SPEELMAN,

SPEELMAN, and, together with his nobles, accepted and ſwore to the engagements with the Company, in 1667 and 1669. The kings of *Sandraboni* are moſtly related to the royal family of *Goach*.

The city ſtands a little inland, on the banks of a river, whence the kingdom derives its name. It was built about the ſame period as *Samboupo* and *Tette*. This is all that I learnt reſpecting it.

CHAPTER IX.

Account of the Kingdom of BONI.—*Sketch of its Hiſtory.—Their firſt Kings.—Origin of their Enmity to* GOARCH.—*Singular Revolutions under Queen* BATTARA TODJA.—*Piracies of* AROE SEENKANG.—*War with* WADJO.—ARONE TANETE, *a Cannibal—Method of accuſing and puniſhing Criminals.—Story of a Duel between two Princes, Grandſons of the reigning King.—Cruelty of the King towards the Object of their Diſagreement.*

AT the time of the Boni contract, that kingdom extended along the weſtern ſhore of the gulph, which is ſtill called the Bay of *Boni* *, from the river *Chinrana* to the river *Salenico*,

* Called *Sewa* by the natives, and *Bugguefs*, or *Long*-Bay, by the Engliſh. The following account of it, given by Captain FOREST, from the information of a Bugguefs *noquedah*, or ſea-captain, may not be unacceptable: "Having "paſſed the ſtrait between *Celebes* and *Saleyer*, called the "*Budgeroons*, keep on in a direction N.E. by N. about 130 "miles, and you will find, near the weſt coaſt of the *Sewa*, "a ſmall iſland called *Baloonroo*: it is viſible eight or ten leagues'

Salenico, a length of about twenty leagues; inland it bordered upon *Soping*, *Lamoere*, *Macaſſer*, and *Boeleboele*. This kingdom was independent of, and unconnected with, any other, in very ancient times. Their

" leagues off, and has ſome rocky iſlets at its eaſt end. Far-
" ther on, about a day's ſail, which I fix at ſixty miles, is
" the mouth of the river *Chinrana*: this river takes its riſe
" in the *Warjoo* country, the capital of which is called
" *Toſſoro*, and lies a day's journey by water from the mouth
" of the river; it afterwards paſſes through *Boni*: it has a
" good muddy bar, paſſable by large ſhips, and is navigable
" a good way up; it has ſeveral mouths, and there are many
" towns on its banks, where a great trade is carried on in
" gold, rice, ſago, caſſia, tortoiſe-ſhell, pearls, &c.: the an-
" chorage is good off the river's mouth. Half a day's ſail
" farther north, along the weſt coaſt of the *Sewa*, is the river
" *Peenetkee*, not very conſiderable. Farther on are two places
" called *Akolingan* and *Telludopin*, which are pretty well in-
" habited. Continuing ſtill north, you come to the river
" *Sewa*, not very conſiderable; then to the river *Loo*, fa-
" mous for boat-building: then you come to *Mankakoo*,
" where there is gold, and much ſago, very cheap; they have
" alſo caſſia and ſeed-pearl. Being now come to the bottom
" of *Buggeſs*-Bay, the ſago-tree abounds very much; and in
" many parts of the *Sewa*, there are ſpots of foul ground, on
" which they fiſh for ſwallow, which they generally carry to
" *Macaſſer*, to ſell to the china junk. On the eaſt ſide of
" the *Sewa*, the country is not ſo well inhabited, as on the
" weſt ſide. The ſoutheaſt point of the *Sewa* is called *Pa-*
" *jungan*: here is a cluſter of iſlands, rather ſmall, with good
" anchorage amongſt them." *T.*

traditions affirm that their firſt king likewiſe deſcended from heaven. When he came upon earth, he had no name, but was afterwards called MATTA SALOMPO, by the people, ſignifying as much as *all-ſeeing*. He married a princeſs of *Toro*, who was equally of celeſtial origin; he had by her one ſon and five daughters, from whom all the ſucceeding kings of *Boni* are deſcended, and of whoſe poſterity, born from marriages with royal princeſſes, ſuch only being, in every reſpect, entitled to the crown, according to Mr. BLOK's account, no other remained alive, in 1759, than ARDE PALAKKA, the grandmother of the then reigning king of *Goach*. She was ſtill living when I was at *Macaſſer* in 1775, and governed as queen of *Tannetta*.

This, their firſt monarch, inſtituted the laws of the country, which are ſtill obſerved; he made the royal ſtandard, called *Worong Porong*; and appointed ſeven electors, under the denomination of *matoua petoes*. Theſe are hereditary in ſeven families, though it has ſometimes happened that two, and even three of them, have been of the ſame lineage. This high office

deſcends

deſcends upon women, as well as upon men. All matters of importance, relating to the kingdom, muſt be determined by them; their power, in particular, extends over the election and depoſition of the kings, and the making of peace and war *.

King MATTA SALOMPO, ſay the natives, after having reigned forty years over them, aſcended into heaven with his queen.

The Bougineſe, and Queen TARRE TOPPOE, who then ruled over them, were compelled, in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, to conform to the Mahomedan religion, and the condition was, moreover, impoſed upon them, that the enemies of *Macaſſer* ſhould likewiſe be the enemies of *Boni*, but not the enemies of *Boni* thoſe of *Macaſſer*.

* According to FOREST, *Boni* is governed by a prince, who is called *pajong*. He is elected for life by ſeven nobles, a fixed number, which may be kept up by the *pajong* (but not encreaſed), from the *dyons* (certain freeholders). The *pajong* is often reſtrained by a ſort of parliament, elected by the freeholders: it conſiſts of 490 members, 200 of which are called *mattoua*, 100 are called *pabicharro*, and 100 are called *galarang*. "But of this," he adds, "I never learnt a "diſtinct account; and I mention it only as a hint for future "travellers." T.

This was the firſt blow which was given to the greatneſs of *Boni*, although they were able to bring ſeventy thouſand fighting men into the field.

The hatred which, by this means, was excited among the Bougineſe, againſt the Macaſſers, was greatly inſtrumental to the ſucceſs of the arms of the Company againſt *Macaſſer*. RADJA PALACCA, a Bougineſe prince, whoſe exertions in particular contributed much to the completion of the conqueſt of *Macaſſer*, was afterwards choſen king of *Boni*, by the electors, and rendered himſelf ſo famous and powerful, extending the bounds of his kingdom in every way, that he was called by his people TORNER SOMBAYA, ſignifying, *a king before whom all others muſt humble themſelves.*

He died on the 6th of April, 1696, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, LAPATOUA, as fifteenth king of *Boni*, who, after having been the cauſe of much uneaſineſs to the Company, died in the year 1713.

His daughter, BATTARA TODJA, likewiſe called AROE TOEMOERANG, ſucceeded him, as the ſixteenth ſovereign of *Boni*. After reigning

reigning a ſhort time, ſhe reſigned the government, in the year 1715, into the hands of her half-brother, LAPADANY SADJATI, ſurnamed TOAPANNARA AROE PALACCA; but his ill treatment of his ſiſter and her husband, whom he cauſed to be *rampaſſed*, or beaten with ſticks, and whom he threw into confinement at *Boni*, without any ſhadow of reaſon, or legal pretence, was ſo much diſapproved of, and reſented by the nobles, that ſhortly afterwards, on the 20th of January, 1720, he was not only depoſed, but, together with his wife, was thrown into priſon. After this, the Bougineſe again gave the kingdom to BATTARA TODJA, who, however, directly reſigned it anew, to her eldeſt half-brother, the dethroned king of *Goach*, SAPPUALEE, then ſurnamed MADANRANG; he, likewiſe, was depoſed in the year 1724, after a ſhort and turbulent reign, on account of his diſſolute conduct, and his youngeſt brother, TOPAWANOI, or AROE MANO, afterwards called CRAIN BESSEI, was choſen in his ſtead; on the fourth day after his appointment he was alſo ſet aſide, and in his room BATTARA TODJA was choſen queen for the third time; ſhe

became

became at the ſame time *datoua*, or queen of *Loehoe*, and not long afterwards queen of *Soping* alſo; her huſband was appointed co-regent with her, of the kingdom; he died in the year 1725, after which ſhe was married, for the fourth time, to AROE KAYOE, who was, ſhortly after his nuptials equally made co-regent of the kingdom. But the queen being at variance with her brothers, one of whom ſhe had cauſed to be killed, and being diſſatisfied with Mr. GOUBIUS, at that time the Company's governor at *Macaſſer*, went away to *Soping*, where ſhe cauſed herſelf to be inaugurated as queen.

Her huſband, the regent, AROE KAYOE, now thinking himſelf king of *Boni*, reſolved to ſupplant his queen and conſort, and to take again to his bed his firſt beloved wife, CRAIN BONTO MAJENE, whom he had repudiated in order to marry the queen; but when this deſign was diſcovered, in the year 1728, he was immediately declared unworthy of the regentſhip, and his life was ſo much endangered, that he was obliged to fly by night to *Tello*, where he received protection. He afterwards became

connected

connected with CRAIN BONTALANCAS, and loſt his life in the commotions excited by that famous rebel.

In the year 1730, the three remaining brothers of the queen of *Boni*, came from *Bouton*, whither they had fled, for fear of their ſiſter, and took refuge under the protection of the Company, who allowed them to reſide in the campon *Baro*.

The queen, in the mean time, continued diſcontented with the Company, becauſe the province of *Bontain* was withheld from her; while her *madanrang*, or general in chief, and her *tomarilalangs*, or privy counſellors, conducted every thing at *Boni* according to their own wiſhes, and adhering to the enemies of the Company who aroſe about this time, ARQE SEENKANG, and his followers, and the rebel, CRAIN BONTALANCAS, they prepared the way for the ruin of the kingdom of *Boni*, which was effected in the following manner:

ARQE SEENKANG, a diſcontented Wadjoreſe prince, had, for ſome time, together with his captain, *laut*, or admiral, *touſſa*, been committing piracies; he had taken

Paſſir

Paſſir and *Coety*, and had even attacked the veſſels of the Company.

Theſe freebooters, therefore, in the years 1735 and 1736, carrying their depredations to a great exceſs, in the neighbourhood of *Mandhar* and *Cajelie*, were encountered by the cruiſing veſſels of the Company, but to no purpoſe; and, in the beginning of the year 1736, they landed in ſight of Fort *Rotterdam*, on the adjacent iſlands, belonging to the Company, where they plundered the inhabitants, and burnt their houſes. Upon this our government equipped ſome veſſels at *Macaſſer*, who attacked the enemy, but the battle was ſtopped by the evening coming on; and in the night, the enemy having effected their purpoſes, cunningly gave us the ſlip, and got away to *Wadjo*, without having ſuffered any material damage.

The Wadjoreſe, notwithſtanding the earneſt repreſentations of the Company's ſervants, obſtinately refuſed to deliver up AROE SEENKANG; and the Bougineſe, in conſequence, declared war againſt them. But it was proſecuted with very little vigour; for

for the general, and the counſellors of *Boni*, as we have before ſeen, were in colluſion with the enemy; whence this war had an unfortunate iſſue.

The queen of *Boni* perceiving the treachery, though too late, ſent for the princes, her brothers, who had left *Bouton*, and were gone over to the Company, and gave the command of the army to the eldeſt; but matters had already taken ſo bad a turn, that there was ſcarcely any poſſibility of retrieving them, ſo that they were compelled to make peace with *Wadjo*.

A little before, our people, at the requeſt of the Soping nobles, had let AROE TANETE, ſurnamed *the Mad Duke* *, go to *Soping*, to defend that country againſt the Wadjoreſe; but he, attending little to the war with *Wadjo*, procured, by his intrigues, the Sopingers to depoſe their queen, and eleſt him for their *datoua*, or king, in her

* Of this AROE TANETE it was related, that, like the ancient inhabitants of *Celebes*, he was a cannibal, and remarkably fond of human fleſh, ſo that he even uſed to fatten his priſoners, and cutting their heart out alive, he eat it raw, with pepper and ſalt, eſteeming it the moſt delicious morſel of all. *S.*

ſtead:

ſtead; after which he likewiſe contrived to have himſelf choſen king by the Bouginese, of which election they gave communication to the Company's ſervants at Fort *Rotterdam*; but it met with their marked diſapprobation; and when the queen herſelf came forward, he was obliged to give way to her by flight.

Upon this, the Wadjoreſe made themſelves maſters of *Boni*, appointed another queen, acknowledged the rebel CRAIN BONTALANÇAS for king of *Goach*, and declared themſelves, in this manner, as three united countries, and enemies of the Company.

In the month of April, 1739, they came down, took poſſeſſion of *Goach*, and ſummoned Fort *Rotterdam* to ſurrender. What happened afterwards, I have before related, in the account I have given of *Goach*.

When the Company were ſaved by the fortune of arms, the next ſtep to be taken was to relieve *Boni*; but this, for ſome unknown reaſon, was only done by halves; for when the Wadjoreſe were twice beaten, they were not purſued as far as their capital, *Toſſora*; and thoſe people, who refuſed to renew their engagements with the Company, were

were ſuffered to do as they liked, while the diſputes with *Wadjo*, as well on the part of the Company, as on the part of *Boni*, remain unſettled to the preſent day. [Written in the year 1759.]

In the mean time, in order, as was pretended, to forward the reſtoration of the public tranquillity, the queen of *Boni* was prevented from proſecuting her juſt claim againſt AROE TANETE, or the *Mad Duke*; and, to her further chagrin, the grant of *Bontain*, which province had been given to that princeſs, in the ſame manner as to her predeceſſors, as a reward for paſt ſervices, by the Dutch government at *Batavia*, was annulled.

She died in the year 1749, and her half-brother, LAMA OSSONG, was choſen ſucceſſor to the crown of *Boni*, under the name of ABDUL ZADSHAB DJALALOEDEEN, who was the reigning king when I was at *Celebes*, in 1775. He was then a man of upwards of eighty years old, and he dwelt in the Bougineſe campon, which is not far from our town of *Vlaardingen*, and, like moſt of the native villages, is a place of little conſideration.

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He did not ſhew much eſteem for the Europeans; he governed his ſubjects in an arbitrary manner, with much ſeverity, and paid very little regard to the laws of the country, which he always explained according to his will.

All criminals are accuſed before the king, who commiſſions his prime miniſter, and one or two more of the nobles, to examine into the affair. As ſoon as a report is made concerning it, if the culprit be thought worthy of death, the king gives a ſign with his eyes, and he is immediately carried out and killed with a kris. If aggravating circſtances occur, the king gives directions for a more ſevere puniſhment; the criminal is then bound to a tree, and he is pricked full of ſkin-deep wounds with kriſſes, and rubbed with ſugar or molaſſes; the whole body is ſoon entirely covered with ants, and the poor wretch is not relieved by death, before he has ſuffered the greateſt torments. But one of the grandees of the kingdom, or a man of noble birth, is never otherwiſe put to death for any crime than by the more merciful method of plunging a kris into his boſom.

Mr.

Mr. VAN PLEUREN related to me the following inſtance of the cruel character of this monarch, which had occurred about two years before.

Two princes, grandſons of the king, became both enamoured of the ſame perſon, a young princeſs, who was ſcarcely more than twelve years old; ſhe was an exquiſite beauty, poſſeſſed of every accompliſhment that an education at the court of an eaſtern monarch could procure her. Both the lovers, notwithſtanding their earneſt ſolicitations that ſhe would make choice of one who ſhould be the favoured youth, could not prevail upon her, for a long time, to decide between them; overcome, however, at length, by the vehemence of their entreaties, ſhe at laſt declared in favour of the youngeſt. This, as might be ſuppoſed, occaſioned an implacable enmity between the two princes, which was carried to ſuch a height, that they drew their kriſſes againſt each other, in a ſolitary place, with ſuch fury, that, had they not been fortunately ſeparated by ſome people who came in time to prevent a fatal cataſtrophe, they would

probably have both fallen victims to their jealouſy and love.

As ſoon as this occurrence came to the ears of the king, he ſent for both princes, and reproached them with great aſperity, that they were near depriving him of two of his children, by their raſh and fooliſh conduct, which was the more unpardonable, being merely for the ſake of a woman. He then commanded them immediately to diſmiſs their animoſity, and to live thenceforward together with their accuſtomed fraternal affection.

Thus far all was right. He next ſent for the young princeſs, and ſternly aſked her, how ſhe dared to avow a choice between two of his grandſons? The poor girl, trembling and in tears, could make no other reply, than that ſhe had not done ſo before ſhe was abſolutely compelled to it, and was afraid of fatal conſequences, if ſhe had remained obſtinate in her refuſal.

This diſculpation was of no avail to ſoften the indignation of the king; he knew, he ſaid, a way to preſerve his children, both from ſuch debaſing love, and from the dangerous

gerous conſequences of it, and that it would be an unheard-of event that one of his ſons ſhould loſe his life for the ſake of a boyiſh attachment. He then gave the wonted ſign of death, and the wretched object of the violent love, and furious hatred, of the two princes, was carried out, and pierced to the heart, without there being any one found who durſt pretend to be her advocate, or that her youth and beauty made the leaſt impreſſion upon the obdurate heart of the cruel monarch.

CHAPTER X.

Account of the Kingdom of SOPING.—*Sketch of its Hiſtory.*—LOEHOE.—*Its Productions.*—*Diſſolute Conduct of the preſent Queen.*—TANETE.—*Its Hiſtory.*—*The Country of* MANDHAR.—*Its Government.*—*Hiſtory.*—TOADJA, *or* WADJO.—*Its ſingular Conſtitution.*

THE kingdom of *Soping* was anciently one of the moſt powerful ſtates of *Celebes*; it lies partly along the weſtern ſhore of the bay of *Boni*; to the north, it is bounded by the great lake, called *Tamparang Laba*; and to the ſouth, it borders upon *Lamoeroe*, which, together with ſeveral other ſmall ſtates, formerly belonged to it, but which afterwards became either independent or united to *Boni*.

It yields nothing but *paddee*. In the year 1661, after the flight of RADJA PALACCA, it became a fief of *Macaſſer*; but, in the year 1667, it was reſtored to its liberty by the Company.

The kings of *Soping* have been allied by marriages

marriages to thoſe of *Boni* from time immemorial. The Sopingers pretend, in the ſame manner as thoſe of *Macaſſer* and *Boni*, that their firſt king equally deſcended from heaven. After him, a ſeries of ſovereigns, as well kings as queens, ruled over them, of whom the preſent reigning king of *Boni* is the twenty-ſecond, who, with the conſent of the nobles of *Soping*, governed the kingdom by means of a viceroy; at preſent, however, namely, in 1775, it is again under its own king, who married the daughter of the king of *Boni*. He is a faithful ally of the Company, and follows in all things the advice of the governor of *Macaſſer*, although by the bravery of his people, for one Sopinger is better in war than three Bougineſe, he could do much more than the king of *Boni*. His ſon is educated at the court of his maternal grandfather.

The part which this kingdom took in the troubles, at the time of CRAIN BONTALANCAS and AROE TANETE, has before been mentioned.

The kingdom of *Loeboe*, or *Loeboe*, was the moſt powerful and moſt extenſive of all

the ſtates of *Celebes*, before thoſe of *Macaſſer* and *Boni* attained their ſubſequent celebrity. It ſtretches at preſent from *Pelopa*, the capital of the country, to *Larompo*, being an extent of about twenty leagues along the weſtern ſhore of the bay of *Boni*, and from the other ſide of the city, over the whole of the ſoutheaſtern part of *Celebes*, between *Bugguefs*-Bay and the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland, as far as the Alforeſe will ſuffer them inland; to the weſt, it is bounded by *Wadjo*, and to the north, by *Toradja*.

The land is fertile in *paddee*; it yields likewiſe good iron, and much gold is found in the rivers *.

Mr. BLOK had not obtained any information reſpecting their ancient hiſtory or kings. The firſt king of whom mention is made in the records of the Company, is called CRAIN HAROO; he was ſubdued by the arms of the Company, at the ſame time with the Macaſſers at *Bouton*.

The queen who ruled over the country,

* The gold of *Celebes* is generally got, as on *Sumatra*, from the beds of rivers and torrents, and there are many ſprings iſſuing from crevices of rocks, that bring ſome gold along with the water, which running through a veſſel, bottomed with ſand, leaves its treaſure behind. *T.*

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when the account of Mr. BLOK was written was called TANRALELE, and ſometimes ASHA; ſhe was, at the ſame time, queen of *Tanete*; but ſhe was afterwards deprived of the crown, by the machinations of the king of *Boni*, on account of her alleged diſſolute life; for, notwithſtanding ſhe was already very far advanced in years, ſhe had the fineſt men daily brought to her, for the ſatisfaction of her ſhameful licentiouſneſs; while, if ſhe met with any one, whom ſhe did not approve, ſhe had him immediately killed and thrown into the river: a grandſon of the king of *Boni* was appointed king in her ſtead.

This kingdom is likewiſe in alliance with the Company, and conſequently dependent upon them.

The kingdom of *Tanete*, or *Aga Nonſha*, ſignifying a bridge, or ford, lies halfway between Fort *Rotterdam* and the bay of *Sorian*. It is bounded to the eaſt, by the principality of *Mariovi-wavo*; to the north, by *Barroe*; to the ſouth, by *Sageree*; and to the weſt, by the ſea. It ſtood, in former times, on friendly terms with *Macaſſer*; afterwards, upon a war breaking out be-

tween them, although *Tanete* was conquered, it was ſtill reputed independent and a free ally of *Macaſſer*; but when the king gradually began to extend his power over this country, it was, and juſtly, looked upon as a ſtate dependent upon that of *Macaſſer*, as it is called in the reports of the conference of Macaſſer, on the 7th of September, 1668.

At the time of Mr. SPEELMAN, one king IBRAHIM reigned here; who, during the peace of *Bonaye*, joined the Company, and was received as one of their allies, after having entered into and ſworn to the engagements dictated at that time by the Company, to which his ſucceſſors have ever ſince adhered.

The preſent queen. TANRALELE, upon her being made queen of *Loehoe*, and going thither, gave up the government of *Tanete* to the king of *Boni*, and to the Company; but having, ſome years afterwards, been driven from the throne of *Loehoe*, ſhe came back, and reſumed the adminiſtration of her own ſtate.

The country of *Mandhar* borders upon the ſea, to the weſt; upon *Cajelie*, to the north; upon

upon *Bionangis*, to the ſouth; and to the eaſt, upon a tract of deſert mountains, which afford a ſecure refuge to the inhabitants, when they are attacked by too powerful enemies; they then abandon to them their deſerted villages on the ſeacoaſt, and do not return to their habitations till they have been left by the invaders.

The government of this country was veſted, in former times, in ten nobles, or eſtates, who had all entered into engagements with the Company; three of them voluntarily; the ſeven others are commonly called *princes of the ſeven rivers*. They formerly were ſubject to the Macaſſers, and, in token of allegiance, were obliged to ſend a yearly tribute of long ſhields; they even were forced to receive a governor from *Macaſſer*, whom they, however, rejected, in the year 1658, though they remained otherwiſe faithful to that country.

By the contract of *Boni*, the Macaſſers reſigned all claim to the dominion over *Mandhar*; after which their princes, or eſtates, were ſeveral times ſummoned to enter into treaty with the Company; but they all, except one, obſtinately refuſed to

do

do it. On this account, they were made war againſt by the Company, and by the Bougineſe, but were never ſubdued, as they always fled to the mountains; but, in the year 1674, fearing that they ſhould be attacked by RADJA PALAKKA, they humbled themſelves before the Company, and ſigned and ſwore to the engagements required. Yet they never much obſerved them, eſpecially not thoſe articles which bind them not to navigate any veſſels without paſſes from the Company, and which forbid them to admit any veſſels into their harbours which are not provided with ſuch paſſes. Nevertheleſs they are deſerving of praiſe and eſteem for the reſpect which they otherwiſe pay to the Company and to *Boni*, and for the readineſs which they ſhewed in aſſiſting the Company in the laſt war.

Toadja, as pronounced by the Macaſſers, or *Wadjo*, as pronounced by the Bougineſe, is ſituated north of the river *Chinnanſe Boni*, which divides this country from that of *Boni*, extending to *Panekee*, which, though a free ſtate, is eſteemed a dependency of *Wadjo*, and which reaches to *Cotenga*. Behind *Panekee* and *Kera*, *Wadjo* ſtretches northwards

wards to *Larompo*, or *Loehoe*. To the weſt it touches upon the borders of *Adja Tamparang*, or *Sedeenring*.

It is governed by forty princes, or regents, amongſt whom women are admitted equally with men. Theſe nobles are all obliged to remain in *Wadjo*; yet, when requiſite, they are allowed to go, for a ſhort time, to their lands, in order to effect what may be neceſſary, but as ſoon as this is done, they muſt immediately return to *Wadjo*.

The forty are divided into three diſtinct bodies, or eſtates, each of which has a chief banner, or flag, to which they belong. Out of each of theſe three, again, two chiefs are choſen, one for warlike affairs, who is ſtyled *patara*, and the other for the civil adminiſtration of the government, ſtyled *padenrang*, who have for their preſident the *mattoua*, or elected king, who belongs to neither of the three eſtates, and conſtitutes the fortieth prince, ſo that each diviſion conſiſts of thirteen members.

Theſe laſt ſeven chiefs, to which high authority no woman is admiſſible, form an aſſembly, in whom the chief government in every thing is veſted, in the name of the forty

forty nobles of *Wadjo*, except in the point of making war or peace, for which the grand council of the forty are aſſembled, in whoſe del berations the *mattoua* has, if neceſſary, a double or caſting vote *.

Upon the deceaſe of this eminent chief, the three eſtates, or the thirty-nine nobles

* Though our Dutch traveller had undoubtedly the beſt opportunities for becoming acquainted with the ſeveral republican, or rather feudal, conſtitutions which appear to prevail in the petty ſtates of *Celebes*, it may not be unpleaſing to compare his account with that of Captain Forrest, who navigated in the eaſtern parts of India, at different times, from 1763 to 1776, and whoſe information on this ſubject was obtained from the Indians. "*Warjoo*, or *Tuadjoo*," he ſays, "is governed by an elective prince, called *aramatooa*. He is "elected for life by the four nobles of the higheſt rank, "called *oran cayo batta bazar* (nobles of the great flag), from "the body of an inferior nobility, called *oran cayo batta* "*ampat pulo* (nobles of the forty flags, there being forty in "number). When elected, if he ſhould ſay, 'I am poor,' "which may be the caſe, the reply made to him, by the "nobleman who preſides at the election, is, *Warjoo beremmer*, "*Warjoo cain*, *Warjoo guaſſo*, which ſignifies, *Warjoo* is brave, "rich, and powerful; intimating, no doubt, that he ſhall "want for nothing. He then accepts of the government. "Beſides the four high, and the forty inferior, nobles, there "is ſtill a kind of freeholders, called *dyons*, as in *Bimi*. The "*aramatooa* can only keep up the number of the four high "and forty inferior nobility, when they are, by want of heirs, "extinct; but he cannot increaſe the number. In *Warjoo*, "the nobility is hereditary." *Account of Celebes*, added to *Forreſt's Voyage to the Mergui Archipelago*, page 75.

as

as they are then reduced to, are equally aſſembled, who elect one of their own body to ſucceed to his dignity, without paying any particular attention to his family: but ſuch regentſhips of the forty, as happen to be vacant, are filled up from the neareſt relations of the deceaſed king, provided they are not born of a bondſwoman.

Theſe people had their ſhare in the general oppreſſion which was the conſequence of the extenſion of the power of *Macaſſer*, but they redeemed their freedom, by the payment of one hundred *cattis*, being one hundred and twenty-five pounds of gold.

They live very peaceably among themſelves, and follow their commercial purſuits with much activity. They are the greateſt merchants of *Celebes*, and at preſent, alſo, the richeſt and moſt redoubted nation of the iſland. They pay no regard to any engagements either with the Company, or with *Boni*, alleging that they have been cancelled by the laſt war; ſince, after that time, *Wadjo* has encreaſed in power, in proportion as the conſideration of *Boni* has declined.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XI.

Account of the Kingdom of TOURATTEA.—*The Country of* LINQUES.—TOURADJA.—*The People called Boadjoos.*—*The Kings of* EREKA *and* LETHA.—*The Country of* CAJELIE.—*Its Productions.*—TOERONGAN.—*Its Dependencies.*—BOELE-BOELE.—*The Iſland* BOUTON.—*Various petty States upon the Iſland* SUMBAWA.—PASSIR *and* COETI, *in* BORNEO.

TOURATTEA extends from the river *Tjeeko*, along the ſea-coaſt, to the ſouth and eaſt, to the river *Tino*, the eaſtern bank of which belongs to *Bontain*; it is bounded on the north, by *Macaſſer*, and on the weſt and ſouth, by the ſea.

In ancient times it was inhabited by a free people, living under ſeveral independent princes; the chief of whom were thoſe of *Binano* and *Bankale*. The country of *Linques* lies between the two laſt named ſtates, not far from the bay of *Tourattea*. By the contract of *Boni*, their independence was allowed by the Company, although the king

king of *Boni* looks upon them as his ſubjects, without admitting them to be equally allies of the Company.

Touradja is a large country, lying inland, bordering to the north, upon the Alforeſe mountains, which ſeparate it from the bay of *Tominee*; to the eaſt, upon *Loehoe* and *Wadjo*; to the ſouth, upon *Sedeenring*, and to the weſt, upon the Mandhareſe mountains.

A large proportion of the Touradjeſe are mountaineers, and idolaters. Another part live upon the water, and their veſſels are continually roving round *Celebes*, the iſland of *Ende* and *Sumbawa*. Theſe ſubſiſt by fiſhing, by the preparing of *tripangs* *, and by catching of tortoiſes for the ſhells; they are likewiſe called *Boadjoos*, and are eſteemed ſlaves of *Boni*, or of *Goach* †.

The

* The ſame with ſwallow, or ſea-ſlug, mentioned in the following note. *T.*

† The Boadjoo people, who are likewiſe called *oran laut*, or men of the ſea, are a kind of itinerant fiſhermen, ſaid to come originally from *Johore*, at the eaſt entrance of the Straits of *Malacca*, though ſome are of opinion that they muſt have come either from *China*, or *Japan*. They live chiefly in ſmall covered boats, on the coaſts of *Borneo*, *Celebes*, and the adjacent

The kings of *Ereka* and *Letha*, two ſmall diſtricts, in the weſtern part of *Touradja*, are alſo in alliance with the Company.

Cajelie

adjacent iſlands. Others dwell cloſe to the ſea, on thoſe iſlands, their houſes being raiſed on poſts, a little diſtance into the ſea, always at the mouths of rivers. They are Mahomedans. They have a language of their own, but no written character. Many Boadjoos are ſettled on the north-weſt coaſt of *Borneo*, who not only fiſh, but make ſalt, and trade in ſmall boats along the coaſt. They make ſalt in the following manner; they gather ſeaweeds, burn them, make a ley of aſhes, filter it, and form a bitter kind of ſalt in ſquare pieces, by boiling it in pans made of the bark of the *anebong*, or cabbage-tree; theſe pieces of ſalt are carried to market, and paſs as a currency for money. Thoſe ſettled on the northweſt coaſt of *Borneo* uſed to ſupply the Engliſh at *Balambangan* with rice, fowls, and other proviſions. Many of them are ſettled at the mouth of the river of *Paſſir*, who employ themſelves chiefly in catching ſmall ſhrimps, with handnets, which they puſh through the mud; the ſhrimps, after being well waſhed in ſeawater, are expoſed to a hot ſun; they are then beat in a mortar, and made into a kind of paſte, called *blatchong*, which has a ſtrong ſmell, and is much in requeſt all over India. Theſe laſt Boadjoos may be called fixed, or ſtationary, compared with thoſe who live always in their boats, and who, as the monſoon ſhifts on the iſlands *Borneo* and *Celebes*, ſhift their ſituation to leeward, ſo as to be always under the lee of the land, for the ſake of fine weather. Moſt of thoſe who rove round *Celebes*, though they change their ſituation with the monſoon, conſider *Macaſſar* as their home. When Captain CARTERET lay at *Bontain*, a fleet of more than a hundred ſail of their boats anchored there;

Cajelie lies upon the weſtern ſhore of *Celebes*, towards the north, between *Mandhar Mamoedje*, and *Sinlenſa*, which is the ſouthernmoſt place belonging to the government of *Ternate*.

By the treaty of *Boni*, this country was

there; they were from twelve to eighteen, and twenty, tons burden, and carried from ſixteen to twenty men: they were all under Dutch colours. The Boadjoo boats which Captain FORREST ſaw at the little *Paternoſter* Iſlands, between *Borneo* and *Celebes*, were about five or ſix tons burden: ſeveral had women and children on board; and their women are ſaid to be capable of managing their veſſels, even in heavy ſeas: they lay at anchor, fiſhing for the ſwallow, or ſea-ſlug, in ſeven or eight fathoms water. They ſee the ſwallow in clear water, and ſtrike it as it lies on the ground, with an inſtrument, conſiſting of four bearded iron prongs, fixed along an almoſt cylindrical ſtone, rather ſmaller at one end than at the other, about eighteen inches long; an iron ſhot is fixed at the end of the ſtone, next the point of the prongs. The ſwallow is dried in the ſmoke, and ſent to the China market. They alſo dive for it, the beſt being got in deep water. The black is reputed the beſt; but there is ſome of a lighter colour, found only in deep water, which is of more value in China than the black, and ſold even for forty dollars a picol; the pieces are much larger than the general run of the black ſwallow, ſome of them weighing half a pound. The white is the worſt, and is eaſily got in ſhoal water, and on the dry ſand, among coral rocks, at low water: its value is about four or five dollars a picol. The Boadjoos are very uſeful to the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, in carrying intelligence ſpeedily from place to place. *T.*

ceded to the king of *Ternate*; but the government at *Batavia* afterwards iſſued orders that it ſhould be conſidered as belonging to the government of *Macaſſer*.

It uſed formerly to yield much cocoanut-oil, and to furniſh as much of this article as was wanted by the Company; but ſince the year 1730, it has been ſo much ravaged, firſt by the internal diſſentions between their own nobles, and afterwards by the Mandhareſe, that all the cocoanut-trees were felled for the purpoſe of making *bentings*: the land lies now almoſt uncultivated and deſert, and is ſubject, for the greateſt part, to the Mandhareſe.

The petty kings of this country requeſted the aid of the Company, ſeveral years ago, againſt the Mandhareſe; upon which ſome veſſels and troops were ſent thither; but they behaved ſo ill, that the natives ſorely repented having ever had recourſe to the Dutch for aſſiſtance.

From the report of the chief perſons employed on that occaſion, by the government of *Macaſſer*, it appears that the country was then very productive in *paddee*; as likewiſe

likewiſe that it yielded much gold, and that in the neighbourhood of *Pavigi*, which is ſituated upon the gulph, or bay, of *Tominee*, gold is found by digging about four feet under the ſurface of the earth.

Toerongan is ſituated inland. This negree, or townſhip, and eight others appertaining to it, bear the denomination of *Wauwo Woele*, or the *leſſer mountains*. They were formerly all free, and dependent upon no one; afterwards, and poſterior to the conqueſt of *Samboupo*, ſix of them were admitted, at their earneſt requeſt, into the alliance of the Company; and not long after, the people of *Touraayo*, ſituate behind *Goach*, at the foot of the mountains, and ſome others in that neighbourhood, were, equally, at their own deſire, included in the treaty of *Boni*.

In time of war theſe places are of great importance; but moſt of them are at preſent united with *Boni*; as is the caſe with *Boele-boele*, and its appurtenances, which is ſituated in the bay of *Boni*, at and near the river of the ſame name. To the weſt, it has *Wauwo Woele*; to the ſouth, the river *Caſſa*; to the north, the river *Tanka*; and

to the eaſt; the ſhores of the bay. This country is likewiſe ſometimes called *Tello-limpòe*; it has three chief negrees, or townſhips, namely, *Boele-boele*, *Lamante*, and *Radja*, which are all independent of each other.

Before, and during, the war of 1667, theſe people were the faithful allies of the Macaſſers, who, by the treaty of *Boni*, gave up all claim to this country and its inhabitants. After that war, it was poſſeſſed by RADJA PALACCA, and it was governed by him in behalf of the Company, remaining one of their moſt obedient allies; but after his death, it continued under the dominion of *Boni*, whoſe kings now look upon it as an appendage of their crown.

Theſe are the principal matters relative to the kingdoms and ſtates of *Celebes*, which I found particularly mentioned in the aforeſaid manuſcript account.

I ſhall, in concluſion, ſay ſomething of the more diſtant countries, which, though they do not peculiarly belong to *Celebes*, have much relation to the Company's government at *Macaſſer*.

Bouton is a pretty large iſland, lying eaſt of

of *Celebes*, of which I ſhall ſay more, in the account of my voyage from *Macaſſer* to *Amboyna*.

The kings of this iſland have equally acceded to the treaty of *Boni*, though they have not conſtantly ſtuck to it; for in the year 1752, they ſuffered the Company's ſhip *Ruſt en Werk* (Reſt and Work) to be plundered by pirates, for which the Boutonners received a ſevere correction from the Company, in the year 1755; they then ſought for aid from *Boni* and *Ternate*, but not ſucceeding in this, they began, by degrees, to incline towards peace, and ſhewed an inclination to keep their engagements with the Company, without, however, either renewing them, or paying the penalty which was impoſed upon them by the Company, on account of the perfidiouſneſs they had been guilty of.

The petty ſtates which are ſituated on the oppoſite iſland of *Sumbawa*, viz. *Dima*, *Dompo*, *Tambora*, *Sangar*, *Papékat*, and *Sumbawa*, are independent of each other, but united together by a defenſive alliance, as far as regards their poſſeſſions on the iſland *Sumbawa*. They are likewiſe all,

ſeparately, the allies, and under the protection, of the Company.

Bima lies at the eaſt end of *Sumbawa*, about forty-five leagues ſouth of the ſouth-weſt point of *Celebes*, and the paſſage over can be effected, in a good veſſel, the whole year round. It is a free ſtate, under whoſe juriſdiction are comprehended, the Straits of *Sappy*, the whole of *Mangery* at the weſt point of the iſland of *Ende*, and the iſland *Goenong-api*, which laſt lies a little to the north of *Bima*.

The princes of *Bima*, *Dompo*, *Tambora*, *Sangar*, and *Papékat*, have, in general, obſerved their engagements with the Company pretty well; but thoſe of *Sumbawa* have paid little attention to them, by the inſtigation of the Macaſſers and Wadjoreſe, who reſort in great numbers to theſe iſlands, eſpecially the latter, who are great merchants and adventurous navigators, and with their country-boats they keep the ſea in a moſt ſurprizing manner; they are even ſaid to go as far as the Engliſh ſettlement at *Bencoolen*, on the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*. *

Paſſir

* Captain FORREST mentions to have ſeen fifteen prows, from *Celebes*, at a time, at *Bencoolen*, loaded with a mixed cargo of

Paſſir and *Coeti* are two little ſtates, or ſeaports, ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the iſland *Borneo*, and were anciently conquered by the Macaſſers *.

Their princes uſed formerly to viſit theſe places alone, or only accompanied by their relatives, prohibiting their other ſubjects, or allies, from going thither. But theſe ſtates were received into alliance with the Company in the year 1686.

In 1726, they were taken by the famous fugitive Wadjoreſe prince, and pirate, AROE SEENKANG, and have ever ſince paid an annual tribute to him †.

of ſpices, wax, caſſia, ſandalwood, dollars, and the cloths of *Celebes*, called cambays. *T.*

* FORREST informs us that *Paſſir* was a colony from *Wadjo*, and that the Wadjoreſe equally formed ſettlements on *Sumbawa*, and at *Rhio*, in the Straits of *Malacca*. *T.*

† *Paſſir* ſeems now to be entirely freed from the influence of the Dutch, the tribute mentioned by the author, being oſtenſibly required for the protection of the freedom of the port; and in 1772, when the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company's ſhip, *Britannia*, was there, a factory was intended to be eſtabliſhed, chiefly for the ſail of opium, and Indoſtan piecegoods, and the purchaſe of the precious commodities, ſpices, gold, wax, &c. brought thither by the Bugueſſes; this plan was only fruſtrated by a commotion taking place in the town, at which the Engliſh commander, rather needleſsly, took the alarm, and quitted the country. *Paſſir* was then a place of

great trade; with two fathoms water on the muddy bar of a river that led up to the town, forty-five miles, the tide running a good way up above the town; this conſiſted of about 300 wooden houſes on the north ſide of the river, moſt of them inhabited by Bugguefs merchants: the houſe and wooden fort of the ſultan was on the ſouth ſide, a very little way from the river. The *Britannia* lay about fifteen miles off the river's mouth, in ſix fathoms, muddy ground. *T.*

CHAPTER XII.

Account of Fort ROTTERDAM, *and of the Lands of the Company around it.—Diſputes with the Macaſſers about the Limits.—The Northern Provinces.—Occurrences relating to them.—*MAROS.—SIANG.—LABACCAN.—SAGEREE.—*Southern Provinces.* — POELEMBANKEENG. — GALISSONG.—*Iſlands on the Coaſt.*—TANAKEKE, *and the* THREE BROTHERS.—BONTAIN.—*Character of its Inhabitants.—Deſcription of the Bay and Fort.*—BOELECOMBA.—*Productions.—Its Road and Fort.* — BERA.—*Ship-building.—Deſcription of their Proas.—The Inhabitants.*

HAVING given an account of the principal matters relative to the allies of the Company, I ſhall next proceed to deſcribe the Company's own lands, which belong to the government of *Macaſſer*.

Of the Company's poſſeſſions in *Celebes*, Fort *Rotterdam* is the chief. It lies in the kingdom of *Macaſſer*, and belonged formerly to the juriſdiction of *Tello*. It is on the weſt coaſt of *Celebes*, in the ſouth latitude of 5° 7′, and is the head ſettlement of the Com-

Company here. It is called *Oedjong Pandang* in the treaty of *Boni*, by which it was ceded to the Company, together with the diſtrict belonging to it. None of the contracts point out the exact diſtance to which the juriſdiction round the fort ought to be extended, on which account the Macaſſers endeavour to circumſcribe it to the north within the exterior bounds of the town, or negree, of *Vlaardingen* and its ſuburbs; to the ſouth, within the outward line of the campon *Bare*; and to the eaſt, they define it to extend no farther than to *Bontualack*.

The difference in this, and in many other reſpects, between the Macaſſers and the Company, ariſes from the circumſtance, that the treaty of *Boni* remained in full force after the conqueſt of *Samboupo*, or rather that it was never altered and amended, or at leaſt explained, upon the change of affairs, although the Company have ſince been three times at war with the Macaſſers, and the iſſue has, every time, been ſuch, that they had only to preſcribe their conditions; yet this neceſſary emendation, it ſeems, has never been thought of.

The preſent juriſdiction of the Company,

as

as claimed and maintained by them, extends from *Sambong Java*, to what is called the *Kraal*; thence northward, along the ſalt marſhes, behind *Bontualack*, as far as the river *Patinga Loang*, not far from *Oedjong Tana*.

The northern provinces include the lands of *Maros*, with the half of *Sodian*, and *Barras*, or *Cabbe Siang*; *Labaccan*, with *Bongero* and *Sageree*, which are the plains lying between *Tello* and *Tanete*, the proper granaries of *Celebes*; then the places, which are ſituated between theſe plains and the mountains; and laſtly, the mountain-villages, or negrees.

Theſe lands, which border upon each other, have the ſea, to the weſt; *Tanete* and *Maros*, to the north; *Lamoeroe*, to the eaſt; and the kingdom of *Macaſſer*, to the ſouth.

They were all conquered during the reign of the Macaſſer king, ALLAH OEDEEN, who reduced them to ſervitude, and divided them by villages and lots among the nobles of *Macaſſer*, who received from the inhabitants, as from their own property, the tenth of the produce, and the uſual feudal ſervices, till

till October, 1668, when, upon the rupture with the Macaſſers, *Maros* was taken by the Company and their allies; but it fell again into the hands of the enemy on the 20th of November enſuing; however, upon the conqueſt of *Samboupo*, this province was alſo ſubdued by our people.

In the year 1736, or 1737, when the northern provinces were overrun by the rebel CRAIN BONTALANCAS, all of them, either voluntarily, or by force, abandoned the ſide of the Company, and took up arms againſt them; but when *Maros* was retaken, in Auguſt, 1737, by Governor SMOUT, moſt of the chiefs returned to their former allegiance, while the others abſconded, though they were afterwards purſued and taken, and underwent a well-merited puniſhment.

Thoſe who returned to their duty, together with other chiefs newly appointed, were ſummoned, in January, 1738, to the fort, where thoſe who were guilty, but had returned of themſelves, received a pardon; and all of them, LABACCAN excepted, abjured for ever the dominion of *Macaſſer*, and were accordingly again received as faithful ſubjects to the Company.

A junior

A junior merchant has the ſuperintendence over all theſe provinces; he reſides in that of *Maros*, between the paliſadoed fort called *Valkenburg*, and the negree, *Soeryjerang*; the lands around the Company's *pagger*, or paliſadoed fort, in the kingdom of *Tanete*, on the river *Pantjana*, are alſo under this reſident. The number of negrees, or townſhips, over which the Company's juriſdiction, and the authority of the reſident at *Maros*, extends, amounts to three hundred and ſeventy.

For the government of the inhabitants under the reſident, *Maros* has, beſides, five native regents, who are elected by the elders of the people, from the neareſt relatives of ſuch as have died, and are preſented to the governor and council at *Macaſſer*, who confirm the election, with a reſerve, nevertheleſs, for the approbation of the government at *Batavia*.

Siang has one regent, choſen from among the natives, who is called LOMA.

Labaccan has alſo one native regent, who has the appellation of CRAIN.

Sageree has five of theſe regents, the chief of whom is CRAIN MANGALONG.

The

The greateſt part of the inhabitants of theſe plains, however, are Bougineſe, who are very induſtrious in agriculture: theſe again have their own peculiar chiefs, who are appointed by the king of *Boni*; but they are, as well as the ſubjects of the Company, liable to the levy of the tenth part of the rice-harveſt.

The other provinces, lying between theſe plains and the mountains, have likewiſe their own regents, appointed to rule over them in behalf of the Company, moſt of them under the title of *Crain*, with the adjection of the name of the negree, which is under their authority. Theſe laſt furniſh the timber and bamboos wanted for the Company's poſt at *Soeryjerang*, and logs for repairing the wooden pier at Fort *Rotterdam*.

Beſides theſe regents, they have likewiſe, among themſelves, ſeveral inferior chiefs, whom they call *galarangs*. They live quietly under their own laws, and in the enjoyment of their own religion; and perform the feudal ſervices required of them by the Company, as their rightful lord paramount.

To the ſouth of Fort *Rotterdam*, on the weſt

weſt coaſt, the Company poſſeſs the ſmall provinces of *Poelem Bankeeng* and *Galiſsong*, being within the kingdom of *Macaſſer* proper, between the fiſhpools of *Aing*, and the river *Tjikoa*; but the little ſtate of *Sandraboni* lies in the middle. Theſe plains were ſubdued by the Company, in the war of 1667.

The inhabitants of both theſe diſtricts make good ſoldiers, and thoſe of *Galiſsong* are eſteemed here the beſt ſeamen; when the Company want ſailors at *Macaſſer*, they are obliged to ſerve without any other pay than their ſubſiſtence.

To the province of *Galiſsong* belong the iſland *Tanakeke*, and the ſmall iſlands called *the Three Brothers*, which, equally, by right of conqueſt, are the property of the Company, and the inhabitants of them, their ſubjects; as is the caſe with all the other iſlands which are ſcattered along the weſt coaſt of *Celebes*, from the point of *Tourattea* to *Tanete*. The Macaſſers have a colony of Touradjeſe upon the iſland *Great Barnang*; but many of theſe iſlands are uninhabited; ſome of them are inhabited by the ſubjects of the Company, and a few by Bougineſe.

On

On the ſouth coaſt, and on the eaſt ſhore of the Bay of *Boni*, the Company poſſeſs the kingdoms of *Bontain*, *Boele Comba*, and *Bera*, together with their dependencies.

Bontain is bounded on the weſt by the river *Tino*, which divides it from the kingdom of *Tourattea*; on the north by the mountains, which bear its own name; on the eaſt by the river *Kalekongang*; and on the ſouth by the ſea.

It was anciently conſidered among the dependent allies of *Macaſſer*, and was ruled by their kings; but it has twice been conquered by the arms of the Company and their allies, and was ceded to them, in property, by the treaty of *Boni*.

It is a very pleaſant country, and is fertile in rice. There is a larger bay for ſhips and veſſels of all deſcriptions, and the people of this land, and thoſe of *Boele Comba* and *Bera* are the beſt natured, moſt peaceful, and tractable, of all the ſubjects which the Company have in the whole iſland of *Celebes* *.

This

* Captain CARTERET gives us ſeveral inſtances of the patient and unreſenting temper of the inhabitants of *Bontain*, which

This kingdom was once given by the Company to RADJA PALACCA, as a reward for the great ſervices rendered to them; but, from default of male heirs, falling again to them, it was afterwards conſidered as a too

which occurred while he lay there. The bay he deſcribes as a large one, where ſhips may lie in perfect ſafety during both the monſoons: the ſoundings are good and regular, and the bottom ſoft mud; nor is there any danger in coming in, but a ledge of rocks, which are above water, and are a good mark for anchoring. The higheſt land in ſight is called *Bontain*-Hill; and when a ſhip is in the offing, at the diſtance of two or three miles from the land, ſhe ſhould bring this hill north, or N.$\frac{1}{4}$W. and then run in with it and anchor. In this bay there are ſeveral ſmall towns; that which is called *Bontain* lies in the northeaſt part of it, and here is a ſmall paliſadoed fort, on which eight guns are mounted, that carry a ball of about eight pounds weight: it is juſt ſufficient to keep the country-people in ſubjection, and is intended for no other purpoſe: it lies on the ſouth ſide of a ſmall river, and there is water for a ſhip to come cloſe to it. Wood and water are to be procured here in great plenty; likewiſe plenty of freſh proviſions, at a reaſonable rate: the beef is excellent, but it would be difficult to procure enough of it for a ſquadron. Rice may be had in any quantity, ſo may fowls and fruit: there are alſo abundance of wild hogs in the woods, which may be purchaſed at a low price, as the natives, being mahomedans, never eat them; and fiſh may be caught with the ſeine. The latitude of *Bontain*-Hill is 5° 30′ ſouth. The tides are very irregular; commonly it is but once high and once low water in four-and-twenty hours, and there is ſeldom ſix feet difference between them. *T.*

important poſſeſſion ever to part with it again, without the moſt urgent neceſſity.

It is governed by two native regents, who bear the title of *Crain*; namely, one who rules over *Bontain*, and one over *Tompoboele*, under whom there are ſeveral *galarangs*, or village-chiefs. All theſe, together with the ſerjeant who commands at the Company's *pagger*, or paliſadoed fort, are under the authority of the reſident, whoſe juriſdiction likewiſe extends over *Boele Comba*, which was alſo anciently a ſeparate kingdom, but was brought under the yoke of the Macaſſers in later times.

It ſtretches from the river *Kalekongang*, which divides it from *Bontain*, to *Bera*, or rather to the river *Banpang*, which runs between them; to the north of it, lie the mountains of *Kyndang*, which ſeparate it from *Boni*, or rather from the highlanders of *Touraayo*; to the ſouth, it is waſhed by the ſea.

This province is likewiſe one of the conqueſts of the Company, and its inhabitants are, therefore, their ſubjects; and they have, together with thoſe of *Bontain*, the ſame duties to fulfil, and enjoy the ſame privileges,

leges, as thoſe who dwell in the Company's northern provinces.

Two head regents are, in like manner, appointed to rule over this diſtrict, namely, CRAIN GANTARANG and CRAIN OEDJONG-LOWE, who have ſeveral *galarangs* under them.

The land is fertile in rice, and abounds in game and extenſive foreſts; but the timber is not adapted to the conſtruction of houſes.

In the weſt monſoon, the road before *Boele Comba* is dangerous for ſhips; ſmall veſſels, however, can run into the river *Kalekongang*, at high water. At or near the mouth of this river, ſtands the Company's paliſadoed fort *Carolina*, in which the reſident, who is a junior merchant, has his abode.

To him is equally entruſted the ſuperintendence over *Bera*, which province reaches from the river *Bampang*, eaſtward, along the ſeacoaſt, to the point of *Laſſem* (called *Laſſoa* in our charts), and thence northward to the point of *Cadjang*; on the landſide, it borders upon *Boele Comba*, *Tourang*, and *Kadjang*, belonging to *Boele-boele*.

The whole of this country was ceded to the Company by the treaty of *Boni*. It is

 barren

barren and rocky, and yields to its inhabitants nothing but *ocbee* * in the room of rice, or bread; if they want *paddee*, they muſt have recourſe to *Boele Comba*, or *Bima*. It has ſome woods, from which the inhabitants, and thoſe of *Boele Comba*, obtain middling good timber for building proas; the chief building yards of the Macaſſers were formerly at this place †.

* *Panicum cervi.*

† They build their proas, which they call *paduakans*, very tight, by dowling the planks together, as coopers do the parts that form the head of a caſk, and putting the bark of a certain tree between, which ſwells, and then fit timbers to the planks, as at *Bombay*; but do not rabbet, as it is called, the planks, as is done there. In Europe we build reverſely; we ſet up the timbers firſt, and fit the planks to them afterwards. They are bigotted to old models and fixtures in fitting their veſſels: the largeſt never exceed fifty tons: they have their bow lowered, or cut down, in a very awkward manner, ſo as to be often under water; a bulk head is raiſed a good way abaft the ſtem, to keep off the ſea. They have a tripod maſt, with a high pointed ſail: the tripod maſt is made of three ſtout bamboos; two riſing from the ſides, and one from the fore part of the veſſel, laſhed together at the top: the two feet abreaſt are bored at the lower end acroſs, with holes about three inches in diameter; and theſe holes receive the two ends of a piece of timber, which goes acroſs, like a main thaft; on theſe the two abreaſt parts of the tripod turn, as upon a hinge: the fore part of the maſt is fixed forward, like a mainſtay, to a knee amidſhips, with a forelock; by unlocking the forelock, the maſt is ſtruck in a moment. *T.*

The

The men of *Bera* are, in general, good warriors, both at ſea and at land; the richeſt among them are merchants; the others employ themſelves in building of proas, and in manufacturing a ſort of coarſe, white, cloth, from the cotton which grows in tolerable abundance here; a ſmall annual tribute of theſe cloths is paid to the Company.

This country has ten regents, of whom the chief is CRAIN BERA. Theſe come once a year to Fort *Rotterdam* to diſcharge their tribute.

CHAPTER XIII.

Account of the Iſland SALEYER.—*Its Productions.—Government.—Character of the Inhabitants.—Iſlands of* BONARATTE *and* CALAUWE.—*Intricacy and Difficulty of the Government of* MACASSER.—*Contract, or Treaty, of* BONI.—*Miſtaken Policy of the Company.—Declining State of their Authority.—Encroachments and clandeſtine Trade of the Engliſh.—Difficulty of preventing them.—Alarm excited at* MACASSER *by the Arrival of Captain* CARTERET, *in* 1768.—*Account of that Affair.—Bad Conſequences of the Second never ſucceeding to the Governorſhip.—Emoluments of the Governor at* MACASSER.—*The other Servants of the Company.—The Company's Trade.—Private Trade.—Impoſſibility of preventing Smuggling.—Opinions of Governor* MOSSEL *on theſe Subjects.—Receipts and Charges of this Settlement.—Memorial of Mr.* VAN PLEUREN *on the Trade of the Company.—Eſtabliſhment of* MACASSER.—*Malays.—Their Chief, or Captain.—Trade of the Chineſe to* CELEBES.—*Deſcription of their Junk.—Departure from* MACASSER.

THE iſland *Saleyer* lies nearly ſouth of the point of *Laſſem*, full two leagues; in the ſtrait

ſtrait between them, are the *Budjeroons*, called, by our ſeamen, the *Boeſeroens*, which are three ſmall, uninhabited iſlets.

There are ſeveral other iſlands which lie round and near *Saleyer*, and belong to it, of which, however, only two are inhabited, namely, *Bonaratte* and *Calauwe*.

The Macaſſers, who had poſſeſſion of *Saleyer*, made a ceſſion of it, by the treaty of *Boni*, to the king of *Ternate*; but it has ſince, in the lapſe of time, and by ſlow degrees, been wreſted from the Ternateſe, by the Company.

Saleyer is very mountainous and woody, and there are many deer in its foreſts. It produces *ocbee* and *batta*; the laſt is a ſort of millet, which conſtitutes a chief part of the food of its inhabitants. Much coarſe, blue and white, ſtriped, cloth, is made here of the *capas*, or cotton, which it likewiſe produces *.

This

* Captain Forrest, who was caſt away, in the *Bonetta* ketch, on a ſmall, deſert, ſandy, iſland, eaſt of *Saleyer*, travelled acroſs the latter in 1763, accompanied by the reſident. They were carried by men up the very ſteep hills, that run along the middle of the iſland from north to ſouth, on bamboo

 chairs,

This iſland is governed by fourteen regents, who reſort once a year, in the month of October, to Fort *Rotterdam*, with two hundred and fifty, or three hundred, of their countrymen, to perform the cuſtomary duties of vaſſalage, and to ſet forth ſuch diſputes as they may have among themſelves, in order to obtain a deciſion in them.

This people are puſillanimous and ſervile, and, at the ſame time, quarrelſome and perverſe; inſomuch, that, if their ſituation be not exactly to their own liking, they immediately emigrate, with the whole of their family, to another country.

A junior merchant is placed here, as reſident, in behalf of the Company, who has his abode near, or in, a paliſadoed *pagger*, or redoubt, called *Defence*, which lies, as I was informed, in 5° 0′ ſouth latitude.

The beforementioned iſlands *Bonaratte* and *Calauwe* were given, in fief, to the old RADJA PALACCA. He made uſe of the

chairs, made on the ſpot; and they went over the flat lands on horſeback. He computes the inhabitants of *Saleyer* to amount to about ſixty thouſand. They drink much of a liquor called *ſaguire*, drawn from the palm-tree: they burn tallow from the tallow-tree, as in *China*. *T.*

firſt

firſt for a place of education and inſtruction for his dancing girls; to which purpoſe his ſucceſſors in the kingdom of *Boni* likewiſe appropriated it; hence, theſe iſlands are moſtly inhabited by Bougineſe, and but very few Saleyers are found upon them.

From theſe ſhort ſketches and deſcriptions of the nations who inhabit the great iſland of *Celebes*, may eaſily be deduced the different relations, in which they ſtand towards each other, and towards their neighbours, both with reſpect to their internal policy, and their foreign connections; and hence may likewiſe be ſeen, how intricate and troubleſome the office of governor of *Maçaſſer* muſt be, in order to reconcile the jarring intereſt of all theſe numerous petty ſtates with each other, and with the intereſt of his employers.

The contract, or treaty, of *Boni*, which has been ſo often mentioned in the preceding pages, was the foundation upon which the ſuperſtructure of the Company's power and influence in *Celebes* was erected more than a century ago. *Boni*, who firſt entered into this engagement, and whence it has always been called the contract of *Boni*, has, for that reaſon,

reaſon, been ever eſteemed the firſt and oldeſt ally of the Company. It was, at that time, in danger of being ſubdued by the Macaſſers, and not poſſeſſing ſufficient power to oppoſe ſo redoubted an enemy, it may, therefore, be eaſily conceived, that the Bougineſe readily embraced the opportunity of entering into the ſtricteſt alliance with the Company, whoſe power was ſo great, and ſo renowned throughout India, that whoever were their allies, might diveſt themſelves of all fear of being maſtered. This was, in fact, apparent in the ſequel. *Macaſſer* was ſubdued, and *Boni*, being thus freed from the fear of their hereditary adverſaries, encreaſed, more and more, in greatneſs and luſtre, more eſpecially during the government of RADJA PALACCA. It became an adopted political maxim, that *Macaſſer* ſhould be continually kept under; and this has been, till the preſent time, ſo ſtrictly adhered to, that *Boni* has been rendered ſo great and powerful, that it is at preſent out of all queſtion to preſcribe rules or bounds to that kingdom, although the miſtake is now moſt clearly perceivable: it even happens, from time to time, and every year,

year, that different portions of territory, which appertain to the Company by right of conqueſt, are ſuffered, by the negligence, or indulgence, of the governors, to be wreſted from them by *Boni*, under ſome plauſible pretext or other; while theſe encroachments are, likewiſe, afterwards unaccountably ratified by the government at *Batavia*.

The preſent ſovereign of *Boni* has brought it ſo far, that one of his grandſons has aſcended the throne of the powerful kingdom of *Loeboe*, and which the Company have been obliged to wink at; perhaps the danger to their intereſts, which lies in this vaſt encreaſe of the power and influence of the Bougineſe monarch, has not been ſufficiently inſiſted upon by their ſervants, or it may even be, that it has been repreſented in a favourable light.

Hereby, and by ſeveral other circumſtances, the authority of the Company has ſo much declined in *Celebes*, that their poſſeſſions in the iſland may be conſidered as very inferior in importance to others. Little regard is now paid to the treaty of *Boni*, upon which every thing hinged heretofore. The king of *Boni* has even preſumed to pre-

fer

fer a claim upon the campon *Baro*, cloſe to the fort, becauſe he reſided for ſome time in it, when he had fled to the Company for protection againſt his ſiſter AROE PALACCA. It is not impoſſible, that when this prince is dead, other darker clouds may ariſe; for this is certain, that all the native princes are jealous of the footing which the Company have obtained upon the iſland, and envy them their poſſeſſions; and, if they could but remain united among themſelves, they would not let ſlip any opportunity of freeing themſelves from their dependence, by expelling the Dutch from *Celebes*, or at leaſt curtailing their power and influence. This it is what conſtitutes the moſt important, as well as the moſt difficult and delicate, part of the adminiſtration at *Macaſſer*, namely, to inſpire the principal nations with jealouſy and diſtruſt of each other, at the ſame time preventing and avoiding, as much as poſſible, all actual hoſtilities and interference, in order not to be forced to join either one or the other.

The Company are not only menaced on this ſide, but their hereditary rivals in trade, the Engliſh, ſeek likewiſe to eſtabliſh themſelves

ſelves here, which they had nearly effected, about the river of *Sadraboni*, a few years ago. The Bougineſe, Wadjoreſe, and Mandhareſe are much attached to them, and aſſiſt them in the purchaſe of ſpices from *Ceram* and other iſlands. Their new eſtabliſhment at *Balambangang* gives them opportunities of connection with the merchants and other individuals of the different nations who reſort to *Paſſir* and *Soeti*, or have ſettled there, and of drawing them over to their intereſts: and if they were to perſevere in their endeavours, it would be very difficult to prevent them from obtaining a footing in *Celebes*; eſpecially upon conſidering what happened with reſpect to the little Engliſh ſloop of war, the *Swallow*, in 1768, whoſe ſtay at *Macaſſer* I mentioned in my former voyage; and though the circumſtances attending it, were contradicted to me now that I was at *Macaſſer*, it was in ſuch a manner, as rather confirmed my belief, in the credibility of Captain CARTERET; if a a little ſloop of twelve guns, with a ſick and exhauſted crew, was enough to cauſe ſuch an alarm, what would be the event if a greater

greater force were to appear in theſe ſeas *.

If

* When Captain CARTERET reached *Maceſſer*, from the South Seas, his ſhip's company were in a dying condition, and it was in order to procure refreſhment for them, and ſhelter againſt the approaching bad monſoon, that he touched there. His arrival excited the greateſt alarm, and all the ſloops and veſſels that were proper for war were fitted out with the utmoſt expedition. He, however, thought to have been an overmatch for their whole ſea-force, had all his people been well; But they were ſo reduced, that, a boat having been diſpatched on ſhore, the united ſtrength of the remaining men, was not ſufficient to weigh the anchor, though a ſmall one, in order to proceed nearer to the town. As ſoon as it was known who he was, he was commanded, by a letter from the governor, "inſtantly to depart from the port, without coming any nearer "to the town; and not to anchor on any part of the coaſt, or "permit any of his people to land in any place that was under "the governor's juriſdiction;" and notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances, and occular demonſtration of the emaciated and diſtreſſed ſtate of the crew, the ſhort and final anſwer of the deputies of the governor, who brought the letter, was, "that "they had abſolute and indiſpenſable orders from their maſ-"ters, not to ſuffer any ſhip, of whatever nation, to ſtay at "that port, and that theſe orders they muſt implicitly obey." To this Captain CARTERET replied, that perſons in their ſituation had nothing worſe to fear than what they ſuffered, and that, therefore, if they did not immediately allow him the liberty of the port, to purchaſe refreſhments, and procure ſhelter, he would, as ſoon as the wind would permit, in defiance of all their menaces, and all their force, go and anchor cloſe to the town; that if, at laſt, he ſhould find himſelf unable to compel them

If there be any government among the Company's poſſeſſions, that requires a chief, who is a man of knowledge, and of ſound judgment, vigilant and zealous, in diſcovering every machination and deſign that are concerted in the ſurrounding kingdoms and provinces, it is that of *Macaſſer*. As theſe qualities are ſeldom found in ſuch perſons as are raiſed to the head of affairs from the deſk, or other employments, which have no affinity with the art of government, it is evident that their adminiſtration cannot but be productive of the moſt prejudicial conſequences; and, for my own part, I entertain no doubt that there have been governors ſent thither from *Batavia*, who have never become acquainted with even the names of the greateſt

them to comply with requiſitions, the reaſonableneſs of which could not be controverted, he would run the ſhip aground under their walls, and after ſelling their lives as dearly as they could, bring upon them the diſgrace of having reduced a friend and ally, to ſo dreadful an extremity. It was not till after he had begun to put his threats in execution, by getting under ſail, and proceeding towards the town, that a treaty was entered into with him, by which, after much altercation, he was permitted to go to the bay of *Bantain*, in order to procure the neceſſary ſupplies of proviſions and water, to erect an hoſpital for his ſick, and to find ſhelter from the bad monſoon, till the return of a fit ſeaſon for ſailing to the weſtward. *T.*

part

part of the nations with whom they had to deal, much leſs with the various and intricate connections ſubſiſting between them and the Company.

I think it a radical defect in the management of the Company's affairs, that ſcarcely ever the ſecond perſon, in any adminiſtration, ſucceeds to the office of chief governor, in the ſettlement to which he is attached. He muſt incontrovertibly poſſeſs more local knowledge, than one who only knows the place by name, and who has never aſſiſted at the deliberations of the local council. Yet the mode which I condemn is ſo univerſally adopted, that it muſt even be ſurmiſed to be a maxim laid down by perſons in high authority, the motives of which it is impoſſible to divine.

At the ſame time, the government of *Macaſſer* not being a very lucrative one, the governors ſeldom wiſh to remain long in it; and they do not, therefore, take much pains to dive deep into the knowledge of affairs, each thinking that it will laſt his time.

Beſides what the Company allow the governor out of the profits upon trade, and the territorial

territorial revenues *, there are other private advantages, which help to make out his otherwiſe inconſiderable income. In the firſt place, the collection of the tenth of the produce of the earth, at which the governor is preſent, one year in the northern, and the other year in the ſouthern provinces. Secondly, the yearly letting out to farm the duties on articles of conſumption, for a preference in which two or three thouſand piaſters are generally given as a preſent. Thirdly, preſents are likewiſe given to the governor when vacancies occur among the petty kings of the oppoſite iſlands by their ſucceſſors, to procure his favour. In the fourth place, gifts are likewiſe offered by others, upon his coming to the government; as, for example, by thoſe of *Bera*, who are obliged to preſent him with a new proa,

* The Dutch Company ſupply their eaſtern ſettlements with the cloths of Indoſtan at 33⅓ per cent advance on the prime coſt; whatever they ſell for more is the profit of their ſervants. Five per cent for commiſſion and delcredere, on the ſale of all articles, is divided between the governor and the ſecond at *Macaſſer*; the former has likewiſe an allowance of *f.*3000, about 275*l.* ſterling per annum, to make good the expence he is at in entertaining the native princes and grandees. *T.*

made, in reſpect to ſize and ſhape, according to preſcribed rules, and ſuch as, being ſent to *Bima*, or *Sumbawa*, ſometimes fetches fifteeen hundred piaſters. And others of leſs importance; the mode of obtaining which is not known to me.

The other head ſervants in the Company's employ, at this place, conſiſts of the following officers:

The vice-governor, or ſecond, who has the title and rank of ſenior merchant. The trade that is carried on here, chiefly relates to his department. He is, at the ſame time, commercial bookkeeper, and has an aſſiſtant, who writes the Company's ledger. As is cuſtomary in all the Company's ſettlements, the ſecond in command is preſident of the council of juſtice, and of other boards. All his offices, however, put together, yield but little. Mr. VAN PLEUREN, who had filled this ſtation for eight years, aſſured me more than once (and I have no reaſon to doubt what this worthy man told me in this reſpect, having heard it confirmed by ſeveral intelligent and unintereſted perſons), that taking one year with another, his income had not exceeded five hundred rixdollars, or twelve

twelve hundred gilders, per annum, for the whole time he had been the ſecond at *Macaſſer*. This ſum might, indeed, eaſily have been quadrupled by unlawful means; as, by receiving preſents, in the quality of preſident of the council of juſtice; by giving undue preferences to Chineſe merchants, or others, in the diſpoſal of the Company's piecegoods; by winking at monopolies in trade; and by other evil means, which are ſufficiently notorious.

The commander of the military is the third in order; he has the title and rank of ſenior merchant.

Next follow the *ſhebandar*, or maſter of the port, and the fiſcal, who are both merchants in rank.

The ſecretary of police and caſhier, the *winkelier*, or purveyor, the reſident of *Boelecombe* and *Bontain*, the reſident of *Maros*, and the *ſoldy-boekhouder*, or paymaſter, are junior merchants in title and in rank, and theſe, together with the preceding officers, form the council of polity.

The reſident on the iſland of *Saleyer*, has the rank of bookkeeper, equally with the firſt interpreter in the Macaſſer and Bougineſe

languages; the latter was, at that time, thought a very good office; he has two aſſiſtant interpreters under him.

To the military belong further, two lieutenants and ſix enſigns; of which laſt, one is commandant at *Bima*.

The lieutenant of the artillery, is at the ſame time, *fabriek*, or inſpector, of the fortifications and buildings, and may, in certain points, be here conſidered as engineer.

The equipment of, and controul over, the Company's veſſels, which conſiſt of ten or twelve *panchallangs* * and ſloops, employed in cruiſing along the coaſt, in order to prevent ſmuggling, are veſted in an inſpector of equipment, who has the rank of ſea-lieutenant.

The Company's trade here, conſiſts chiefly in the ſale of piecegoods, eſpecially of coarſe cloths, which are, therefore, prohibited to be imported by private traders. At the time of Governor Mossel, that is, in the beginning of his goverment, 1752, he calculated that the yearly amount of the piecegoods ſent to *Celebes*, was one hundred

* Country-veſſels, with one maſt, and a large pointed ſail. T.

thouſand

thouſand gilders, upon which the profits were eſtimated at forty thouſand; but as the contraband trade with the Engliſh has greatly encreaſed ſince that time, and the orders from *Batavia* for cloths have not been properly executed, with other additional influencing circumſtances, this vent and the conſequent profits, are much curtailed.

"It is ſo impoſſible," ſays MOSSEL, in his *State of India* "to prevent ſmuggling at "*Macaſſer*, on account of the many creeks "and inlets of *Celebes*, which afford oppor- "tunities for a contraband trade, that I hold "it expedient and neceſſary, that all private "trade from the ſpice-iſlands thither, ceaſe "and be prohibited." This private trade, however, is continued as heretofore, at leaſt to *Amboyna* and back.

This free or private trade, is chiefly carried on, from *Macaſſer* to *Amboyna* and *Batavia*, in rice, ſlaves, *tripangs*, and the cloths which are made there; from *Amboyna* back, ſpecie is moſtly brought; and from *Batavia*, proviſions and ſuch piecegoods as are not prohibited.

The little that the Company draw from *Macaſſer* and its appurtenances, conſiſts in ſapanwood of *Bima* *, and ſome *cadjang*. A ſhip is, at preſent, ſent thither every year, which carries a cargo from *Batavia*, in the month of March or April, and returns to the capital of India, by way of *Bima* and *Sumbawa*.

* In 1778, 580,000*lb*. Bima ſapanwood was ſold in Holland, at *f*.15 per 100*lb*. (equal to about 28*s*. per cwt.); and upon this article, the profit is ſuppoſed to be between fifty and ſixty per cent; which, however, is ſcarcely more than enough to cover the charges of conveyance to Europe. In April, 1769, the king of *Siam*, whence the Dutch uſed to receive much ſapanwood, but the trade to which country they had abandoned for ſome time, ſent a letter to the government at *Batavia*, informing it that tranquillity was again reſtored there, and that *Siam* had recovered from the ravages of the Avaneſe; requeſting, at the ſame time, that the Company would reeſtabliſh their factory, and that they would furniſh him with 1000 muſquets. To the firſt point, an anſwer was given, that the Company could not yet accede to his deſire; and as to the ſecond, they ſent him 500 muſquets, ſtipulating that their price ſhould be paid in ſapanwood, at *f*.3 per picol of 125*lb*. or, if need be, in wax, at the current rate of the day. The *Siam* ſapanwood would thus ſtand the Company, with freight, &c. in 2¼ rixdollars per picol, at the higheſt, or *f*. 4. 16. per 100*lb*. and the rate at which the Macaſſer ſapanwood was ſold, as abovementioned, was *f*.15 per 100*lb*. But it does not appear that this article has, ſince that time, been procured from *Siam*. *T*.

Governor

Governor MOSSEL was of opinion that this expence might be avoided, as the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſettlement at *Macaſſer* might be ſent by the ſhip for *Banda*, which calls there for rice, and the Bima ſapanwood might be fetched away by the ſhip annually returning from *Ternate*; while the ſlaves, which the Company require, for their own ſervice, from *Celebes*, might be diſpatched to *Batavia* by the veſſels employed in the private trade, for which a contract exiſts between the Company and the free merchants, but which is not now availed of; according to which, ſixty rixdollars, or one hundred and forty gilders per head, is agreed to be paid by the Company, for the conveyance of ſlaves to *Batavia*.

That gentleman further calculated the clear receipts of the Company, at the time, at eighty thouſand gilders; in which ſum were included the exciſe and cuſtom-duties, with the territorial revenues, which were taken at forty thouſand gilders.

I cannot determine whether any diminution has taken place in the latter, ſince the year 1752; but the forty thouſand gilders profits, which were then made by the

Company upon the trade in piecegoods, and upon opium, liquors, and other articles of importation, have undergone great alteration, to the diſadvantage of the Company; as at preſent *Celebes* is provided with the two firſt articles, in no inconſiderable quantities, by the contraband trade of the Engliſh; and it is not without reaſon, that apprehenſions are entertained that that enterprizing nation will endeavour to proſecute it more and more, as they are now almoſt the ſole maſters of the trade in piecegoods from *Bengal*, and they ſeem to aim at eſtabliſhing themſelves likewiſe in the eaſtern parts of India. Yet the Company's charges do not decreaſe in the ſame proportion with their receipts: it is true, that by the good management of Mr. VAN PLEUREN, in the concerns committed to his care, the charges have been lowered, thirty-three thouſand gilders, in the ſpace of eight years; and in the laſt year he reduced them even to three thouſand gilders below the lateſt memorial of economy: but what can this avail, if we conſider that by the above means, the profits have been reduced by one-half, and perhaps more, and that *Macaſſer* is yet a loſing

loſing eſtabliſhment to the amount of upwards of eighty thouſand gilders a year; while it cannot be expected that all who ſucceed Mr. VAN PLEUREN in his office, ſhall equal him in integrity, and ſhall ſacrifice their own intereſt to promote that of their employers *.

The memorial drawn up by the abovementioned Mr. VAN PLEUREN, for the improvement of the Company's trade in *Celebes*, and the oppoſite iſlands, ſeemed to me to be a judicious and elaborate compoſition. The chief point, on which he inſiſted, was the prevention of the clandeſtine trade of the Engliſh, and the reduction, under the Company's influence, of *Salemparre*, a kingdom whoſe prince is attached to the Engliſh, and has always refuſed to become the ally of the Company; for he would thereby have obliged himſelf not to ſuffer any other nation to reſort to his dominions, againſt which he moſt ſtrenuouſly objected, alleging, that his country was open to all ſtrangers,

* In 1779, the receipts of this government amounted to *f.*63,190, and the charges to *f.*163,137, leaving a deficiency of *f.*100,053, or about 9,100*l.* ſterling. *T.*

who

who behaved with propriety, and regularly paid him his duties.

When the eſtabliſhment is complete at *Macaſſer*, it ſhould amount to eight hundred Europeans *; but this number is not nearly complete, on account of the great mortality on board of the Company's outward-bound ſhips, by which means fewer men are brought to *Batavia* than are wanted, and they are conſiderably thinned by the unhealthineſs of that place, and of *Bantam*, whereby not only *Macaſſer*, but likewiſe almoſt all of the Company's poſſeſſions, are in want of men.

Beſides the Europeans, the Company have, in time of war, a great number of Malays in their ſervice. Theſe people, who have emigrated in the ſixteenth century from *Johore*, *Patanee*, and other places on the Malay coaſts, and have ſettled themſelves here, dwell in a ſort of town, ſeparate from the Bougineſe, which is called

* In 1776-1777, the eſtabliſhment at *Macaſſer*, conſiſted of fifty-ſeven perſons in civil, and three in eccleſiaſtical, employments, thirteen ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, twenty-ſeven belonging to the artillery; 178 ſeamen and marines, 502 ſoldiers, and ſeventy-two mechanics; in all 852 Europeans. *T.*

after

after them *Campon Maleyo*. They are under one captain, or chief, who is nominated by the Company. They have always been inſeparably allied to the Company, and have rendered them very ſignal ſervices, both by ſea and land.

The Company have given the iſland *Tanakeke* to their captain, for his uſe. He came on board of my ſhip, with his brother, in order to accompany Mr. VAN PLEUREN as far as the point of *Tourattea*; he appeared to me to be a peculiarly friendly and open-hearted man, and they both poſſeſſed much ſenſibility; for when they took their laſt leave of Mr. VAN PLEUREN, the tears rolled down their cheeks: they told me aſide, that they loſt in him their beſt friend and benefactor. Indeed, I heard the ſame a few days before he went away from *Macaſſer*, from many others, both Europeans and Indians, who ſincerely lamented his departure, as that gentleman had made himſelf univerſally beloved, by his great affability, and his generous diſpoſition.

The Company have, for many years, allowed a Chineſe junk to come here, direct from *China*, every year, to bring thither the

goods

goods which are exported from that country, and which otherwiſe would be clandeſtinely introduced into the iſland, by that intriguing nation, whom it would be impoſſible to exclude; and the Company's cuſtoms are now benefited by it, as, if I am rightly informed, every junk pays three thouſand Spaniſh dollars in duties. The paſſes for thoſe veſſels are granted by the government at *Batavia*, where they are obtained by the chief of the Chineſe nation, who ſends them over to the merchants in *China*, and for which it is ſaid that he receives full eighteen thouſand rixdollars *.

As ſoon as theſe goods are landed, every merchant, for there are ſeveral of them who come in ſuch a junk, expoſes his commodities for ſale, in a large houſe, which is peculiarly adapted for that purpoſe. This houſe is the daily reſort of a great number of people, particularly Macaſſers, Bougineſe, and Wadjoreſe, ſo that the merchandize imported is ſpeedily diſpoſed of.

Theſe merchants take in return *tripangs*, and Spaniſh dollars, both which render them

* About 3,900*l.* ſterling. *T.*

good

good profit, in *China*; and they are generally able to obtain forty thouſand dollars, as the governor here, Mr. VAN DER VOORT, aſſured me *.

On

* Some judgment may be formed of the trade carried on by the Chineſe to the eaſtern iſlands, from the following curious and intereſting ſtatement of the outward and return cargoes of a Chineſe junk, from *China* to *Soolos*, an iſland, or rather an archipelago of iſlands, north of the *Moluccas*, as given us by the intelligent Captain FORREST;

" Liſt of articles that generally compoſe the cargo of a " Chineſe junk, of which two come annually from *Amoy* " to *Soolos*:

	Coſt in *China*.	Selling price at *Soolos*.
" 2000 galangs (ſalvars of braſs) " ſeven to a picol . . . dollars	40	70
" 100 picols iron, in ſmall pieces, " like Bengal iron	4	8
" ſugarcandy, a quantity, per " picol	7	10
" 50 raw ſilk, ditto	400	600
" 3000 pieces black kowſongs, a kind " of nankeen, per piece . . .	0¾	
" 5000 pieces kompow, white ſtrong " linen	0¾	1
" 500 kangans, twenty-five in a bun- " dle, called gandangs, per " gandang	7	10
" 200 quallis, an iron thin pan, three " feet diameter each	1	2
" 500 neſts of quallis, three in a neſt . .	1	2

" One

On my former voyage, when I was at *Batavia*, I wanted very much to have ſeen the inſide of a Chineſe junk. Theſe are called here *wankon*, and as there was one lying alongſide of my ſhip in the road, I took the opportunity of gratifying my curioſity. As ſoon as I came on board, with the company that were with me, we were received with great politeneſs by the Chi-

	Coſt in *Sooloo.*	Selling price at *China.*
" One million pieces chinaware, per " hundred	1 .	2
" 200 pieces of flowered ſilks . . .	6 .	10

" beſides tea, cutlery, and other hardware, braſs wire, gongs, " beads of all colours, fireworks, &c. &c.

" The returns are in the following articles:

	Coſt in *Sooloo.*	Selling price at *China.*
" Black ſwallow, per picol . . dollars	15 .	30
" white ditto	10 .	20
" wax	15 .	25
" teepye, or pearl oyſter-ſhells . . .	1½ .	5
" birds' neſts, per catti	6 .	9

" Alſo tortoiſeſhell, agal agal, a ſeaweed uſed as gum, or " glue, and many other articles; ſuch as carooang-oil, clove- " bark, black wood, ratans, ſago, various barks for dying, " caſſia, pepper, native camphor, ſandalwood, curious ſhells " for grottos, pearls, ſeedpearl, and ſpices."

FORREST'S *Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas*, page 325. *T.*

the

neſe chiefs, and tea, confectionery, and fruits, were ſet before us, previous to our taking a view of any thing. This veſſel carried three maſts, of which the largeſt and middlemoſt was nearly of the ſame thickneſs as the mainmaſt of my ſhip the *Ouwerkerk*, (a ſhip of one hundred and fifty feet in length), and it was made of one entire piece of timber. The length of the junk, from the exterior of the ſtern, to the extreme point of the head, was, according to my computation, one hundred and forty feet. The hull was ſeparated into as many different diviſions as there were merchants on board, each having a diſtinct place to ſtow his commodities in. The water was likewiſe diſtributed in ſeveral reſervoirs, and being ſtarted in bulk, was drawn up by buckets, through hatches which opened in the deck. The furnace for cooking was by the larboard ſide of the mainmaſt upon the deck; for theſe veſſels have but one deck; and we ſaw the victuals dreſſed there, in a much cleaner and neater manner, than is practiſed on board of European ſhips. At the ſtern were ſeveral tiers

tiers of little cabins, or huts, made of bamboos, as well for the officers of the veſſel, as for the merchants. Exactly in the middle between theſe, was the ſteerage, and in the center of it, was a ſort of chapel, in which their *joſs*, or idol, was placed; they bring every year a new one with them from *China*, which is then placed in their temple, and the old one of the former year is taken away, and carried back to *China*; and they never begin to land any part of the cargo, until the image of this idol, which is made of gold, and is about four inches high, has been ſent on ſhore out of the junk; both on board, and on ſhore, they continually burn lights and incenſe, and in the evening ſome ſilver paper, before the idol. The rudder is not attached to the veſſel by pintles and googings, but it is hung in ropes, made of cane, and is very different in ſhape from thoſe we uſe. Their anchors are crooked pieces of timber, to which heavy ſtones are tied, to make them ſink. The whole of their tackling, both cordage and ſails, is made of cane.

On the 15th of February my ſhip's company

pany were muſtered by the fiſcal and deputies from the council of juſtice of *Macaſſer*. Thirty-one hands belonging to the ſhip were left behind here in the hoſpital, moſt of whom were afflicted with bad ulcers on the legs, and had not been properly treated by the ſhip's ſurgeon, as the ſurgeon of the place gave us to underſtand; we received on board, in their room, ſeven-ſix other European ſailors.

The following day, at half paſt ſeven in morning, Mr. B. VAN PLEUREN, with his lady and two children, came on board, being, by appointment of the ſupreme Indian government, of the 7th of November, 1774, made governor of the province of *Amboyna*, after having had the chief adminiſtration as ſecond of the government of *Macaſſer*.

The ceremonies which were obſerved on the occaſion of his departure were as follows: at half paſt ſix o'clock the governor of *Macaſſer*, Mr. P. G. VAN DER VOORT, with all the members of the council of polity, thoſe who were married being accompanied by their ladies, came to the houſe of Mr. VAN PLEUREN, in order to

conduct him to the pierhead, where he was to embark, the garriſon being in the mean time under arms, and the drums beating a march: after having taken ſome refreſhments, the former walked with Mrs. VAN PLEUREN, and the latter with Mrs. VAN DER VOORT, followed by all the members of the council, from the fort to the pier, where a boat lay ready to convey Mr. VAN PLEUREN, his lady, his children, and the deputies from the government, on board. As ſoon as the boat put off, a ſalute of twenty-one guns was fired from the fort, which was anſwered by the Company's bark, the *Moſſel*, which was likewiſe deſtined to go to *Amboyna*, with nineteen, and by the other veſſels, both thoſe belonging to the Company, and thoſe of private perſons, with a leſſer number.

When Mr. VAN PLEUREN and his company were on board, a ſalute of twenty-one guns was fired by the *Ouwerkerk*, and at the laſt gun, the flag was hoiſted at the maſthead. We ſhortly afterwards weighed anchor, and ſteering between the reef of *Great Lyly* and the rock, we ſaluted the

fort

fort with one-and-twenty guns, and were anſwered with the ſame number: in half an hour afterwards, having got out to ſea, the deputies from the government returned on ſhore, and we ſaluted them with nine guns.

CHAPTER XIV.

Paſſage to Amboyna.—Strait of TANAKEKE.—*View of* BONTAIN.—*The Iſland* SALEYER.—*The* BUDGEROONS.—*Propoſal for fortifying them.—View of the Iſlands* CABYNE—PASSANGANE—BOUTON.—*Account of the latter.—Contract of the King with the Dutch.—Extirpations of Spice-trees.—Dangerous Paſſage between* BOUTON *and the* TOUCAN-BESSIS.—DWAAL, *or* MISTAKE-*bay—View of the Iſland* BOURO.—*Account of it.—View of the Iſland* AMBLAUW.—*Of* AMBOYNA, *and ſix of the Iſlands belonging to it.—Strange Neglect with reſpect to Signal-flags.—Short Account of the Bay of* AMBOYNA.—*Anchorage in it.—Ceremonies upon the Arrival of the new Governor.*

AT three o'clock, P.M. we were conſtrained, by contrary winds and currents, to come to an anchor, cloſe to the iſland *Galiſſong*, where we lay that night.

The next day, being the 17th of February, we weighed anchor at daybreak, and ſet ſail, ſteering along the coaſt of *Celebes*, for the paſſage of *Tanakeke*, which we reached at ten o'clock, and about eleven, we had paſſed

paſſed the narroweſt and moſt dangerous part of it.

The ſpace between this iſland and that of *Celebes*, is, of itſelf, large enough, but the paſſage is narrowed, by more than one half of the diſtance over, by a reef which ſtretches out from *Tanakeke* towards *Celebes*, and by a ſunken rock, which lies about half a league s.w. from the point of *Sandraboni*. The depth in the paſſage is from twelve to ten fathoms. At ſunſet we had doubled the ſouthweſt extremity of *Celebes*.

At ſunriſe, on the following morning, we were abreaſt of *Bontain*, which is remarkable by its very high hills, being the termination of the range of mountains running through *Celebes* from north to ſouth. At the ſame time we came in ſight of the iſland *Saleyer*, and ſteered for the point of *Laſſoa*, which is the ſouthernmoſt land of *Celebes*. In the afternoon we ſaw the *Budgeroons* lying eaſt of us.

Theſe are three ſmall iſlands, which lie nearly in a line, in the direction of N.W. and S.E. They almoſt entirely block up the paſſage between the ſouthern part of *Celebes*, and the northern part of *Saleyer*, the whole

ſpace between which is about a league and a half. The northernmoſt and ſouthernmoſt of theſe iſlets lie, reſpectively, ſo cloſe to the point of *Laſſoa*, and to the north end of *Saleyer*, that there is no paſſage for ſhips between them and the larger iſlands, and not even for ſmall veſſels, but attended with danger; they therefore paſs this ſtrait between the ſouthernmoſt and middlemoſt, or between the latter and the northernmoſt, of the *Budgeroons*. Both theſe paſſages ſeemed to me, by the eye, to be about three-eighths of a league in breadth. The ſhores of the middlemoſt iſland are perfectly clear all round, and ſo very bold, that there is no ſoundings with a line of one hundred fathoms.

This is one of the moſt dangerous parts of the navigations for ſhips ſailing to, or from, the *Moluccas*, or the ſpice-iſlands, and there is no avoiding it without going round to the ſouth of *Saleyer*, which is a much more hazardous route, on account of the great number of ſhoals and ſunken rocks which abound there, and are either not laid down, or placed extremely inaccurately, in the charts; though I know of a recent inſtance

ſtance of a Company's ſhip, which was obliged to take that route, having been driven to leeward by the currents.

For this reaſon, I am ſurprized that the Company have not erected a few good batteries, provided with heavy artillery, upon the middlemoſt of the *Budgeroons*, in order to block up this paſſage to foreign veſſels, which muſt ſail cloſe under this iſland, and would, therefore, be forced to run under the guns of the batteries, whilſt they would have enough to do to work their ſails, and would not be able to return the fire. The objection which might be made to this plan, namely, that this ſpot does not afford any thing for the ſubſiſtence of the men who might be placed there, and perhaps not even that moſt neceſſary of articles, freſh water, is eaſily obviated, for the Company's reſidencies of *Boelecomba* and *Saleyer*, could conſtantly provide thoſe who were garriſoned here, with every thing they wanted; beſides, many men would not be required, for there could be no danger of ever being obliged to reſiſt the attack of an enemy upon the iſland; for it would be impoſſible for

a boat to land, if there were any battery upon it.

As ſoon as we had come within two cables' length of the middlemoſt iſland, in order to paſs between it and the northernmoſt, we were encountered by a ſtrong current ſetting with the utmoſt violence to the weſtward, ſo that we were obliged to aſſiſt the ſteering of the ſhip by manœuvring with the ſails. The current ran with ſuch force, that although we had a ſtiff gale nearly aft, and the ſhip ſeemed to advance upon the water, full five leagues, we made, in effect, little or no progreſs towards getting through the ſtrait. In about half an hour, however, the current decreaſed, and at eight o'clock, P.M. we had cleared this dangerous paſſage, and ſteered for the iſland of *Cabyne*.

In the mean time, a ſmall veſſel, which had been diſpatched by the reſident of *Bontain* and *Boelecomba*, with refreſhments for Mr. VAN PLEUREN, came alongſide of us, while we were ſtruggling with the force of the current; there was the greateſt danger of its being ſtove to pieces againſt the ſhip's

ſide

ſide by the violence of the rippling, and the Indians who were in it, caſt off the rope, and we thereby loſt one of our ſailors, who had been ordered into the boat to aſſiſt in handing over the things they brought. As ſoon as the veſſel fell aſtern ſhe ſteered for *Saleyer*, and we very ſoon loſt ſight of her.

On the following morning at ſunriſe, we ſaw the iſland *Cabyne*, bearing E.N.E. and E. by. N. eight or ten leagues: we were ſtill likewiſe in ſight of the coaſt of *Celebes*, and of the iſland *Saleyer*. We ſteered for the ſouthern point of *Cabyne*; but we were prevented by calms from coming abreaſt of it, till the 21ſt of February, when we alſo got ſight of the iſlands *Paſſangane* and *Bouton*, which form the ſtraits of *Bouton*.

Bouton is a large, middling high, and woody iſland. It is a kingdom of itſelf, to which the neighbouring iſlands likewiſe belong. The king of *Bouton* is in alliance with the Company, who pay him a yearly ſum of one hundred and fifty rixdollars in new Dutch coin, upon condition that he ſhould not only permit the extirpation by the Company of all the clovetrees in this

and

and the neighbouring iſlands, but alſo aſſiſt them in effecting it. For this purpoſe, the Company annually ſend out a ſerjeant, who is ſtyled the *extirpator*, and who goes through the woods in all the iſlands, and cauſes all the clovetrees which he meets with to be cut down. The king of *Bouton* is obliged to provide him guides and interpreters, as likewiſe with veſſels, if he ſtand in need of them. But, as for ſeveral years, he has been very negligent in fulfilling his engagements, and has ſeveral times, upon various pretences, hindered the extirpator in his ſearch after the ſpicetrees, the government in India have thought fit to withhold the abovementioned pecuniary allowance this year, in order to try, by that means, whether the fear of loſing this annual revenue (for one hundred and fifty rixdollars, or three hundred and ſixty gilders, * is really a conſiderable ſum in the treaſury of this prince) will not ſuffice to make him ſtick more cloſely to his contract, and be more active in aſſiſting the Company to deſtroy this rich production in his country, for the benefit of *Amboyna* and *Banda*.

* 32*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* ſterling. *T.*

By

By the calm weather which accompanied us from *Cabyne*, till we were without the *Toucan-beſſis*, which is a diſtance that is commonly ſailed over in one day, or in a day and a half, it was not till the 26th of February that we could accompliſh this part of the navigation. We had no violent currents, either for or againſt us, though we met with ſome, but they neither held any regular courſe, nor did the moon ſeem to have the leaſt influence upon them.

The paſſage between the iſland *Bouton* and the *Toucan-beſſis* is the ſecond dangerous part of the navigation for ſhips going to the *Moluccas*, or ſpice-iſlands. The channel is, it is true, wider than that of the *Budgeroons*, for, by my calculation, it is about four leagues over, from the neareſt part of *Bouton* to the weſternmoſt of the *Toucan-beſſis*, but the danger is of longer duration, by the numerous little iſlands which form the cluſter called the *Toucan-beſſis*, all of them either connected or ſurrounded by rocky ſhoals, over and between which very rapid currents ſet ſtrongly to the eaſtward: a great and dangerous flat called the *Hoefyzer*, or *Horſeſhoe*, lies one and a half,

or

or two leagues ſouth of them, upon which many veſſels of the Company have been wrecked.

Along the ſhore of *Bouton*, there is, indeed, no danger to avoid but the land itſelf, but in the narroweſt part of the paſſage begins a large bay, which runs into the land, weſt and north, into which there is much danger of being drawn by the currents which ſet into the bay, if the point oppoſite to the *Toucan-beſſis* be approached too near in calm weather; and if you have once fallen into the bay, there is no getting out till the weſt monſoon ſets in again, and it may even be conſidered a fortunate circumſtance to ſucceed in getting out then: ſome of the Company's ſhips that have been drifted in, have been five or ſix months before their repeated attempts to get out have ſucceeded; and among other inſtances, when Mr. DE CLERK went as governor to *Banda*, he was detained a whole year in this vexatious gulph, before he could proſecute his voyage; our navigators have, on this account, given it the appropriate name of *Dwaal*, or *Miſtake-bay*.

The two principal of the *Toucan-beſſis* iſlands

iſlands lie, by the eye, about half a league N.N.E. and S.S.W. from each other; I ſaw the northernmoſt, which is the higheſt, at the diſtance of nine leagues; they are inhabited by a people who do not ſuffer any ſtrangers, and eſpecially no Europeans, among them.

On the evening of the 1ſt of March, at ſunſet, we diſcovered the iſland *Bouro*, bearing E.N.E. full thirteen or fourteen leagues off by computation.

This iſland is of an oval ſhape, the longeſt diameter of which extends eaſt and weſt. Part of its northern coaſt is inhabited by a people who are ſubjects of the Company, and are governed by their *oran cayos*, who have each a *dap*, or deputy, under them. The interior parts, which conſiſt of very high mountains, are the haunts of the Alforeſe, or wild mountaineers. The ſouth coaſt is now deſerted, on account of the continual invaſions of the Papuas.

The Company have a ſmall fortreſs in the bay of *Cagely*, at the northeaſt end of the iſland. A bookkeeper, who belongs to the eſtabliſhment of *Amboyna*, is the chief there.

On

On the 4th of the ſame month we ſaw the iſland *Amblauw*, which lies about two leagues ſouth from the eaſt point of *Bouro*. It is but thinly inhabited. A corporal and four men were formerly ſtationed here to defend the inhabitants from the incurſions of the Papuás *; but at preſent, there are no Europeans upon the iſland. It now belongs to the ſettlement of *Larike* upon the iſland of *Amboyna*, whereas it formerly was reckoned an appurtenance of *Bouro*.

On the 6th of March we weathered this iſland, and ſaw *Amboyna* at a diſtance, bearing E.N.E.

The next day, at ſunriſe, we were in ſight of ſix iſlands belonging to the government of *Amboyna*, namely, *Amboyna*, *Ceram*, *Kelang*, *Manipa*, *Bouro*, and *Amblauw*; and,

* In March and April, the Papuas of *New Guinea* and the iſlands *Salwatty*, *Aroo*, and *Myſol*, are apt to aſſemble in great numbers; and make war on *Gilolo*, *Ceram*, *Amboyna*, *Bouro*, *Amblauw*, and as far as *Xulla-beſſy*. About the year 1765, the Papuas plundered the iſland of *Amblauw*, and carried off many of the inhabitants. In 1770, upon an incurſion of a number of the Papua boats, who ſailed up the ſtrait of *Patientia*, which divides *Bachian* from *Gilolo*, the Dutch took the Rajah of *Salwatty* priſoner, and he was ſent into baniſhment to the *Cape of Good Hope*. *T.*

an

an hour afterwards, we likewiſe ſaw the iſland *Bonoa*; we ſteered for the point of *Alang*, which is the weſtern extremity of *Amboyna*.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, we got ſight of the enſign at the factory of *Larike*, ſituated on the weſt coaſt of *Hitoe*, which is the northern peninſula of *Amboyna*, and on approaching *Larike* to within half a league, we were ſaluted by the fort with thirteen guns, which we anſwered with five.

Hence we ſailed, at the diſtance of a cable's length from the ſhore, to the point of *Alang*, where we ſaw the ſignal flag of recognizance for my ſhip flying, about five o'clock; this was red above, and white below; and, on the other hand, the ſignal flag which we ſhould have hoiſted in return, was to have been, agreeably to the ſealed inſtructions given me at *Batavia*, one with three horizontal ſtripes, red, white, and red; but ſuch a flag had been totally neglected to be put on board at *Batavia*: the like occurrence happened to me before, when I ſailed to *Bengal*, in the year 1769. Of what uſe are ſignal flags of recognizance,

zance, if one is unprepared to hoiſt the anſwering ſignal? A ſhip's captain can never himſelf take the neceſſary care to be prepared for them; for the letter of inſtructions, containing theſe ſecret-ſignals, is put into his hands ſealed, with directions not to open it till in a certain latitude; as in *this inſtance*, I was not to open mine, till I had made the iſland *Bouro*.

Having got to about an eighth of a league from the point of *Alang*, the pilot of *Amboyna* came on board of us, with a written order from the governor of the province to pilot the ſhip into the bay.

This bay, which is formed by two large peninſulas, *Hitoe* and *Leytimor*, connected together, to the eaſtward, by a very narrow iſthmus, called the *Paſs of Baguewala*, and which conſtitute the iſland of *Amboyna*, is, at the entrance, between the points of *Alang* on *Hitoe* and *Noſanipe* on *Leytimor*, which lie eaſt and weſt from each other, ſcarcely two marine leagues over, and it gradually narrows as it goes farther in. It is only in ſome parts of it that there is any anchoring-ground, and then it is at no more than one cable's length from the ſhore,

ſhore, in thirty and more fathoms water; nearly the whole of the remainder is without ſoundings, not even with a line of one hundred fathoms: a conſtant current likewiſe ſets into the bay on one ſide, and out again on the other: this makes it very difficult to enter, eſpecially if you have not a leading wind: if you are becalmed, which is not unfrequently the caſe under the lee of high land, and get into the ſtream that runs out to ſea, you are ſoon driven entirely out of the bay by it, and may be in danger of being drifted to leeward of the iſland, and thereby of loſing the voyage entirely. The place where the ſhips anchor is cloſe to the Leytimor ſhore, under the guns of Fort *Victoria*, in twenty-five fathoms; it is three-fourths of a cable's length from the ſhore, and there is no ground a ſhip's length farther out.

We plied to and fro the whole of the following night, in order to work farther up the bay, the wind being N.E. and thus in our teeth.

On the morning of the 8th of March, at daybreak, we found ourſelves about half a league from the point of *Alang*, ſo that we

had advanced but little. The ſmall veſſels, which are called *corrocorros* and *orembays* *, ten or twelve of which had come to our aſſiſtance in the night, to tow us in, had been of very little ſervice; for the ſlighteſt puff of wind moved the ſhip faſter than they could row or paddle.

At noon we were at the *Laha*, which is a point that runs out from *Hitoe*, one Dutch mile from Fort *Victoria*: at two o'clock the deputies from the government at *Amboyna*, namely, the ſenior merchant, and ſecond, VILLENEUVE, and the fiſcal, SCHILLING, accompanied by the lady of the latter, and the lady of the captain commandant of the

* A *corrocorro* is a veſſel fitted with outriggers, having an high-arched ſtem and ſtern, like the points of a half-moon. They are chiefly uſed by the inhabitants of the *Molucca* iſlands, and the Dutch have fleets of them at *Amboyna*, which they employ as guardacoſtas. They have them from a very ſmall ſize, to above ten tons burthen. On the croſs-pieces, which ſupport the outriggers, are often put, fore and aft, planks, on which the people ſit and paddle, beſides thoſe who ſit in the veſſel on each gunnel. In ſmooth water they can be paddled very faſt, as many hands may be employed in different ranks, or rows. They are ſteered with two commoodies (broad paddles) and not with a rudder. When they are high out of the water they uſe oars; but on the outriggers they always uſe paddles. An *orembay* we conceive to be a ſmall *corrocorro*, without outriggers. T.

military,

military, VAN DER BRINKE, came on board, in order to congratulate the governor upon his ſafe arrival thus far, and to conduct him and his lady on ſhore.

We ſoon afterwards had a freſh breeze from the N.W. which carried us at three o'clock to the road, where we dropt our anchor in twenty-five fathoms, ſandy bottom. We ſaluted the fort with twenty-one guns, and were anſwered with the ſame number; at four o'clock Mr. VAN PLEUREN went on ſhore, with his family and the deputies, in a country-boat, upon the maſt of which a flag, with a pendant under it, was hoiſted, and we again ſaluted with twenty-one guns.

As ſoon as his excellency landed, he was received upon the pier by the ex-governor, VAN DER V——, together with the other members of the council of polity, with their ladies, and paſſing through a double file of native burghers, or mardykers, who were drawn up before the gate of the fort, he went into it, and out again at the landgate, where the whole garriſon ſtood under arms, and where likewiſe the Chineſe ſtood ranged in order with their little flags, to the houſe of Go-

vernor VAN DER V ——. As ſoon as he was ſeated, the garriſon fired three volleys, which was each time anſwered by a gun from the fort, as was alſo done upon the three volleys of the burghers, after which, a few more guns were fired from the fort, which concluded the ceremony of the day.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Account of AMBOYNA.—*Iſthmus of* BAGUEWALA.—*Project for cutting through it.*—*Abandoned when half completed.*—*Deſcription of the Bay of* AMBOYNA.—*Its natural Strength.*—*Difficulty of anchorage.*—*Road of Fort* VICTORIA.—*Currents ſetting in and out of the Bay.*—*Peninſulas of* LEYTIMOR *and* HITOE.—*Their Soil and Appearance.*

THE province of *Amboyna*, which is the firſt in rank among the poſſeſſions of the Company in India, becauſe it was the firſt which was ſubdued by their arms, comprizes eleven iſlands, both great and ſmall, or twelve, if the little iſland of *Molina* be taken into the account; theſe are, *Amboyna*, *Ceram*, *Bouro*, *Amblauw*, *Manipa*, *Kelang*, *Bonoa*, *Ceram-laut*, *Nouſſa-laut*, *Honimoa*, or

Sapparoua, and *Oma*, or *Harocha*; the three laſt of which are likewiſe called the *Uliaſſers*.

As, however, VALENTYN has been very ample in his account of this province, for which he had the beſt opportunities, as he reſided in it for ſeveral years, and, as his work is to be met with in moſt libraries *, I ſhall confine myſelf to ſome ſhort remarks, and to ſome particulars which I thought worthy of obſervation, and committed to paper, while I was there.

According to my own obſervation, the middle of the iſland of *Amboyna* lies in 3° 45′ ſouth latitude, and 145° eaſt of *Teneriffe*. It conſiſts of two peninſulas connected together by a narrow iſthmus of about three hundred and ſixty roods acroſs, which is called the Paſs of *Baguewala*, from a village, or negree, ſtanding near it, upon the peninſula of *Hitoe*, over againſt the negree of *Hoetoemoeroe*, upon that of *Leytimor*, which are the names given to the two peninſulas conſtituting the iſland of *Amboyna*.

* The work here alluded to, is a deſcription and hiſtory of the Eaſt-Indies, in Dutch, in five volumes folio, publiſhed at *Amſterdam* in 1724. *T.*

As

As the ſmall veſſels which go from the fort to the *Uliaſſers*, muſt, on account of this paſs, or iſthmus, take a great circuit, or elſe be dragged over it, Mr. PADBRUGGE, the governor of this province, about the year 1683, formed a deſign of cutting through the iſthmus entirely; nature ſeemed, as it were, to have pointed out the propriety of doing this, by the branch of a little river, which runs out of *Hitoe*, and is called *Matta-paſſo*, or the *eye of the paſs*, by the natives. The work was begun, from that place, to the eaſtward right acroſs the iſthmus, and it would ſoon have been crowned with complete ſucceſs, had not two idle fancies have been the cauſe of its interruption: the firſt was, that an idea was ſtarted, that as ſoon as this cut ſhould be effected, the currents would fall through it with ſuch violence into the bay of *Amboyna*, that the *Kaaimanſhoek*, or *Alligators* Point, which is a point of land, projecting far out from *Hitoe*, about the middle of the bay, would be waſhed away, and that ſhips would in conſequence be no more able to come near the fort; the other was, that the Amboyneſe, who were employed

work, refuſed to proceed farther with it, becauſe they made one another believe that in digging blood had been found to iſſue from the earth, which was an infallible ſign of fatal conſequences; and, however ridiculous the latter might be, it was not, by any means, poſſible to get them to go on. The former objection was ſcarcely leſs abſurd, as it appears undeniably, that the ſea, eaſtward of the paſs, is not at all more elevated than the water in the bay of *Amboyna*, as the intelligent engineer VON WAGNER, who has accurately ſurveyed both ſhores, has found, and aſſured me. There was thus not the leaſt probability that the currents could have fallen through this opening, and have had the evil effect which was ſo groundleſsly apprehended. This work of public utility, and of particular advantage to the Company, was therefore ſtopped, and no one has ſince thought of undertaking it anew; although Mr. VON WAGNER has even told me, that he has frequently demonſtrated how eaſy the cut could be completed, there being now no more than about ninety roods of land to cut through, yet always to no purpoſe.

The arm of the ſea, which is now included

cluded between theſe two peninſulas, bears the appellation of the *Bay of Amboyna*. I do not believe that there is any harbour in the world which is naturally ſo ſtrong as this. From the point of *Alang* to the *Paſs of Baguewala* it is about five leagues, but from the point of *Nouſſanivel* to the ſame ſpot, ſcarcely three and a half leagues, deep: the breadth is unequal; it is narroweſt between the point of the *Laha* and the oppoſite *Galghoek* or *Gallows* Point, where it is about one Dutch mile over, and between the *Kaaimans*, or *Alligators* Point, and that which projects eaſt of the land of little *Hativa*, where, at low water, by means of a rocky ſhoal on the *Leytimor*, and a ſand on the *Hitoe*, ſide, the paſſage is ſo contracted, that adventurous perſons have, more than once, croſſed it on horſeback, although the water between them is full eighty fathoms deep.

The direction of the bay, according to that in which the two peninſulas lie, which bend round and meet each other at the paſs, is N.E. and S.W.

The point of *Alang*, or the weſt point, on

on *Hitoe*, and that of *Nouſſanivel*, corruptly called *Noſanipe* by our ſeamen, or the eaſt point of the bay, lie about two leagues E.½S. and W.½N. from each other.

From the point of *Alang*, or paſt *Lillibooi*, to the point of the *Laha*, there is no anchoring-ground at all, except cloſe to the rocks which border the whole length of the ſhore, and upon which, eſpecially in the eaſt monſoon, a tremendous high ſurf continually breaks; but juſt paſt the point of the *Laha*, there is an inlet, or bay (*Laha* in the Amboyneſe language ſignifying a bay), in which a fleet of five-and-twenty ſhips can anchor in ſafety, particularly in the weſt monſoon, in twenty-five and thirty fathoms, good ſand ground; the anchorage is about a piſtolſhot from the ſhore, where, in caſe of neceſſity, ſhips may likewiſe be careened. This was the place where the Dutch fleet, under command of their admiral STEPHEN VAN DER HAGEN, lay at anchor, when, the day afterwards, they croſſed the bay, and took the Portugueſe fort.

From this inlet to the *Kaaimans* Point, there is again no anchorage, except upon the edge

edge of the beforementioned ſand, yet, in caſe of need, one might anchor near the paſs, cloſe to the *Matta-paſſo*.

On the oppoſite ſhore, along *Leytimor*, there is, without-ſide the bay, about half a league beyond the point of *Nouſſanivel*, a reef of about one league in length, on which one may likewiſe caſt anchor, in caſes of neceſſity, when apprehenſions are entertained of being driven paſt the bay by the currents, in twenty, eighteen, and fifteen fathoms, ſand ground. This anchoring-place, which is of great importance to the ſhips bound to *Amboyna*, is not laid down in the Company's charts of theſe parts, perhaps intentionally; but it is inſerted in that which is found in VALENTYN'S work: I alſo ſaw it pointed out in the laſt map which has been made of the bay of *Amboyna*. When I was at *Amboyna*, in the month of April, 1775, I ſaw a Chineſe veſſel lying at anchor upon it. Between the reef, however, and the land which forms the point of *Nouſſanivel*, the depth is again fathomleſs, and the ſhore is bold and rocky.

Paſt this point, on the inſide of *Leytimor*, there is a bend, the deepeſt part of which

which affords good anchorage, in the eaſt monſoon, but it is only quite cloſe to the ſhore. This is called the Portugueſe-bay, but I am ignorant why this name has been given to it.

Thence, till paſt the *Galgboek*, or *Gallows* Point, there is no tolerable anchorage; but you then come to the *Vrymans*, or *free merchants'*, road, which is juſt paſt that point, whence a ſmall rocky reef projects out into the channel; you muſt be particularly careful not to anchor too near to the point, for worms are ſo abundant at and near it, that in leſs than a month's time, not only the ſheathing, but likewiſe the planks of the veſſel's bottom, are completely eat through.

Upon this follows the road of Fort *New Victoria*, but here the anchoring-ground is equally cloſe in ſhore; for directly before the fort, and at one and a half cable's length off, there is no bottom with a line of ſeventy fathoms.

From this place to the point of little *Hativa* the ſhore is guarded by an uninterrupted range of ſunken rocks, which prevent all approach, and from theſe to the paſs,

paſs, there is likewiſe no riſing bottom, except cloſe to the ſhore. In the middle of the bay there are no ſoundings with a line of eighty, or one hundred fathoms.

The nature of this bay conſtitutes the ſtrength of the iſland. It is only in a few parts of it that there is any anchorage, and then always quite cloſe to the ſhore; and it would be a difficult matter for an enemy's fleet to enter it, and much more ſo to block it up. The *Laba* is the only place where ſhips can aſſemble, and this may be made ſo ſtrong that all fear of its being availed of might be diſmiſſed; this has, indeed, now been determined upon, as I ſhall have occaſion to notice farther on.

No rocks, or ſands, are to be met with in this bay, ſave thoſe which have been mentioned, and which lie near the ſhore.

As there is nothing of this kind to avoid, the whole art, therefore, of ſailing into, or out of, the bay, or of working into it, conſiſts herein, namely, always to keep well in with the windward ſhore, and never to fall farther off from it than midchannel. The windward ſhore is *Hitoe*, in the good or weſt monſoon,

monſoon, and *Leytimor* in the bad or eaſt monſoon.

The currents here are not regular; neither has the moon any conſtant, or equal, influence upon the tides; high and low water ſometimes occur once, and ſometimes twice, in four-and-twenty hours; the difference is from ſix to nine feet: one or two days before the full moon, the water is found to riſe the higheſt, and fall the loweſt.

It is a natural conſequence of this deep bay, although at *Amboyna* it is thought ſomething very ſingular, that, when the current ſets into it along *Hitoe*, it muſt run out, in an oppoſite direction, along *Leytimor*, and *vice verſa* in the contrary caſe.

Both the peninſulas, as well *Leytimor* as *Hitoe*, are very mountainous: on the former, the ſummits of *Soya*, and on the latter, thoſe of *Capaha*, tower above the reſt; they are almoſt entirely overgrown with trees and underwood, between which, at intervals, ſome clove-trees are planted and cultivated by the Amboyneſe. Theſe mountains, like moſt others, are in general rocky,

and

and covered with a ſtratum of earth, the depth of which is very various; in ſome places it is no more than three feet, or leſs, in others, it is twenty, or more, feet in depth; the ſoil is moſtly a reddiſh clay, and in the valleys, where there are no rocks, it is a little more blackiſh, and mixed with more particles of ſand.

CHAP-

CHAPTER II.

Climate of AMBOYNA.—*Monſoons.—Rivers.—Hills impregnated with Sulphur.—Soil.—Productions.—Plants.—Herbs.—Trees.—Cloves.—Extirpations of Clove-trees.—Cuſtom of the Amboyneſe to plant a Clove-tree upon the birth of a Child.—Nutmegs.—Cultivation of Pepper and Indigo.—Sugar and Coffee might likewiſe be produced.*

THIS, as well as all the other of the Company's poſſeſſions in the *Moluccas*, is ſituated in the torrid zone. During the three months which I ſpent at *Amboyna*, the medium height of a Fahrenheit's thermometer was between 80° and 82°; the greateſt heat was 91°, and the ſevereſt cold 72°; a difference which, in theſe parts, is ſo conſiderable, that if ſuch changes were to occur every day, it would, in my opinion, be exceedingly prejudicial to the conſtitution of the body: this is greatly occaſioned by the high mountains of *Soya*, at the foot of which Fort *New Victoria*, and the town of *Amboyna*

boyha are ſituated, whereby the rays of the ſun are impeded from ſhining upon theſe places, till it has been three quarters of an hour above the horizon; and on the other hand, at noon, when the ſun is to the north of the line, as was the caſe during my abode there, and its rays ſtrike againſt theſe mountains, which form, as it were, an amphitheatre, it cannot be, but that the heat muſt be greatly encreaſed by the reverberation; at leaſt, when I was at the *Laha*, which lies in a level plain on the oppoſite ſide, I did not perceive the exceſſive heat, which is felt at the fort.

The changes which occur, with reſpect to the weight of the atmoſphere, are not ſo great; during my ſtay of three months, they could ſcarcely be ſaid to amount to two lines, or to one-ſixth of an inch; neither rain, wind, or fine weather, ſeemed to have any influence in this reſpect.

The monſoons are exactly the contrary here, to what they are along the iſlands of *Java*, *Borneo*, *Bali*, *Lomboc*, *Sumbawa*, the weſt coaſt of *Celebes*, &c.; for when the ſoutheaſt monſoon prevails at thoſe places, it is accompanied by fine, dry, and pleaſant

weather, on which account this ſeaſon is called the good monſoon: whereas it is then the bad ſeaſon at *Amboyna*, *Ceram*, *Banda*, the eaſt coaſt of *Celebes*, and in the countries and ſeas lying between them; it then rains almoſt inceſſantly, accompanied by violent thunder and lightning, and ſudden whirlwinds, to which I have frequently been witneſs at *Amboyna*; but all this ceaſes, and turns to the fineſt weather, upon having paſſed the ſtrait which ſeparates *Saleyer* from *Celebes*.

Many rivers precipitate themſelves into the bay of *Amboyna*, from the mountains, though they only deſerve that appellation during the rainy, or bad, monſoon; for in the good ſeaſon they are mere rivulets, and many of them are nearly dry. I was witneſs to the remarkable difference occaſioned in them by the time of the year; for on my arrival, when the dry ſeaſon was not over, the four rivers, which run into the ſea, near the town and the adjacent villages, namely the *Way Tome*, the *Way Alla*, the *Way Nito*, and the *Bato Gadja*, or *Elephant*'s river, were, at that time, no more than rivulets, in which there was ſcarcely two or three feet water, but

at

at my departure, the continual heavy rains had ſo ſwelled them, that they carried away in one night the ſtrongeſt and largeſt bridges, thirty and more feet in length, that were thrown over them, or at leaſt damaged them very conſiderably.

Minerals are not met with here, though ſome of the hills yield abundance of good brimſtone, with which their whole ſurface is incruſtated. There is one, in particular, on the peninſula of *Hitoe*, which is famous on that account, and is thence called *Wawani*, or *Brimſtone*-hill. The hills likewiſe to the north of *Soeli* begin, as it is ſaid, to yield ſulphur.

A tough reddiſh clay is found in ſome parts, of which bricks are made, which are as good as thoſe made in Holland.

Salutary plants and medicinal herbs are not wanting here, with which, I was told, many diſorders and infirmities are cured. Amongſt others the *boati* * is ſaid to have a ſingular

* The *Boa-ati*, which ſignifies *heart-fruit-tree*, becauſe its fruit is in the ſhape of a heart, is called by the Ternateſe *Soolámoo*, denoting a *panacea*, or *univerſal medicine*, being held as a ſovereign remedy in almoſt all diſorders by the Indians;

a ſingular antifebrile efficacy. Then there is the *cajeput*-tree *, from the leaves of which the hot and ſtrong oil, called cajeput-oil, is diſtilled. The *ſaſſafras*-tree †, the bark of which yields the coſtly *Coelilawang* ‡, and

its fruit is ſo extremely bitter, that it is generally called the *king of bitterneſs*; VALENTYN ſays, that, infuſed in brandy, or other ſpirits, it is good for colic, pleuriſy, and other diſorders; and that when uſed for an ague, four or five of the kernels are taken: it is alſo uſed with ſucceſs as an antidote againſt poiſon, acting, in the firſt inſtance, as a ſtrong emetic: THUNBERG ſays it is uſed pounded, in the colic, both by the Malays, and the Javaneſe. *T.*

* *Malaleuca leucadendra.* VALENTYN deſcribes four different ſorts of *cajeput*, or properly *cajoe poeteh*-trees, ſignifying *white-wood-trees*; it is from the *little cajoe-poeteh*-tree, that the oil in queſtion is diſtilled; Dr. THUNBERG calls it a famous and excellent oil; when taken internally, it is a great ſudorific, and five or ſix drops is the largeſt doſe that is given; externally applied, it is excellent in all caſes of ſtiffneſs, or palſy. *T.*

† *Laurus ſaſſafras*, but a different ſpecies from the *ſaſſafras*-tree of *America*. *T.*

‡ *Coelit-lawang* is the Amboyneſe name of the tree, and ſignifies clove-bark, and the Engliſh likewiſe call the bark by the ſame appellation of clove-bark; it is of a greyiſh caſt, and when upon the tree is ſmooth, but when dried it becomes rough and ſhrivelled; it is red within, and that taken from the bottom of the tree has a ſtrong clove ſmell and taſte, but higher up it is not ſo ſtrong, and is more aſtringent; it is dried in the ſun, and muſt be kept in an airy place; it is much more

and its roots the ſaſſafras-oil. Not to ſay any thing of the clove and nutmeg-trees, for which this iſland and the *Uliaſſers* are famous.

The wood which is called *Amboyna*-wood, or properly *Lingoa*-wood *, is moſtly produced

more eſteemed than the *Maſſoy*-bark, though its flavour and ſmell ſooner decay. The very excellent and penetrating oil extracted from this bark, is almoſt as fine as oil of cloves, and poſſeſſes the ſame qualities: the Dutch Company reſerved to themſelves the extraction of *coelit-lawang* oil, and prohibited individuals from diſtilling it, upon a penalty of five hundred rixdollars. *T.*

* Of the *Lingoa*-wood VALENTYN deſcribes three ſorts, the red, the white, and the ſtone-hard *lingoa*. The red *lingoa* is a high and ſtately tree, with a thick trunk, ſmooth ſappy branches, and long leaves of a bright green colour. Many limbs of the root appear above ground, and theſe afford the moſt beautiful pieces of timber. The wood of the tree is whitiſh immediately under the bark, but grows red towards the center, and is of ſo deep a tint, that it has by ſome been taken for red ſandal-wood, though it is much coarſer grained; it has a pleaſant ſpicy ſmell, and is ſometimes made up into ſmall articles; but, together with the white *lingoa*, it is more generally uſed for rafters, and beams in houſes, and for all kinds of carpentering. The white *lingoa* has a larger and longer leaf, the wood is of a much paler hue, and of a more open and coarſer texture. The third ſort, or ſtone *lingoa*, has a ſmaller and rounder leaf, and is a much harder and cloſer-grained wood than either of the others; it is ſeldom met with but in the high mountains of *Ceram*; it is a very heavy wood,

duced in *Ceram*; as is the *Salmoni*-wood *, which is yet more beautiful, but is too ſcarce to be uſed for building, the timber for which is moſtly brought from *Java*, though the *Jati*-wood † is likewiſe propagated here with tolerable ſucceſs; but a ſufficient quantity has not yet been reared, to ſupercede the neceſſity of a ſupply of timber from *Java*.

There are many other ſpecies of wood, beſides the above, the half of which I am

and ſinks like a ſtone in water. The *lingoa*-wood is ſuſceptible of the higheſt poliſh, and its beautiful appearance, when manufactured, is deſcribed by VALENTYN in the moſt glowing colours. *T.*

* The *Salmoni*, or *Salemoeli*-tree, as VALENTYN calls it, affords a moſt beautiful wood; it reſembles walnut-tree-wood in colour, but is veined and variegated in a much handſomer manner; the planks obtained from it are ſeldom more than one foot and a half in breadth, though ſometimes ſome are got of two, and two and a half, feet broad, and four feet long. It is alſo called baſtard-ebony. *T.*

† The *jati*, or teak-tree, as it is called in the weſtern parts of India, has its firſt name from a Javaneſe word, ſignifying *durable*. It is the pride of the eaſtern woods, and one of the higheſt and largeſt trees of the foreſt. There are two ſorts, which, by the timber they yield, are diſtinguiſhed by the names of male and female; the former is the darkeſt in hue, and very veiny; it is eaſier to be wrought than the latter, which is paler and leſs veiny. *T.*

entirely

entirely unacquainted with; they are amply deſcribed by VALENTYN.*

* "A conception may be formed," ſays VALENTYN, "of "the great plenty of timber-trees of all kinds at *Amboyna*, for "the conſtruction of ſhips and houſes, and for the fineſt and "moſt coſtly articles of furniture, from the circumſtance that "Mr. RUMPHIUS (author of the *Hortus Amboinenſis*) had "procured a little cabinet to be made, which was inlaid with "nearly four hundred ſorts of only the choiceſt and hand-"ſomeſt woods, and which, together with other curioſities, "that gentlemen ſent as a preſent, in the year 1682, to the "great Duke of *Tuſcany*, COSMO the Third. If then there "are ſo many ſorts of fine and choice woods fit for ve-"neering, how many muſt not the common ſorts be!" He particularly deſcribes a great number, among which are ſeveral different ſpecies of the ebony-tree; the iron-tree; the caſuarina; the wild clove-tree; the *ſamama* tree, which is a baſtard ſort of teak; the *nani*-tree, which yields a timber that is almoſt imperiſhable; the Chineſe uſe it for anchors and rudders; it withſtands all weathers, and yields but ſlowly to the powerful agency of fire; it is, however, on account of its hardneſs, very difficult to be wrought: the *cajoe-languit*-tree, which has received the proud title of the *tree of heaven*, or of *the firmament*, as it ſeems to lift its lofty and ſpreading ſummit to the clouds; &c. At the concluſion of his account of the trees of *Amboyna*, he aſſures the reader, that the moſt laborious exertion of a long life would not ſuffice to become acquainted with all the trees which grow on the lofty and woody mountains, the extenſive and impenetrable foreſts, of *Amboyna*, and that the vaſt number which he has noticed, ſeventy-two of which he gives repreſentations of, are but a ſmall portion of the whole. *T.*

Of the products of the country, considered as articles of trade, the first rank is occupied by its staple commodity, cloves. The tree * on which they grow, is too well, and

* *Caryophyllus.* The clove is produced on a very handsome tree, somewhat resembling a large pear-tree; its stem is straight, and at the distance of five feet from the ground its branches begin; the bark is thin and smooth, and adheres closely to the wood; the wood is heavy and hard; the leaves stand two and two opposite, they are about a handbreadth in length, and two inches broad, pointed, ribbed and reddish on the upper, but smooth and of a bright green colour on the under side, they have a very aromatic smell when bruised between the fingers. When a tree is nine years old, and has been well attended to, it begins to yield cloves; they appear in the beginning of the rainy season; they are then little dark-green longish buds, and become perfect cloves in shape in the month of August, or September; they then turn yellow, and afterwards red, which is the time for gathering them; if they are suffered to remain three or four weeks longer, they swell and become what are called mother-cloves, which are proper for propagation, or for candying, but not for drying as a spice. The cloves grow on separate stalks, but in bunches of three or more together. VALENTYN describes four sorts: that which he calls the male clove, is the sort used for drying; the female produces cloves of a pale colour, which are the best for extracting of oil; the king's clove is a very scarce species, bearing larger and double cloves; he mentions one tree of this kind that stood in the island *Machian*, and a few others that were discovered in 1668, and 1682, in *Hative* and in *Hitoe*: the fourth sort are called rice-cloves;

and too minutely deſcribed by VALENTYN, than that I ſhould be required to do it here.

Two large crops of cloves never ſucceed each other; if the crop be one year very large, that of the next year will be ſmall: the firſt generally takes place in uncommon dry ſeaſons; and epidemical fevers are then very prevalent.

When the cloves are almoſt ripe, they muſt be ſoon gathered, or they ſhoot out in a few days, into mother-cloves. The cloves which are dried over the fire, inſtead of in the ſun, are not good; theſe may be diſtinguiſhed by their colour, being more inclining to black, and that they bend be-

cloves; they are very ſmall, but likewiſe very rare: the clove produced upon the wild clove-tree, has no kind of ſpicyneſs. At the time of gathering the cloves, the ground is carefully ſwept under the trees, that none may be loſt; they are generally pulled off by long hooks. The uſual time of the clove-crop is in October, and it laſts till December. The oil of cloves is well known in the Materia Medica; an hundred weight of cloves uſed to be employed in former times to procure a quart of oil, but that quantity is now drawn from forty pounds, though it is in conſequence not ſo powerful: the extraction of the oil is ſtrictly prohibited by the Dutch Company to all individuals. T.

tween

tween the fingers; while thoſe which are properly dried, are, on the contrary, not flexible, but brittle, and ſnap aſunder upon being filliped with the finger; they are alſo of a reddiſh caſt.

The crop of cloves depends much upon the temperature of the weather, in the months of June and September. An after-crop is ſometimes made, but the time is uncertain, and it does not often happen.

Although this ſpice is not an indigenous production of *Amboyna*, but a native of the *Molucca* iſlands proper, whence it was brought hither ſome centuries ago *, it proſpers exceedingly

* A ſhort time before the coming of the Portugueſe in *Amboyna*, the Cerammers of *Cambello* ſecretly brought ſome mother-cloves in hollow bamboos from *Machian*, whence they were propagated all over *Ceram*, *Amboyna*, and the neighbouring iſlands, and in the ſpace of fifty or ſixty years the whole of *Hoewamoebil* was covered with them. This was told to the Dutch when they firſt came to *Cambello*, and ſome of the trees firſt planted were ſhewn to them, behind the hill of *Maſſili*; the memory of it is likewiſe preſerved in the traditionary ſongs of the Amboyneſe. The brave and enterprizing inhabitants of *Cambello*, were rewarded for the openneſs with which they ſhewed the Dutch their treaſures, by the deſtruction of all their clove-trees, and the deprivation of the fruits of their induſtry, and exertion; the implacable enmity

ceedingly well here, and eſpecially upon the iſlands of *Honimoa*, *Oma*, and *Nouſſa-laut*, commonly called the *Uliaſſers*, which, together with *Amboyna*, are the only ſpots where the Company allow it to be cultivated *, and they conſtantly cauſe it to be deſtroyed in every other place within their

enmity which they in conſequence entertained for the Dutch, and their repeated attacks upon the forts, their enemies eſtabliſhed in their country, have been ſtigmatized by the Dutch writers, as a baſe and wicked ſpirit of diſobedience, and an *unjuſt* and cruel luſt of blood and warfare; "ſo that," ſays VALENTYN, "it would have been better, if, inſtead of extir-"pating their trees alone, we had, at the ſame time, exter-"minated this revengeful and ſanguinary nation." *T.*

* I believe too, that whatever pains foreign nations may take to propagate theſe ſpice-trees in other places, they will never ſucceed, except in the neighbourhood of the *Moluccas*, unleſs in ſimilar countries, ſituated in the ſame latitudes, which, like theſe, heated by ſubterraneous fires, afford, by the action of this natural laboratory, ſufficient heat to the ſpice-trees, to give their fruit their ſtrong pungent and aromatic flavour. *S.*

The clove-tree has, however, been ſucceſsfully introduced in the Weſt-India iſlands, and though the quantities hitherto brought from them, have been very inſignificant, yet their conſtant increaſe ſuffices to ſhew, that the culture is in an improving ſtate; in 1797, 350*lbs.* were imported to London from *Martinico*, and in the preſent year 200*lbs.* from that iſland, and 2,981*lbs.* from *St. Kitts*. *T.*

reach,

reach, eſpecially on little *Ceram*, or *Hoewa-moehil* *; excluſive of the extirpations which take place, from time to time, in the ſpice-iſlands themſelves, in order to moderate the great abundance of the article, with which their warehouſes overflow, both at *Batavia* and in *Holland*.

Thus, the ſupreme Indian government ordered by their letter, of the 26th of December, 1769, that the number of clove-trees ſhould not be allowed to exceed five hundred thouſand †, and it was further ordered, in the year 1773, that fifty thouſand more ſhould be deſtroyed, ſo that at preſent (1775), after three extirpations, the number of clove-trees, as near as could

* *Hoewamoehil* is a peninſula joined to *Ceram* by an iſthmus, called the Paſs of *Tanoeno*; it was not only very fertile in clove-trees, but produced likewiſe large quantities of nutmeg-trees; of theſe laſt, what was called *the great nutmeg-tree foreſt*, was deſtroyed in 1667, and in another place 3,300 nutmeg-trees. *T.*

† One hundred and twenty-five clove-trees are allowed to a plantation, or *douſſon*, as it is called by the Amboyneſe, and of theſe there are 4000, which makes the number of 500,000 trees. *T.*

be

be aſcertained, amounts to 513,268; whereof

320,491 fruit-bearing trees
104,866 half-grown
87,911 young plants

513,268

beſides 22,310 *tatanamangs*, which are trees that are not comprehended in the clove-plantations, but ſtand interſperſed here and there, near the houſes. Every Amboyneſe plants ſuch a clove-tree when a child is born to him, in order, by a rough calculation, to know their age. Although they do not oppoſe the extirpation of the clove-trees in the plantations, when the Company think it fit, yet to touch their *tatanamangs* would ſpeedily be the cauſe of a general inſurrection among them: this was manifeſt on the occaſion of one of the laſt extirpations, when the extirpators, ignorantly, at leaſt as they pretended, cut down ſome *tatanamangs*. The whole country was immediately up; and had not the then governor, VAN DER V——, ſpeedily provided againſt it, they would have deſtroyed all the other clove-trees, ſet fire to their habitations, and flying

to

to the mountains, they would thus have withdrawn themſelves from their obedience to the Company.

I have been aſſured that a clove-tree will continue to bear fruit for the ſpace of eighty years*.

Beſides the clove, nutmeg-trees likewiſe grow here with tolerable luxuriance; but they are all deſtroyed, by the orders of the government, whenever they are found†.

In

* VALENTYN mentions a clove-tree upon *Hoewamoebil*, that was known to be one hundred and thirty years old, and to have yielded in one ſeaſon two bhars, or 1,100 *lb.* of cloves. *T.*

† As we had no opportunity, in the ſhort account given of the iſlands of *Banda* in the firſt volume, to deſcribe the nutmeg-tree, it may be well to introduce an account of it here. The *myriſtica moſchata*, or true nutmeg, is a handſome and ſpreading tree; the bark is ſmooth, and of a browniſh-grey colour; the leaves are eliptical, pointed, obliquely nerved, on the upper ſide of a bright green, on the under, whitiſh, and ſtand alternately upon footſtalks; they afford a moſt grateful aromatic ſcent when bruiſed. If a branch of the tree be broken off, a ſap runs out of it, which is of great prejudice to the tree; and it never thrives well afterwards. It does not bear fruit till its eighth or ninth year. When it begins to produce fruit, little yellowiſh buds make their appearance, out of which ſmall white flowers are blown, hanging two or three together, upon ſlender pedunclés; in the center of the flower is an oblong reddiſh knob, from which the fruit is produced, though no more than one bloſſo

In proportion, as the clove-trees were more and more eradicated, the government at

bloſſom out of three commonly ripens to a nutmeg. The fruit is eight or nine months arriving at maturity; but bloſſoms and ripe fruit are found at the ſame time upon the ſame tree, and the nutmegs are generally gathered three times in a year. The fruit appears like a ſmall peach, both in ſhape and in colour, only it is pointed towards the ſtalk; when it is ripe, the outer coat, which is almoſt half an inch thick, opens and ſhews the nutmeg, in its black and ſhining ſhell, encircled by a network of ſcarlet mace; the outer coat is generally whitiſh, a little hard, and is very good preſerved in ſugar, or ſtewed; you then come to the mace, which is of a fine bright red colour, and under it a black ſhell, about as thick as that of a filbert, but very hard; it is opened by being firſt dried ſucceſſively in five different *petaks*, or drying-places, made of ſplit bamboos, upon which the nutmegs are laid, and placed over a ſlow fire; in each of theſe petaks they remain a week, till the nutmegs are heard to ſhake within the ſhell, which is then eaſily broken; the nutmegs are then ſorted and delivered to the Company; each ſort is then ſeparately put in baſkets, and ſoaked three times in tubs with ſea-water, much impregnated with lime; they are then put into diſtinct cloſets, where they are left for ſix weeks, to ſweat; this is done that the lime, by cloſing the pores of the nuts, may prevent their ſtrength from evaporating, and likewiſe becauſe ſuch a prepared nutmeg is not fit for propagation. Some trees afford longer, and ſome rounder, nutmegs, but which are of the ſame quality; the long ones are called male nutmegs; but there are likewiſe wild male nutmegs, which have little flavour, and are not valued. The Bandaneſe enumerate ſeveral ſorts of nutmegs, but they appear only varieties in the fruit of the ſame tree. The *myriſtica fatua*, or wild nutmeg, grows in all the Eaſtern iſlands; it ſeems to have been

this

at *Batavia* began to think on the means of giving the Amboyneſe an equivalent for the diminution of that production, as the crop of cloves brought but little money into circulation, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, of which I ſhall ſay more hereafter. For that purpoſe, his excellency, governor MOSSEL, propoſed, in his *Secret Conſiderations on the State of India*, offered to the gentlemen in authority at home, under the head of *Amboyna*, to encourage the cultivation of pepper and indigo there, as much as poſſible, in order to furniſh a better means of ſubſiſtence to the natives; but the little inclination which the rulers of *Amboyna* have ſhewn to comply with this propoſal, and the little attention they have beſtowed upon the ſubject, or, as they allege in their own exculpation, the indolence of the Amboyneſe, have almoſt wholly fruſtrated the attempts which have been made in this line.

The

this ſort that FORREST obtained at *Dory* harbour in *New Guinea*, and planted on the iſland of *Burwoot*; it is produced likewiſe in the *Weſt-Indies*, at the iſland of *Tobago*. An eſſential oil is extracted both from nutmegs and from mace; it is reckoned that three *catti* of *Banda*, making about ſeventeen pounds and a quarter, Amſterdam weight, yield about a quart of oil. *T.*

The indigo that is produced upon *Leytimor* is thought to be much better than that of *Buro*; a pound of the former ſtands the company in ſix gilders *; but it is very little inferior in point of brilliancy of tint to Pruſſian blue.

The government then adopted the mode of taking it by contract, promiſing to pay forty-eight ſtivers for the firſt, thirty-ſix for the ſecond, and twenty-four for the third or worſt ſort †; but neither did this ſucceed, while its failure is equally attributed to the lazineſs of the natives.

The following quantities were delivered to the company, in 1748, and 1749, according to the report of Governor ROOZEBOOM;

	from *Hila*.	from *Bouro*.
1748 .	185 *lb*.	281 *lb*.
1749 .	200 *lb*.	225½ *lb*.
	385 *lb*.	506½ *lb*.
		385
		In all 891½ *lb*.

* About 11*s*. ſterling. *T*.

† About 4*s*. 4*d*. for the firſt, 3*s*. 3*d*. for the ſecond, and 2*s*. 8*d*. for the third ſort. *T*.

The cultivation of pepper in *Bouro* ſucceeded no better, though the pepper-vine, it is ſaid, grows very well there, and produces a large corn; but which is not of ſo hard a ſubſtance, nor ſo ſtrong a flavour, as that of *Bantam*, or the *Malabar* coaſt.

I am much ſurprized that the government has not hitherto taken any pains to proſecute the cultivation of the ſugar-cane in the iſlands of *Amboyna*, for it grows as luxuriantly, and as full of ſap here, as in *Java*, or any where elſe; which I know, by having frequently ſeen and examined the canes which have been planted here and there by the ſlaves for their own uſe. This would not only alleviate the poverty of the Amboyneſe, as their clove-trees are deſtroyed from year to year, but it would, on the other hand, be no leſs profitable to the Company, as the article would be conveyed hence, without any additional expence, by the clove-ſhips, on board of which it could be ſtowed as a lower tier, and ſerve for ballaſt. Perhaps, however, this has never been put in practice, in order that the competition of the ſugars from *Amboyna* might not be of prejudice to the ſugar-works of *Jaccatra*, in which

which perhaps the gentlemen in the direction of affairs are intereſted.

Coffee likewiſe grows here in ſufficient luxuriance to encourage the Amboyneſe in the cultivation of it; and the quality of *it* is, by no means, inferior to that of *Java*.

CHAPTER III.

Deſcription of the Sago-tree, and of the Manner in which the Sago is prepared.—The Ela.—Sago-bread.—Gabbe-gabba.—Atap.—Sago-woods of the Company.—Fruits.—The Sagwire-tree, and the Liquor drawn from it.—Animals.—Deer.—Wild Hogs.—Babi-rouſſa, or Hog-deer.—Fiſhes.—Wonderful Stories of the Amboyneſe.—A Fiſh called Jacob Evertſen.—Reptiles.—Snakes.—Domeſtic Animals.

THOUGH the clove-tree yields the richeſt production of this iſland, the *Sago*-tree is of much greater utility to the Amboyneſe.

This production, which a wiſe Providence has beſtowed as an univerſal article of food upon the inhabitants of *Amboyna*, *Ceram*, and the ſurrounding iſlands eaſt of *Celebes*, (for on *Celebes* it grows not *, though it is again found in *Borneo*, where on the contrary, rice, as a primary article of food, is wanting) propagates itſelf by offsets, or ſhoots, which for a long time appear only

* Other travellers inform us that the ſago likewiſe grows on *Celebes*, eſpecially, and in much abundance, at the bottom of *Bugguſi*-bay. *T.*

like

like buſhes *, and which all proceed from the roots, or from the bottom of the trunk of a full-grown tree.

I ſhall not ſet down all that appeared to me worthy of obſervation, on the ſubject of this tree, as VALENTYN, in his deſcription of the trees and plants of *Amboyna*, is ample in his account of it; but I ſhall only make mention of what he has not noticed.

The ſtem, when it begins to form itſelf out of the buſh, ſhoots up, as ſtraight as an arrow, to the height of between forty and ſixty feet, without any lateral branches, juſt like the ſiri, and cocoa-nut-trees, to which genus it likewiſe belongs, forming a handſome crown at the top, which affords an agreeable ſhade.

A grove of theſe trees, with their erected ſtems, which, when arrived at maturity, conſiſt of nothing but a ſpongy and mealy ſubſtance, ſurrounded by a hard bark, of about half an inch thick, and their beautiful leafy crowns, have a very charming appearance, and form a pleaſant and cool retreat.

* Yet theſe buſhes are about fifteen or ſixteen feet in height. *T.*

This white, ſpongy, and mealy ſubſtance is the ſago, which ſerves the natives in lieu of bread *.

As the manner in which I have ſeen the ſago *poekeled*, or made into meal, differs in ſome reſpects from that which VALENTYN relates, I ſhall here ſhortly particularize it.

A tree is firſt made choice of, the pith of which it is certain has attained its full maturity, and this is perceived by its beginning to be of a yellowiſh-white caſt juſt under the foliage †. The ſtem is then cut through as cloſe to the ground as poſſible, in order to loſe the leſs of the farinaceous contents,

* The ſago-tree does not produce any fruit, till it has loſt its ſtrength, and is about to die, when the branches likewiſe appear covered with meal; it then produces at the top, a bunch of ſmall fruit, like pigeon's eggs, which are firſt green, and afterwards yellow; the kernel is very aſtringent. It delights in wet and moraſſy ſituations, and will not grow except in low grounds. It does not live above thirty years. *T.*

† They likewiſe ſometimes try it by chopping a hole in the tree, out of which they take ſome of the pith to examine whether it be ripe enough; if not, they cloſe the hole again, but elſe they immediately fell the tree, as if ſuffered to remain too long, and till it produces fruit, they know that the pith will turn entirely into green filaments, and yield no ſago. *T.*

When

When the tree is thus felled, it is cut through in the middle of its length, into two or more pieces, and the hard bark of each piece is ſplit aſunder by the inſertion of wedges; the ſago then appears uncovered, juſt like the ſpungy ſubſtance in our elder-trees. They then make a certain inſtrument, reſembling an adze, out of one of the branches of the tree they have felled, with which they looſen the ſago all round from the bark, and reduce it to the appearance of ſawduſt.

The whole tree being thus *poekeled* out, the raw ſago is put, by portions, into a trough, like a canoe, and water is poured upon it, and well mixed with the ſago, by which means the meal is ſeparated from the filaments.

Theſe filaments, which might be denominated the bran of the ſago, are called *ela*, and are made uſe of to feed hogs, poultry, &c.

The water, thus impregnated with the ſago-meal, having ſtood ſtill for ſome time, the meal ſubſides, by its own weight, to the bottom, the water is then poured off, and it is a ſecond time purified in the ſame manner;

ner; after this, the wet meal is laid upon flat wicker-baſkets, to dry, and it is then kneaded together, and into little cakes of three inches long, two inches broad, and half an inch thick; finally, it is put into moulds of the ſame ſize and ſhape, and baked over the fire, till it is done enough, and becomes dry and hard. *

The taſte of the ſago-bread does not much vary from that of the *Caſſava*, or *Manioc*, of the Weſt-Indies; but it appeared to me to be more nutritive; it is not unpleaſant to eat, when it has been firſt a little ſoaked, and afterwards fried in butter; yet it is very difficult of digeſtion.

The fineſt part of the meal is mixed with water, and the paſte is rubbed into little round grains, like ſmall ſhot, and dried. This preparation is not diſagreeable in ſoups, in lieu of Italian macaroni: the ſago that is

* The mould, or oven, for baking ſago-bread is made of earthen ware; it is generally nine inches ſquare, and about four deep, divided into two equal parts by a partition parallel to its ſides. Each of thoſe parts is ſubdivided into eight or nine, about an inch broad, ſo that the whole contains two rows of cells, about eight or nine in a row. The oven is turned firſt on one ſide and afterwards on the other, upon the fire, and the cakes are ſufficiently baked in about ten or twelve minutes. *T.*

produced

produced in *Borneo* is eſteemed the beſt for this purpoſe.

A preparation is likewiſe made of this fineſt part of the meal, which is called *popeda*, and has much reſemblance to the porridge of buckwheat-meal which is made in *Holland*, but it is much more gelatinous. This is eat off of little ſticks, which being dipped into the *popeda*, take with them a part of it which adheres to them; they are then dipped in fiſh-broth, and, together with a little fiſh, conſtitute the beſt diſh of the Amboyneſe, and even of thoſe who are deſcendants of Europeans.

A *toma*, or twenty-five pounds weight, of ſago-meal, is ſold here, in general, for ſeven or eight ſtivers; and an ordinary tree, which can commonly be *poekeled* from its twelfth to its twentieth year, yields five or ſix hundred pounds of it.

Beſides the farinaceous part for food, the ſago-tree yields other things of utility to the Indians.

The ſtem or bark, after the meal has been *poekeled* out, is made uſe of by the natives, to form little bridges, over rivulets, or little creeks.

What are called the branches, which are chan-

channelled on the upper ſide, and convex on the under, ſerve alſo ſometimes for the ſame purpoſe; but the chief uſe which the Amboyneſe make of them is for the walls and roofs of their houſes, and for packing-caſes, &c. This article is called *gabbe-gabba*.

The leaves, laced together, form what is called *atap*, and ſerve inſtead of tiles for covering of houſes, and to preſerve things from the rain; but roofs of *atap* muſt be renewed every ſix or ſeven years *.

Although

* The ſago-tree has, like all the trees of the palm-kind, a cabbage, which is eaten by the natives, though it is not ſo good or wholeſome as that of the *aneebong*, or proper cabbage-palm. When a ſago-tree has been felled, the *ela*, or refuſe, is frequently left in the woods, and the wild hogs fatten upon it; a kind of muſhrooms, which are much eſteemed by the natives, grow upon the heaps of *ela*. The ſago-tree is even of benefit after it has been deprived of its pith, and left to rot where it was felled; for when rotten, a ſort of very fat white worms, called *ſago-worms*, with brown heads, are found in it, which the Indians roaſt, and think a great delicacy. A computation has been made by FORREST of how many perſons may live on an acre planted with ſago-trees. A ſago-tree he allows to take up 100 ſquare feet; now the contents of an acre are 43,500 ſquare feet, which allows 435 trees to grow within that ſpace; but ſuppoſing only 300, and that, one with another, they give 300 weight of flour, then three trees, or 900 weight, would maintain one man for a year, and an acre to be cut down

Although the ſago-tree grows on almoſt all the iſlands of this province, it is upon that of *Hoewamoehil*, or *Little Ceram*, that the largeſt woods of it are found, of which the Company reſerve the property to themſelves, and annually diſpoſe of their produce to their own emolument. The woods of *Loeboe* and *Hanitello* yielded to the Company, in one year, according to the report of Governor ROOZEBOOM, the quantity of 1067*lb.* It is diſtinguiſhed into three ſorts, which the Company have reſpectively ſold at the following prices:

the *maha poetey*, or beſt ſort, at 1 rix-dollar per *lb.*

the *majou baroe*, or ſecond ſort, at ¾ rix-dollar per pound,

down would maintain 100 men for the ſame time; now, as ſago-trees are ſeven years a-growing, 100 divided by ſeven, will allow fourteen men to be maintained for a year on the produce of one-ſeventh part of an acre, immediately, or on the produce of a whole acre, progreſſively cut, one-ſeventh part at a time, allowing freſh trees to ſprout up. By Dr. FORSTER's computation, ten or twelve perſons live eight months upon the produce of an acre planted with bread-fruit-trees, at *Otaheite*. *T.*

the

the *ſeri boa*, or third ſort, at ½ rixdollar per pound *.

In how far now theſe ſago-woods of *Little Ceram* are a ſource of revenue to the governor of *Amboyna*, I will not here examine into.

Fruits and vegetables for food, or refreſhment, are but ſcarce. The ſhaddock †, which is by no means as good as at *Batavia*, a few ſweet oranges, mangos ‡, mangoſteens §, the bilembing ‖, and watermelons, are al-

* The inconſiſtency of this paragraph with what has gone before, muſt be aſcribed to ſome very material errors of the preſs, in numercial characters, in the original; the quantity of 1067 *lb.* of ſago is barely the produce of two trees, according to what has preceded, and therefore is palpably abſurd as applied to the produce of *the largeſt woods*; ſuppoſing it even ought to have been printed 106,700, if would fall conſiderably ſhort of what that expreſſion would lead us to expect, as it would then be no more than the produce of about 200 trees. How, too, ſhall we reconcile the prices of 1¼, and ¼, rixdollar per pound, with that of ſeven or eight ſtivers for twenty-five pounds? No clue has been found in any of the writers conſulted to ſolve theſe difficulties, and there was therefore no alternative to leaving the text as it ſtands in the original. *T.*

† *Citrus decumanus.*

‡ *Mangifera indica.*

§ *Garcinia mangoſtana.*

‖ *Averrhoa belimbi.*

moſt

moſt the only fruits, and they are not very abundant. The few vegetables which grow here, require infinitely more attention in rearing them than at *Batavia*.

The *ſagwire* is a liquor drawn from a tree, which, according to the little knowledge I have of botany, belongs to the ſame genus with the cocoa-nut, ſago, ſiri, and date-trees. It is of the ſame nature as the toddy, or palmwine.

When it firſt comes from the tree, it is clear, and looks much like pure water. Its taſte is ſweet, but refreſhing. It becomes acidulated by degrees, and at laſt turns quite ſour, which, however, can be prevented by preparing it by means of a certain bitter wood *, which being put into it preſerves it good for a long time: although it then loſes its pleaſant taſte, and turns thickeſt, looking like orgeade, or almond-milk, it is eſteemed more wholeſome, and has an inebriating quality; it is afterwards kept in bottles well worked.

* For this purpoſe the roots of a tree called the *ſoſoet*-tree are uſed, which occaſion a fermentation in the *ſagwire*, and in about eight hours, make it fit for keeping. T.

The

The tree which yields this liquor, has always a faded appearance, with many yellow, dead leaves, which look much like thoſe of the ſago-tree. One of theſe leaves, or rather branches, is cut off, and the *ſagwire* trickles out of it by drops, which are caught in a bamboo, hung under it for that purpoſe, and when this is full, the contents are drawn off, by a tap at the bottom; this operation is called *tyffering*.

The woods are filled with deer, and with wild hogs, the fleſh of which animals is almoſt the only meat that is eaten here. It is uſed freſh, ſalted, and dried: in the laſt manner, it is called *dingding*; it is broiled a little over the fire, and eaten with rice: it is a chief article of food of the Europeans, and the Amboyneſe eat it likewiſe when they can afford to purchaſe it.

Among the wild animals, which inhabits the woods of the iſland *Bouro*, there is one which bears the name of *babi-rouſſa*, or the *hog-deer*; it has been fully deſcribed by VALENTYN, who has given us a repreſentation of it; but it appeared to me, when I compared the figure with one of the animals alive,

alive, that its legs were longer than they are there repreſented*.

The bay uſed formerly to abound in fiſh; but they are not ſo plentiful now, on account of the violent earthquake of the year 1754. Moſt of the fiſh that are found here are peculiar to theſe ſeas.

* The *bábi-rouſſa*, which is a Malay appellation, ſignifying hog-deer, partakes, as its name denotes, of the nature both of the hog and of the deer. The chief ſingularity of the animal conſiſts in two of its upper teeth being curved round, and, penetrating through the bone of the forehead, appear juſt above the ſnout, like two ſemicircular horns; they are ſometimes ſo far bent round, that they grow into the bone of the head again: it has likewiſe two tuſks placed in the under jaw, like other wild boars: the female is without any of theſe projecting teeth: it has a ſoft thin ſkin, with ſhort hair, and has no briſtles: the ſnout is more pointed than that of the other wild hogs, and the tail is longer, with a bunch of hair at the end; the ears are pretty ſhort, and the eyes ſmall; its feet have each two long and two ſhort toes, but the fore legs are much ſhorter than the hinder ones; theſe animals are eaſily hunted down; but they frequently hurt the dogs with their lower tuſks; the upper tuſks are too far recurvated to admit of their defending themſelves with them. Their fleſh more reſembles veniſon than pork; there is little fat upon it, it being moſtly ſolid meat. They do not live, like the other wild hogs, upon ſago and canari, a ſort of almonds, but chiefly upon graſs and the leaves of trees. They never aſſociate with the wild hogs, and when hunted, they generally take to the water, where they are very expert in ſwimming and in diving, and ſometimes ſwim over from one iſland to the other. *T.*

Many

Many very ſtrange fiſhes, muſt have been met with here, in the time of VALENTYN*; and in this region of wonders, it is not ſufficient that the really ſingular productions of nature are beheld and admired, or feared, but ſuperſtition has multiplied wonders upon wonders. *Inter alia*, there is, ſays the Amboyneſe, and likewiſe the Macaſſers, a monſter that has its abode in theſe ſeas, which they deſcribe as having a thouſand legs, all of them ſo large, that if it lay but one of the thouſand upon any veſſel, it muſt immediately founder; and yet this monſter is believed to be afraid of a common cock; whence theſe poor ſuperſtitious mortals will never put to ſea without having chanticleer for a guardian-angel on board.

There is likewiſe, it is ſaid, a large fiſh, near the pierhead at *Amboyna*, to which the name of *Jacob Evertſen* has been given, and they pretend that it takes away one man every year. I am not qualified to ſay whether any fiſh of the ſhark kind does, or does not, particularly reſort to that ſpot, although many reputable people at *Amboyna* believe

* VALENTYN deſcribes, and gives repreſentations of, 528 different ſorts of fiſh, moſtly peculiar to theſe ſeas. T.

the

the whole ſtory; but it is certain, however, that on the evening of my arrival here, about nine o'clock, a ſailor of one of the ſloops that lay juſt behind my ſhip, on his ſwimming a-ſhore to fetch his pocket-handkerchief, which he had left, was ſo dreadfully bitten by ſome fiſh or other in the head, that he died the ſame night; and he would probably have been dragged to the bottom and devoured, had not immediate aſſiſtance been given to him, upon his loud cries for help, as well from my ſhip as from the other veſſels.

From lions, tigers, wolves, and other beaſts of prey, *Amboyna* is free. The moſt noxious animals are ſnakes, of which there are ſeveral ſorts in the woods and fields, which are amply deſcribed by VALENTYN.

I one morning, walking in the garden behind my houſe, found the *oelar biſa nepis*, or *thin poiſon ſnake**, ſo cloſe to me, that I ſhould

* Nearly twenty different ſorts of ſnakes are deſcribed by VALENTYN. Among them the *oelar biſa biroe*, or *blue poiſon ſnake*, is the moſt venemous; it is no more than a foot and a half in length, and about two inches thick; it is remarkably quick, and its bite is mortal. The *oelar biſa nepis*, or *thin*

ſhould probably have trodden on it, had it not firſt diſcovered and hiſſed at me, whereby I had juſt time to retire from the dangerous neighbourhood; I caught it a little while afterwards, and preſerved it in ſpirits.

The ſnakes with legs, appear to me to belong rather to the lizard tribe, than that of ſnakes. Among the ſingularities here, we may reckon the flying lizard.

I ſhall not ſpeak of the other animals and inſects, crocodiles, alligators, gek-kos, lizards, ſcorpions, centipedes, nor of the very curious inſect called the *walking leaf*, as they are all ſufficiently deſcribed by VALENTYN.*

Of the domeſtic animals, among which are enumerated buffaloes, cows, horſes, ſheep, goats, and hogs, the laſtmentioned only are natives of the country; the others

poiſon ſnake, is ſcarcely a quarter of an inch thick, and about a foot and a half, or two feet, in length; its bite is equally incurable. T.

* The ineſtimable work of VALENTYN, to which the reader is ſo frequently referred, is ſcarce even in Holland; it conſiſts of five large folio volumes, containing upwards of 1000 copperplates. The tranſlator is in poſſeſſion of a copy, which he procured at much pains and expence; and would his limits allow of it, he would be more copious in his extracts from it, as it is a treaſure locked up in a cheſt, of which few have the key, no tranſlation having ever been made of it. T.

have

have been brought hither, as well by the Portugueſe as by the Dutch, from *Java*, *Celebes*, and the ſouthweſtern iſles.

The cows here give much leſs milk, and worſe butter than in *Java*; the price of the butter remains the ſame as it was eighty years ago, in the time of VALENTYN, viz. one rixdollar per pound.

CHAPTER IV.

Inhabitants of AMBOYNA.—*The Alfoereſe.—Account of them by* RUMPHIUS.—*The Amboyneſe.—Their Stature.—Appearance.—Temper.—The Women.—Their Laſciviouſneſs.—The Religion of the Amboyneſe.—Their Idolatry.—Vices.—Amboyneſe Chriſtians.—Their Superſtition.—Their Government.—The Chineſe.—Account of a Chineſe Marriage at* AMBOYNA.—*Deſcendants of Portugueſe.—Foundation and Extenſion of the Power of the Duchy here.*

THE inhabitants of *Amboyna*, and of the adjacent iſlands belonging to this government, may properly be divided into four claſſes, viz. the Alforeſe, the Amboyneſe, the Europeans, and the Chineſe.

The Alfoers or Alfoereſe are, in all probability, the firſt and moſt ancient inhabitants of theſe countries; at the preſent day they ſtill remain ſeparate from the other inhabitants, and dwell in the mountains of *Bouro* and *Ceram*, where they live according

ing

ing to their ancient cuſtoms, and avoid all intercourſe with the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts, except when they are in want of ſuch articles as are not to be met with in the interior parts of the iſlands, which chiefly conſiſts in iron and ſalt, againſt which commodities they give in barter the productions of their mountains.

The few which I ſaw of this nation, appeared to me not ſo dark in colour, and both handſomer and more ſinewy than the Amboyneſe.

I met with the following account of them, in the deſcription of *Amboyna* compoſed by RUMPHIUS, which, having been prohibited by the government at *Batavia*, has never been printed, but of which a manuſcript copy is preſerved in the ſecretary's office at *Amboyna*.

" Moſt of the Alforeſe inhabit the wild " mountains and interior parts of *Ceram*. " They are large, ſtrong, and ſavage people, " in general taller than the inhabitants of " the ſea-ſhores; they go moſtly naked, both " men and women, and only wear a thick " bandage round their waiſt, which is called " *chiaaca*, and is made of the milky bark of

 " a tree,

" a tree, called by them *ſacka* (being the " *ficamorus alba).* They tie their hair up- " on the head over a cocoa-nut ſhell, and " ſtick a comb in it; round the neck they " wear a ſtring of beads.

" Their arms are, a ſword made of bam- " boo, together with a bow and arrows.

" They are ſharp-ſighted, and ſo nimble " in running, that they can run down and " kill a wild hog, at its utmoſt ſpeed.

" An ancient, but moſt deteſtable and " criminal cuſtom prevails among them, " agreeable to which, no one is allowed to " take a wife, before he can ſhew a head of " an enemy which he has cut off: in order " to obtain this qualification for matrimony, " ſix, eight, or ten of them go together to a " ſtrange part, where they ſtay till they have " an opportunity of ſurpriſing ſome one, " which they do with great dexterity, ſpring- " ing upon the unwary paſſenger like tigers: " they generally cover themſelves with " branches of trees and buſhes, ſo that they " are rather taken for brakes and thickets " than for men; in this poſture they lie in " wait for their prey, and take the firſt op- " portunity that preſents itſelf of darting

" their

" their *toran* or *ſagoe* (a ſort of miſſile lance)
" into the back of a paſſenger, or ſpring
" upon him at once, and cut off his head,
" with which they inſtantly decamp, and fly
" with ſpeed from the ſcene of their wanton
" barbarity.

" If they want to build a new houſe, or
" a new *baleeuw*, which is a kind of council-
" hall, they muſt equally firſt go and fetch
" ſome human heads. They are not to be
" broken of this horrid cuſtom; and it is
" the only objection they make to embrac-
" ing the Chriſtian religion, that they muſt
" then abandon it; for no one attains a
" higher degree of fame and reſpect, than
" he who has brought in the moſt heads;
" and in proof of his proweſs, he wears
" as many little white ſhells round his neck
" and arms, as he has murdered men.

" The heads thus brought in are ſhewn
" upon a ſtone in the village, conſecrated to
" that purpoſe, and are afterwards heaped
" together in dark groves, in the receſſes of
" the mountains, where they practiſe their
" diabolical rites, for they do not perform
" the demonolatry they are addicted to, in
" any temples, but here and there in ſolitary

" places, and in dreary woods, where the " devil anſwers their interrogatories, and " often carries away ſome of them, eſpe- " cially children, for three or four months, " after which time he brings them back " again, after having preſented them with " painted canes, to which ſeveral little ſtrings " of Chineſe copper-money are attached *.

" They ſubſiſt upon the wild animals

* Theſe circumſtances aſſume a more probable appearance in the more ample relation which VALENTYN gives of the religion of the Alforeſe. " They have," he ſays, " in *Ceram*, " and elſewhere, temples which they call *marels*, and like- " wiſe *toetoe-wo*, made of *gabbe gabba*, which ſtand in the " deepeſt part of the woods, and under the darkeſt trees. In " them, parents deliver their children, under twelve years of " age, to the prieſts, to be inſtructed in the ſervice of their " demon or god, and the prieſts receive the children, without " the parents being able to ſee any thing in the temple, on ac- " count of the almoſt utter darkneſs that prevails in it. Im- " mediately after they hear the moſt diſmal cries, and ſee " bloody pikes ſticking through the roof of the temple; and " though this would ſeem to denote that their children are " murdered, they receive them back in three months. Each " of thoſe children then receives a painted ſtick of thin white " cane, upon which ſome figures are burnt, and to which a " few ſtrings of Chineſe copper coins are hung; they are then " rubbed with yellow paint and aromatic oils, and ſent about " the village to beg for gongs, clothes, and other things, for " the chief prieſt." The remainder of the account he gives of the Alforeſe, though far more copious, is perfectly ſimilar to and conſiſtent with that of Mr. RUMPHIUS. *T.*

" which

" which they catch in the woods; nor do
" they even diſdain ſnakes.

" Their women are of a tolerably fair
" complexion, well proportioned, and alto-
" gether by no means diſagreeable.

" Among theſe Alforeſe, there is another
" kind of ſavage people, who do not dwell
" in any houſes or huts, but upon high
" *warinje*, and other trees, which ſpread
" their branches wide round: they lead and
" intertwine the branches ſo cloſely together,
" that they form an eaſy reſting-place; and
" each tree is the habitation of a whole fa-
" mily: they adopt this mode, becauſe they
" dare not truſt even thoſe of their own na-
" tion, as they ſurprize each other during
" the night, and kill whoever they take
" hold of."

Thus far the relation of Mr. RUMPHIUS, who being a man of ſome experience and much reputation, deſerves credit in ſome inſtances.

I could not meet with any other intelligence reſpecting theſe people at *Amboyna*, as they are but ſeldom viſited, and ſtill more rarely by people either able or willing to obſerve and record what is curious among them.

The

The Amboyneſe are alſo very ancient inhabitants of theſe iſlands; but the difference of their make, and the rather darker ſhade of their complexion, ſeem to point out that they are not deſcended from the ſame progenitors as the Alforeſe.

They are of a middling ſize, rather thin than otherwiſe; their colour is nearer approaching to black than to brown; both men and women have regular features, and among the latter there are very many who are handſome: it ſeemed very probable to me, that the country or the climate contributed much to this, though how or why I cannot tell, for the children of Europeans born here, are almoſt all pretty, and much more ſo than in *Java*, or at *Batavia*.

Neither the thick lips, nor the depreſſed noſes, which, according to our ideas of beauty, deform the "human face divine" in other hot countries, are ſeen here; but on the contrary, and eſpecially among the females, perfectly ſymmetrical countenances are the general characteriſtic of the inhabitants.

They are indolent and effeminate, and both want and violence prove but feeble motives to incite them to labour. Yet this is no more than is almoſt univerſally the caſe with

with all nations who bow their necks under a foreign yoke, eſpecially in the Aſiatic regions, and other warm countries: and I think it probable, though the heat of the climate is alone ſufficient to produce inactivity, and a repugnance to every thing that fatigues the body, that they had been ſlaves inured to ſervitude under the dominion of ſtrangers, long before the Europeans came hither. The fervency of the climate, united to the eaſy mode of procuring ſubſiſtence from the ſago-tree, and from the copious ſupply of fiſh, which was formerly within their reach, in the bay of *Amboyna*, have been the cauſes that they have never been obliged to have recourſe to the fatiguing labours of agriculture, to adminiſter to the wants of nature. Hence they have eaſily fallen a prey to the nations who aimed at ſubduing them, as was manifeſt in the war with the Ternateſe, the Portugueſe, and the Dutch. Neither were they at all the cauſe that the princes of *Celebes* have not extended their dominion ſo far to the eaſtward, for the three abovementioned nations have always prevented it; although at that time the kings of *Nouſſanivel* took the high

ſounding

ſounding and proud title of *kings of ten thouſand ſwords*.

The Company muſt not, therefore, ever think that the Amboyneſe would be of any help to them, in caſe a foreign power were to endeavour to wreſt theſe poſſeſſions from them; for, were there no other reaſons to induce them to look upon any change as being for the better, their indifferent, indolent, and timorous diſpoſition would be ſufficient to prevent them from joining either ſide. It is true, that thoſe of *Hitoe* formerly ſhewed a little more courage in the civil commotions which took place in the laſt century, when they fought for independance, as they could no longer bear the oppreſſion of their inhuman taſk-maſters; but in the caſe we have ſuppoſed, it would be the ſame to them, beneath which European yoke they had to bend; as, let the event be as it might, they would always have to wear the chains of the conquerors; beſides that, as attached to the Mahomedan religion, they are the ſworn enemies of all chriſtians.

The women, though they are not ſo indolent as the men, are, on the other hand, exceſſively laſcivious; they poſſeſs no chaſtity either

either in a married, or an unmarried ſtate, and there is nothing that can reſtrain them from ſatisfying their paſſionate deſires. It is very ufual among them, that a girl gives proofs of her fruitfulneſs before marriage, which is never the leaſt bar to getting a huſband; and, on the contrary, frequently is a reaſon for being preferred to others, of whom it is leſs certain that they are capable of becoming mothers.

The Amboyneſe were in former times, as the Alforeſe are at preſent, idolaters; but the Javeneſe, who began to trade hither in the latter end of the fifteenth, and in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, endeavoured to diſſeminate the doctrines of Mahomet here, and they ſucceeded ſo well, that in the year 1515, that religion was generally received.

The Portugueſe arriving here in the mean time, endeavoured likewiſe to make the Roman catholic religion agreeable to the inhabitants, and to propagate it amongſt them; which, in particular, took place, according to RUMPHIUS, in the year 1532, on the peninſula of *Leytimor*, but thoſe of *Hitoe* have, to the preſent day, remained firmly attached

to

to the Mahomedan faith, whence, in contradiſtinction to the Leytimoreſe, they are called Moors.

When our people came to *Amboyna*, and the Portugueſe were expelled from the iſland, the proteſtant religion was gradually introduced; yet the unpleaſing reſult of theſe frequent changes of religion has been, as might naturally be expected, that, from blind idolaters, they have firſt become bad Roman catholics, and afterwards worſe proteſtants.

The practice of idolatry cannot yet be wholly eradicated: this, added to the prevalence of the ſuperſtitions which diſgrace chriſtanity among the followers of the Roman catholic perſuaſion, and the almoſt univerſal negligence, and want of zeal, of our eccleſiaſtics in theſe regions, almoſt entirely takes away the hope that the ſalutary doctrines of the goſpel will ever be deeply rooted here, and that the Amboyneſe will ever be cured of their deplorable blindneſs.

I cannot either ſay much good reſpecting their moral conduct; I have before mentioned that the women are univerſally unchaſte,

chaſte, and the men are, in this reſpect, no better. Theft is likewiſe one of the moſt prevalent vices among the Amboyneſe, and they are not a little dexterous in contriving the means of pilfering; I had twice experience of their adroitneſs in this reſpect, during my reſidence among them. Malice and envy are predominant paſſions in their breaſts, and are carried to great exceſs; they envy each other the leaſt degree of benefit, or proſperity; yet this is ſeldom productive of public aſſaſſination, or private murder, among them, for being a puſillanimous and ſuperſtitious race of men, death is to them, more than to any other nation, a king of terrors.

When theſe Amboyneſe chriſtians go in their veſſels paſt a certain hill on the ſouth coaſt of *Ceram*, they make an offering to the evil ſpirit, which they believe reſides there, in order that he may not do any harm to them, or to their veſſels. This offering is made in the following manner: they lay a few flowers, and a ſmall piece of money, into empty cocoanut-ſhells, which they ſet a-floating in the water: if it be in the evening, they put oil into them, with little

little wicks, which they ſet a-light, and let burn out upon the water: they are perſuaded that, by this means, they have appeaſed the evil ſpirit, and that he will not raiſe any ſtorm againſt them.

VALENTYN has been ſufficiently ample in deſcribing their dreſs, houſes, diſeaſes, cuſtoms, &c. * to preclude the neceſſity of my ſaying more about them; I wiſh only to obſerve that that writer has placed almoſt every thing in the moſt advantageous light.

The inhabitants of *Amboyna* ſeem, from time immemorial, never to have been united under one head; but, as the moſt ancient accounts and traditions relate, each negree, or village, was governed by its own chief. It is true, there have been, and there are at preſent, unions of four or five negrees under one chief; but they are the leaſt in number: among theſe, the principal is *Nouſſanivel*, whoſe *rajah*, or king, has three other negrees under his dominion.

* In chapter i, ii, iii, and iv. of the fourth, and chapter i. of the fifth book of vol. II. of VALENTYN's *Oud en nieuw Oſt Indien. T.*

Theſe

Theſe chiefs are diſtinguiſhed into three claſſes, or ranks; thus, there are *rajahs*, or kings; *pattis*, who may be ſaid to be dukes or earls; and *oran cayos*, which ſignifies as much as *rich men*. Their chiefs, however, do not poſſeſs an abſolute authority: every negree has given as council to their chief, conſiſting of the oldeſt and moſt reſpectable men of the village, who are called *oran touas*, that is, *elders*; and the *rajah*, *patti*, or *oran cayo*, of the negree is bound to conſult with them at the *caleeuw*, or council-hall, on all the concerns of the community.

Every negree has likewiſe its *marinhos*, who do not aſſiſt at the councils, but are exalted above the commonalty, and ſerve for exhorters and encouragers of the people in every public work.

Beſides ſeveral little ſervices which the common people are obliged to perform for theſe chiefs *, the laſt have likewiſe an income proceeding from the crops of cloves,

* They are obliged to build the houſes of their chiefs, and to furniſh all the timber, gabbe gabba, atap, and other materials neceſſary for the conſtruction, but the chiefs muſt maintain them while they are at work. T.

which the Company have beſtowed upon them.

The Company pay, for every *bhar* of five hundred and fifty pounds weight of cloves, fifty-ſix rixdollars, or one hundred-and-thirty-four gilders, and eight ſtivers *; but of this, the planters receive only fifty-one rixdollars, the remaining five being divided among the village-chiefs, three being allotted to the *rajah*, *patti*, or *oran cayo*, one and a half to the *oran tonas*, or elders, and one-half rixdollar to the *marinbos*.

For theſe and other reaſons, the offices above alluded to, are eagerly ſought after, and are only obtained for a certain ſum of money, of which ſome of the governors who have ruled here in behalf of the Company, have not a little availed; I could enumerate ſome, who have come here with very little property, and in the courſe of a few years, by theſe, and other means, have accumulated conſiderable wealth, and who, immediately upon their return to *Batavia*,

* The cloves coſt the Dutch Company, at *Amboyna*, full ſix ſtivers per pound, or about 6½*d.* ſterling. *T.*

have,

have, in conſequence, ſolicited leave from the government, to tranſmit large ſums of money to Europe.

The ſale of theſe rejentſhips is not, however, an innovation of late date; for, from the beginning, every *orän cayo* paid fifty rixdollars for his nomination, a *patti* one hundred, and a *rajah* ſtill more; ſo that the *rajah* of *Nouſſanivel* was even once obliged to give a gratification of three thouſand rixdollars.

The Chineſe who frequent this iſland, as well as all the others in the eaſtern parts of India, where the Company have poſſeſſions, are not, however, very numerous at *Amboyna*, becauſe there is very little trade, and ſcarcely any agriculture, two purſuits, to which, in general, that nation are very averſe to. If a calculation of their number were to be made from the head-money which they pay, all the Chineſe would ſcarcely be found to amount to one hundred individuals; but the frauds which are practiſed in the declarations made in this reſpect, are the cauſe that this cannot be conſidered as a proper rule.

They dwell here in a ſtreet, which is

called after them, where they keep their ſhops, with all ſorts of proviſions, &c. for ſale.

They are under the authority of a chief of their own nation, who is called captain, and who has at preſent a lieutenant under him, which was not formerly the caſe; but one of the governors was induced to inſtitute this lieutenant's office, by means of a preſent of five hundred rixdollars.

They do not intermarry with the Amboyneſe, but marry amongſt each other; and if it happen that they are in want of women, they take Macaſſer or Bougineſe girls for concubines.

In the month of April of the year 1775, a Chineſe youth came purpoſely from *Batavia* to *Amboyna*, to marry the daughter of one of his countrymen who was ſettled here, and was a man of property. I went to ſee the ceremonies that were made uſe of; I came too late to ſee the beginning of them, which, I was told, conſiſted principally in the throwing backwards and forwards of an egg into the wine ſleeves of the bridegroom and of the bride. I found them both ſitting next to each other in a parlour, with their eyes fixed

on

on the ground, as if meditating on what had been done, without ſpeaking a word to, or looking at each other. An oblong little table ſtood before them, covered with red ſilk, which was embroidered with flowers of gold; upon it were ſet, before each of them, a little cup with tea, and three or four little china diſhes with confectionary and boiled birds' neſts. The bridal bed was in the ſame apartment; it was likewiſe hung round with red ſilk; but there was a partition made in it, ſeparating the place where the bridegroom was to lie, from that of the bride; the former, however, occupied about two-thirds of the bed. The bride, who was a plump jolly maidén, nearly white, and pretty enough, wore a robe of red ſilk, with long and wide ſleeves; a chain of gold hung round her neck, and down upon her boſom: on her head ſhe wore a black bonnet, tapering upwards to a point, and adorned with three rows of jewels. The bridegroom was dreſſed in a ſimilar robe of blue ſilk and cotton. They both kept their arms and hands conſtantly tucked into the ſleeves. When the bridegroom ſtood up, he did it ſo ſlowly and cautiouſly, and without moving his eyes

in the leaſt, that he appeared perfectly like an image of wax, or an automaton moved by inviſible mechaniſm.

The young couple were forced to endure the repetition of this tedious ceremony for three ſucceſſive days, and always in ſight of their nuptial bed, before they were allowed to perform the eſſential rites of marriage.

There are ſtill many deſcendants of the Portugueſe here, who, when their countrymen were forced to give up the dominion of the iſland to ours, choſe to remain under the government of the Dutch.

The principal Amboyneſe Chriſtians ſtill bear Portugueſe names, which their anceſtors received at their baptiſm; but the Portugueſe language is leſs ſpoken here, than in any other part of India, and the number of the abovementioned deſcendants of Portugueſe is not large.

Our countrymen, who, in the year 1605, under the command of their admiral STEPHEN VAN DER HAGEN, took the caſtle of *Victoria*, which was the chief ſettlement of the Portugueſe upon the iſland, are now here abſolute maſters, as well over the peninſulas of *Hitoe* and *Leytimor*, as over the *Uliaſſers*, which

which comprehends the iſlands of *Oma*, *Honimoa*, *Nouſſa*, and *Molaria*, and likewiſe over *Manipa*, *Kelang*, *Bonoa*, the north coaſt of *Bouro*, *Little Ceram* or *Hoewamoehil*, and ſome places on *Great Ceram*; although a great part of the laſt century was elapſed before they were in full poſſeſſion of the coaſt of *Hitoe*, as well as of *Little Ceram*, on account of the oppoſition they met with from the *Quimelahas*, or Ternateſe governors, the king of *Ternate* looking upon part of theſe countries as his territory; and from the four chiefs of *Hitoe*, who refuſed to be deprived of their independance, and openly reſiſted the arms of the Company. But theſe obſtacles being now removed, the Company have little more to do than to oppoſe the attempts of foreign nations, and to prevent a clandeſtine trade with them, of which I ſhall ſay more hereafter.

CHAPTER V.

Government at AMBOYNA.—*Counſel of Polity.*—*Revenues of the Governors.*—*Vice-Governor.*—*Commandant of the Military.*—*Reſident of* HILA.—*Chief of* SEPAROUA.—*Fiſcal.*—*Chief of* HAROUKO.—*Reſident of* LARIKE.—*Chiefs of* BOURO, *and* MANIPA.—*Other Servants of the Company.*—*Allowance to the Company's Servants out of the Crop of Cloves.*—*Repartition of it among them.*—*Council of Juſtice.*—*Great Influence of the Governor.*—*Shameful Abuſes.*—*Inſtance of unexampled Cruelty and Injuſtice.*—*Other Courts or Boards.*—*Clergymen and Eccleſiaſtical Matters.*

THE general adminiſtration of the affairs of this province is veſted in a governor, who is appointed by the council of India, and is commonly one of the ſecretaries of the council, or one of the Company's ſervants at other out-factories; the ſecond has ſeldom ſucceeded to the command, the reaſon of which I am ignorant of.

A council is appointed to aſſiſt the governor, conſiſting of the firſt qualified ſervants

of

of the Company, whoſe advice and concurrence he is bound to have, in planning, arranging, and executing all matters of importance, as is the caſe in all the out-factories; but in how far the power of the governor is hereby circumſcribed, is eaſily deducible from the conſideration, that he poſſeſſes the power of diſmiſſing the counſellors from the Company's ſervice, and ſending them to *Batavia*, where it does not often happen that a ſuperior is caſt in any diſpute with an inferior; and the injured party ſeldom finds either redreſs or conſolation, unleſs he have powerful friends to make intereſt in his behalf. Beſides that ſuch a governor is able by a thouſand different means, and in indirect ways, to treat ſuch as he is diſpleaſed with, in ſo mortifying a manner, and to curtail their income and emoluments to ſuch a degree, that they would rather thank heaven to be out of his hands.

But this evil has, alas! been of long ſtanding; it will always be one of the moſt corroding cankers that conſume the vitals of the Company, and will at laſt bring the ſociety to deſtruction.

The revenues of a governor at *Amboyna* being

being but ſmall, on account of the little trade which is carried on here, and the conſequent extreme degree of fraud and oppreſſion that prevailed here, induced the government at *Batavia*, with the approbation of the directors at home, to come to a reſolution in the year 1755, to provide againſt the growing evil; and they therefore determined to give the governor a yearly additional allowance of ſix thouſand rixdollars, or fourteen thouſand four hundred guilders *.

This, added to other emoluments which long preſcription has legalized, is ſufficient to enable the governor to live according to his rank, without his being obliged to put ſuch means in practice, as one of the governors, whoſe name I ſhall not here mention, uſed to employ to double his revenues.

The vice-governor, or ſecond perſon in rank, is a ſenior merchant, and at the ſame time head-adminiſtrator, filling likewiſe, as is the cuſtom in all the out-factories, the office of commercial book-keeper: he is alſo preſident of the council of juſtice, and of the orphan-chamber.

* About 1300l. Sterling. *T.*

The

The third in rank is the commandant of the military, who has the rank, title, and pay of captain. He is the chief of all the troops in the whole province, the promotion of all the ſubaltern officers uſed formerly to be ſolely effected at his recommendation; but the advantages of this office were conſiderably curtailed by Mr. * * *, who even publicly ſold the places of ſerjeants and corporals in the military, for fifty, or one hundred rix-dollars, both to the Amboyneſe and to the Europeans, without the commandant daring to complain of his proceedings; and it now yields but a poor ſubſiſtence.

Upon this officer follows, the chief or reſident of *Hila*, who has the greateſt part of the north coaſt of *Hitoe*, and *Little Ceram Hoewamoebil*, under his management; next to *Saparoua*, his diſtrict is the moſt famous for the collection of cloves: he has a good income, and the rank of merchant.

The fifth in order is the chief of *Saparoua*; this factory lies in the iſland *Honimoa*: not only that iſland, but alſo *Nouſſa laut*, and part of *Great Ceram* belong to his juriſdiction. The firſt-named iſlands are very fertile, and yield more than half the annual quantity of cloves

cloves which are gathered in the province. The income of this reſident is computed to yield only in amount to that of the governor.

Next follows the fiſcal, who is equally a merchant in rank; his duty, as every where, is to take care that the property of the Company be not injured: he has likewiſe a concluding vote in the council of polity.

The ſixth is the chief of *Haroeko*, upon the iſland of *Oma*, to which alſo belongs a part of *Ceram*: he is generally a junior merchant.

The ſeventh is the chief of *Larike*. This factory ſtands on the ſouth-weſt coaſt of the land of *Hitoe*, and the iſland of *Amblauw*, which formerly belonged to *Beuro*, has lately been put under the juriſdiction of *Larike*.

The *Soldyboekhouder*, paymaſter, or garriſon book-keeper, is the eighth; who is, at the ſame time *Curator ad lites*, and preſident of the board of controul over marriages.

Theſe eight, together with the *winkelier*, or purveyor, who, as well as the laſt-mentioned officers, is a junior merchant, make the nine, who are appointed as a council of polity

lity to watch over the intereſts of the Company in conjunction with the governor.

They have a ſecretary, who has alſo the rank of junior merchant.

Upon theſe follow the reſidents of *Bouro* and *Manipa*, the caſhier, the ſecretary of the council of juſtice, who is at the ſame time firſt clerk in the office of the ſecretary of the council of polity, the *Negotie, en Soldy-overdraagers*, or the writers of the commercial and military ledgers, who are all book-keepers in rank; and laſtly, the comptroller of equipment, who had before the rank of ſea-lieutenant, but now that of ſea-captain.

To this province further belong four lieutenants of the military, and eleven enſigns.

In order to afford a better means of ſubſiſtence to all theſe placemen, a yearly repartition is made among them, according to their reſpective ranks, out of the annual crop of cloves; and I ſubjoin a ſtatement of the repartition which was made in the year 1755, agreeable to the regulation eſtabliſhed by the government at *Batavia*, on the 31ſt of May of the ſame year, which will at the ſame time give an idea of the quantity of cloves annually collected, viz.

In

In the Year 1755.

Factories.	Cloves collected in all.	Amount of ditto paid by the Company.		20 per cent. on the weight allowed to the Company's ſervants	Amount of ditto.	
at the chief ſettlements *New Victoria*	*lbs.* 115,767	*rixd.* 11,787	*ſtiv.* 8¼	*lbs.* 23,153¾	*rixd.* 2,357	*ſtiv.* 21
at the factory *Saparoua*	422,407	43,008	34½	84,480½	8,601	30¾
—— *Hila*	149,606	15,232	29¾	29,921¼	3,046	25
—— *Harouko*	39,231	3,994	20½	7,846½	798	42½
—— *Larike.*	49,114	5,000	33½	9,826¾	1,00	25¾
Total.	776,125	79,023	30½	155,228	15,805	00½

Repartition among the Company's ſervants of the above, viz. *of the* 100 *rixdollars.*

		rixd.	*ſtiv.*
to the governor and director - -	40 per cent.	6,½12	—
to the ſenior merchant, ſecond - -	12 -	1,896	29
to the captain commandant - - -	4 -	632	9¾
to the merchant, chief of *Hila* - - -	7 -	1,106	16¾
to ditto ditto of *Saparoua* - -	7 -	1,106	16¾
to ditto fiſcal - - -	6 -	948	14¼
to the junior merchant, chief of *Harouko* -	3 -	474	7¼
to ditto ditto of *Larike* -	3 -	474	7¼
to ditto, garriſon book-keeper - -	2 -	316	4¾
to ditto purveyor - - -	2 -	316	4¾
to ditto ſecretary of the council of polity	2 -	316	4¾
to the book-keeper, reſident of *Bouro* - -	2 -	316	4¾
to ditto caſhier - - -	2 -	316	4¾
to ditto reſident of *Manipa* - -	1 -	158	2½
to ditto ſecretary of the council of juſtice	1 -	158	2½
to ditto writer of the commercial ledger	1 -	158	2½
to ditto ditto of the military ledger -	1 -	158	2½
to the comptroller of equipment - -	2 -	316	4¾
to four lieutenants and eleven enſigns, together -	2 -	316	4¾
	100	*rixd.* 15,805	00½

This

This method certainly gives a conſiderable ſupport to the ſuperior ſervants of the Company, and it is not at the charge of the Company, for it is the natives who pay it, and who are, at the ſame time, as it is ſaid, well ſatisfied with it; for they were formerly ſo much defrauded in the weights of the cloves they furniſhed by the chiefs of the ſeveral factories, that it is beyond belief, without the Company deriving any advantage from it; wherefore the ſupreme government, not knowing how to do otherwiſe to prevent the extortion of their ſervants, put the matter upon the preſent footing; by which it is ſettled, that of every hundred bhar cloves furniſhed by the natives, only eighty ſhall be delivered to the Company, while the other twenty are to form the perquiſites of their ſervants, who, however, are obliged to ſell their cloves to the Company at the ſame price paid to the natives. In addition to this, the council of juſtice and the fiſcal are ſtrictly enjoined to watch againſt all injuſtice, or fraud, on the receipt and weighing of the cloves collected, in order that any infraction of their regulations in this reſpect

ſpect may meet with an exemplary puniſhment.

The council of juſtice conſiſts of the ſecond, as preſident, and ſix members, who generally aſſemble every fortnight, in a lower apartment of the ſtadhouſe, or townhall. All civil and criminal cauſes are decided here; but in the former, an appeal can be made to the council of juſtice at *Batavia*; and the execution of ſentences in the latter, may be ſuſpended by the governor; yet if he approve them, whether they condemn the culprit to death, or to other corporal puniſhment, they are carried into execution; excepting, however, when the delinquent has the rank of merchant, and he is then ſent up to *Batavia*, with the papers relative to the proſecution, and copy of his ſentence; as is equally the caſe in all the other outfactories.

Although by an expreſs command of the ſupreme government, the governor here may not intermeddle in any matters which come under the cognizance of the council of juſtice, farther than to approve, or ſuſpend, their ſentences in criminal caſes, yet ſome of

of them arrogate to themſelves ſo much power in this reſpect, that, in the ſame manner as in the council of polity, they force a conformation to their will, or bid open defiance to juſtice and honeſty, if the members of the council refuſe to abet their iniquity.

How much ſoever juſtice may be adminiſtered here with ſeverity towards the inferior claſſes, it is a lamentable circumſtance, and as worthy of abhorrence as it is notorious, that the greateſt and moſt ſhameful crimes of perſons of high rank, or of favourites, remain unnoticed and unpuniſhed. I ſhall adduce one inſtance of this rank abuſe of authority, from which a judgment reſpecting others may be formed.

The chief of a certain factory upon one of the adjacent iſlands, having for ſome time beheld, with eyes of deſire, a young girl, ſcarcely fourteen years of age, and remarkably beautiful, who had been adopted by a perſon at *Amboyna*, and brought up in his own houſe, gave him and his family an invitation to pay him a viſit. The man accepted it with confidence and pleaſure, and went thither with his wife, his daughter,

and this girl. When, in the evening, the gueſts retired to reſt, it was ſo arranged by their hoſt, that the object of his licentious purſuit was conducted to a bed in a diſtant and ſolitary apartment; there being, as it was pretended, no beds, or room, in or near thoſe occupied by her friends.

In the dead of the night, when all, but the wakeful eyes of luſt, were cloſed in deep repoſe, this wretch ſtole to the apartment of the innocent maid, whom he had thus inveigled into his ſnares, and completed his long-concerted ſcheme of villany, by the moſt brutal violation of her charms. The poor victim of his luſt was found, the next morning, bathed in tears; and ſcarcely knowing that ſhe was undone, related the whole exactly as it happened. The perpetrator of this deed of violence moſt ſtrenuouſly denied the accuſation; but he pretended, that he very well knew who was the raviſher; it was, he ſaid, one of his ſlaves, an Amboyneſe, who had frequently before made uſe of his maſter's name to attain his purpoſe, and cover his enormities. Neither the ſtrong denial of the ſlave, nor the moſt ſolemn aſſeverations of the girl,

that

that the maſter, and no one elſe, had perpetrated the baſe action of the night, could ought avail; the monſter added murder to rape; and the wretched ſlave was tied up, and whipped ſo unmercifully and inceſſantly, that he expired in a few minutes.

As this man was a gentleman of rank, and one of the particular minions of the governor, the matter was never enquired into, and all reports concerning it were ſmothered as much as poſſible.

A kind of provincial court is likewiſe eſtabliſhed here, conſiſting in part of the Company's ſervants, and in part of the heads of ſome negrees, of whom the *rajahs* of *Nouſſanivel* and *Soya* are the firſt, and follow in rank upon the members of the council of polity.

The governor likewiſe convokes from time to time an aſſembly of the native chiefs, in which he makes ſuch orders public as he may have received from the government at *Batavia*, or which he may think neceſſary, and commands them to ſee them executed; for example, when a certain number of clove-trees are to be planted or deſtroyed, and other ſimilar matters.

Beſides theſe, there are an orphan-chamber, a court of aſſignees for bankrupt or inteſtate eſtates, a board of controul over marriages, and a court of common pleas.

The number of clergymen belonging to this government, is, I believe, when complete, ſix *, viz. four at the chief ſettlement and fort of *New Victoria*, one at *Hila*, and one at *Sapoura*; but when I was there, there was but one, the others being gone on a church-viſitation to *Banda*, and the ſouth-weſtern iſlands belonging to that government.

He that remained had been for a long time a journeyman-bricklayer in the province of *Gelderland*; but this trade not ſucceeding to his liking, he went out, in the year 1769, as *krankbezoeker* † to India; and, together with ſeveral others, he was ſent back to Holland, at the expence of Governor VAN

* On looking into the memorial of Governor MOSSEL, reſpecting the general ſtate of India, of the 30th November, 1753, I perceive that the number of clergymen, in the province of *Amboyna*, was then ſettled at three. *S.*

† *Krankbezoeker* is perfectly ſynonimous with *ziekentrooſter*, for an explanation of which term ſee the note to page 515, of the firſt volume; the former is literally *a viſitor of the ſick*, as *ziekentrooſter* is a *comforter of the ſick*. *T.*

DER

DER PARRA, to be fitted for taking orders, and he had returned the preceding year as a qualified divine, and had ſhortly afterwards been ſent to *Amboyna*, where there was little likelihood of his evangelical miſſion being remarkably exemplary, or ſucceſsful.

As this perſon did not underſtand the Malay language, and had alſo very little inclination to attain it, the divine ſervice at preſent adminiſtered in the Malay church, was confined to the reading of a ſermon, written in that language, which was effected by a *krankbezoeker*, who performed the office of clerk, and who was, as the abovementioned clergyman was pleaſed to ſay, when he had been ſcarcely a day or two at *Amboyna*, the only religious man on the iſland. However uncharitable and raſh the expreſſion of this opinion was, it is, however, a fact, that I met with very few people here who had a tolerable knowledge of the doctrines of the reformed religion, or even of the moral duties preſcribed by it.

There is a very conſiderable number of nominal chriſtians, and who have received baptiſm, as well on the peninſulas of *Leytimor*, as at other places. By an annotation

in a reſolution of the council of polity at *Amboyna*, of the 11th of March, 1774, it appeared, that the reverend Mr. VAN EINBRUG found, on a church-viſitation (which he had, however, by ſome obſtacles, been prevented from completing), in a part only of the places belonging to this government, the number of 21,124 nominal chriſtians, but only 843 church-members.

The ſuperſtitious reſpect which theſe nominal chriſtians pay to our clergymen, and a few outward ſigns of religion, are the principal marks by which they are diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of their countrymen.

Beſides the regular clergy, there are *kranbezoekers*, and likewiſe ſtationary and itinerant ſchoolmaſters, who are all paid by the Company, and inſtruct the children of the Amboyneſe in reading, writing, and pſalmody, for which purpoſe a ſchool is eſtabliſhed in every negree, to which each inhabitant ſends his children free of expence.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VI.

The Europeans at AMBOYNA.—*Their Mode of Living.—The Women.—Dreſs.—Sedan-chairs.—Account of the Town.—Streets.—Churches.—Stadhouſe, or Townhall.—Hoſpital.—Houſes.—Springs.—Rivers.—Garden of the Governor.—Fortreſs of* NEW VICTORIA:—*Its Advantages and Defects.—Natural Strength of the Bay.—Propoſals for new Fortifications.—Other little Forts in this Province.—Buildings in the Caſtle; not yet completed. Expence of the Erection of the Fort, &c.*

THE number of Europeans, at leaſt of thoſe who have any quality in the ſervice of the Company, is ſo ſmall, that little can, in general, be ſaid with reſpect to any peculiar mode of living they may obſerve. One thing, however, is immediately an object of remark to ſtrangers, and that is, that in the forenoon, more ſtrong liquor is drank, either arrack or geneva, than at *Batavia*, or in the weſt of India; though at *Macaſſer* it is almoſt the ſame; ten or twelve drams is

not an uncommon whet in a morning at *Amboyna*; and on ſetting down to dinner, a glaſs of ſpirits is the firſt thing preſented to the gueſts, to ſtrengthen the ſtomach, and raiſe an appetite.

I found little pleaſure or ſociability here; which, I was told, was to be aſcribed to the late governor, whoſe diſtruſtful temper made him look upon all ſocial meetings with jealouſy; this did not ſeem improbable to me, as I found that a ſhort time before he left the iſland, and when he was not an object of apprehenſion or hope, as before, both ſocial intercourſe, and innocent gaiety, became daily more prevalent, which afforded much ſatisfaction to the new governor.

The common Europeans, both ſoldiers and mechanics, have very little opportunity of earning any money here, and their pay affords them little elſe than ſago, and at moſt rice, with a little fiſh, for food, and water, *ſagwire*, or arrack, for drink. The ſoldiers make a very ſhabby appearance; their uniform is made of blue linen, and hangs in tatters about them; without ſhoes or ſtockings; excepting, indeed, the body-guards of the governor: they attend the

parade

parade barefooted, and are badly diſciplined: to this picture may be added, an unhealthy, dropſical, and feeble habit of body, occaſioned by the immoderate uſe of *ſagwire*, to which, too, is attributed the circumſtance of their all having ſwoln and ulcerated legs; though this latter complaint is as rife among the ſailors and mechanics, as among the military: their number is never complete, notwithſtanding the ſupplies that are ſent every year from *Batavia*.

There are very few women here, born of European fathers and mothers; but there are a great number of a mixed race, as many Europeans take Indian women for concubines, whoſe children are afterwards legitimated, and incorporated into the European nation*.

Married women live here very retired; they do not often mix in company with the men, and ſtill more ſeldom enter into converſation

* At *Amboyna*, the children of European fathers, and Indian mothers, are called *Mixtices*, who are of an olive complexion; the children of a *Mixtice* and an European, are called *Poeſtices*; and thoſe of a *Poeſtice* and an European, are *Caſtices*, who are nearly as fair as Europeans; after which no diſtinction is made, but the children proceeding from further unions are reckoned among the Europeans. *T.*

with

with them; every thing that is addreſſed to them is anſwered by a ſingle affirmative, or negative. I was told, that being always accuſtomed to ſpeak the Malay tongue, they felt awkward, and were apprehenſive of expreſſing themſelves wrong in the Dutch; yet I obſerved the ſame reſerve, and want of power to carry on a converſation, when they were ſpeaking in the Malay language, as when they were addreſſed in Dutch. Society is, then, here divided into male and female, by which, in my opinion, all company is rendered dull, formal, and diſagreeable.

The dreſs of the ladies is like that of thoſe at *Batavia*. The men dreſs in the European faſhion, with this peculiarity however, that the greateſt contraſt in colours is ſought after, for inſtance, blue ſilk breeches, with ſcarlet waiſtcoat, and black or dark brown coats, and *vice verſâ*.

No carriages are ſeen here; indeed, there are no roads fit for them, for the country is every where both mountainous and rocky, ſo that it can even ſcarcely be traverſed on horſeback. A ſort of ſedan-chairs are made uſe of, in the room of carriages, with which the

the Amboyneſe run up and down the moſt dangerous paths in the mountains, without there being hardly a ſingle example of their letting them fall, or overturning them.

The town of *Amboyna*, if a place without gates or walls may deſerve that name, lies on the peninſula of *Leytimor*, at the northweſt ſide, about half way between the point of *Nouſſanivel* and the *paſs of Baguewala*, in a ſloping plain, at the foot of the mountains of *Soya*, which ſurround it behind, and end at the *Rooden-berg*, or *Red-hill*, about two hundred and twenty roods, E.N.E. from the caſtle.

The town itſelf, without the adjacent negrees, which may be conſidered as ſuburbs, forms an oblong, irregular ſquare, bounded by the *Bato gadja*, or *Elephant's* river, on one ſide, and the *Way tomo* on the other. According to the plan of the town, made and delineated in the year 1718, ſince which time no material alterations have been made in it, its length is full three hundred roods, from N.E. to S.W. and its breadth full one hundred, from the bay, ſoutheaſtward.

The interſections, called ſtreets, croſs each

each other at right angles; many of them are pretty wide, but none of them are paved.

Of the public buildings, the Dutch and Malay churches were both much damaged and nearly deſtroyed by the violent earthquake of the year 1755, the former in ſo far, that it was forced to be wholly pulled down, in order to be entirely rebuilt; in this work, however, little progreſs had been made, when I was there, and ſervice was, in the mean time, performed under a ſhed, built of *gabbe gabbas*, and covered with *atap*: the Malay church was ſplit in ſuch a manner from top to bottom, that for many years it has not been feaſible to perform any ſervice in it, which is now done, on Sunday afternoon, in the ſhed appointed to ſerve as a ſubſtitute for the Dutch church.

The *ſtadhouſe*, or townhall, is likewiſe an old and ruinous building; behind it is a large ſquare area, round which are many little apartments, which ſerve for places of confinement for priſoners.

The hoſpital ſtands juſt out of the town, on the other ſide of the *Way tomo*. It was entirely rebuilt a few years ago. Near it

is

is a houſe appointed for the reſidence of the ſuperintendant of the hoſpital. This hoſpital is one of the beſt, and fitteſt for the purpoſe, belonging to our Company, which I have ſeen in *India:* the building is a very good one, the ſick are well treated in it, and by the excellent attention of the preſent ſuperintendant, Mr. HENGEVELD, they are kept extremely clean and neat.

The houſe of the governor, which was formerly the Company's cloth-warehouſe, and is ſtill known by that name in their books, has not much to recommend it; its appearance is mean, and there are few, and thoſe very indifferent, rooms in it.

The houſes are, in general, of one ſtory, many of them are built of wood, and almoſt all are covered with *atap*; this mode of building is adopted becauſe of the dreadful and frequent earthquakes to which this country is ſubject. The houſes are commodious enough, according to the cuſtom of the country, but have not a very elegant appearance. Inſtead of glaſs, frames of matted cane are uſed for the ſake of air, and likewiſe I believe not a little in order to ſave expence. Moſt of them have little

little gardens, or large ſquare yards behind them, in which there is commonly a well of very good water.

Springs are very numerous here; going only along the ſhores of the bay, and ſcooping, where there is the leaſt bit of beach, a little hole with one's hand in the ſand, it is immediately filled with ſweet freſh water, and that even ſometimes at no greater diſtance than five or ſix feet from the ſalt water. This owes its cauſe, in all probability, to the nature of the ſoil, which is every where porous and ſandy, and imbibes the rain almoſt as ſoon as it has fallen: I have ſeen that in moſt places, after the moſt inceſſant and violent rains, which laſted for three days, and raiſed torrents of water ruſhing through the town, there have been no viſible marks left, at the end of only two hours, of its having rained at all: and I was aſſured that it was exactly the ſame caſe, when the rains continued for three or four weeks, as frequently happened during the bad monſoons.

The rivers which run along or through the town, or the adjacent negrees, are, the *Bato gadja*, or *Elephant*'s river; the *Way tomo*,

tomo, which runs between the town, to the S.W. and the negrees *Soya* and *Mandhika*, to the N.E.; the *Way nitoe*, which divides the negree of *Italong* in two; and the *Way atlat*, which runs between this laſt and the Mooriſh negree.

The three firſt have their ſource in the mountains of *Soya*, and the laſt deſcends chiefly from the *Roodenberg*.

I have before obſerved that theſe rivers, in the good monſoons, or dry ſeaſons, can only be looked upon as little rivulets, moiſtening but a ſmall part of their beds; but that in the bad monſoons, or rainy ſeaſons, they ſwell up to a conſiderable height, and run with ſuch force and rapidity, upon the rain continuing any time, that they carry away all before them, and even the bridges which are built over them.

Juſt above the town, upon the *Bato gadja*, a garden has been laid out, and a good houſe built, by Governor VAN DER STEL, at the expence of the Company, which very much reſembles that called *Vergleegen*, which his brother, when governor at the *Cape of Good Hope*, made in *Hottentot Holland*, alſo at the

expence

expence of the Company. This is the only garden of conſideration that I ſaw at *Amboyna*, though there are, here and there, a few others, which are called gardens, but which ſolely conſiſt of a wood of ſago-trees, and a plantation of cocoanut-trees; that, however, of *Hatrve* excepted, which at preſent belongs to the engineer VAN WAGNER, and which may be called a handſome piece of ground for *Amboyna*.

As the keeping of the firſtmentioned garden was a conſiderable annual expence to the Company, the government at *Batavia* thought fit, in the year 1769, to transfer the ſame to the governor for the time being, for a certain ſum of money, for which his ſucceſſor is obliged, in his turn, to take it over: Mr. VAN DER V—— paid, if I am not miſtaken, two thouſand rixdollars * for it, to the Company.

Near it is a menagery, in which are kept, among others, ſome very beautiful ſpeckled deer.

The governors generally reſide at this place, when there is nothing to call for their

* About 4,400*l.* ſterling. *T.*

preſence

preſence at the town, or when there are no ſhips in the bay.

The chief, if not the only fortreſs, which the Company have at *Amboyna*, is the caſtle or fort; which, after it was rebuilt, was called *New Victoria*, as the old fort called *Victoria*, which had been erected by the Portugueſe, being an oblong ſquare, with four baſtions, was ſo much damaged by the earthquake of the year 1755, that it was thought more eligible to build an entire new fort, than to repair the old one.

It ſtands cloſe to the waterſide, a little to the weſt of the mouth of the *Way Nitoe*, and exactly oppoſite to the road, where ſhips commonly lie at anchor.

I took much pains to procure a plan of it, but the ſtrict integrity of the preſent acting engineer, Mr. H. E. VON WAGNER, was proof againſt the ſolicitations of friendſhip, and however much, in other things, he proved both willing and anxious to give me every teſtimony of his inclination to render me ſervice, I could not, in this inſtance, perſuade him to lend me a plan of the fort for ever ſo ſhort a time, in order to take a copy of it; I cannot therefore ſay

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any thing reſpecting the dimenſions of the works, and ſhall only deſcribe the general appearance of the fort.

Its ſhape is very irregular; on the land-ſide, it has three entire and one demi-baſtion, which, with their curtains, form part of a regular heptagon: on the water-ſide, there are two baſtions, in the curtain between which ſtands the watergate, in the ſame manner, as the landgate open between the two oppoſite baſtions, on the landſide.

The curtain, or battery, which runs north from the eaſternmoſt land-baſtion, is met by a ſimilar one coming from the eaſternmoſt ſea-baſtion, making an obtuſe angle of between 90° and 100°, ſo that the line of defence of the face of the eaſternmoſt land-baſtion runs exactly upon this angle; and the flanks of theſe baſtions are therefore without defence, which is an unpardonable fault in the firſt conſtruction of the fort, as the nature of the ground did not require this irregular mode of fortification: Mr. VON WAGNER intended to remedy this fault, as much as poſſible, by making a detached baſtion before the angle made by the

two

two batteries, by which theſe two flanks would be defended.

From the demi-baſtion, on the weſt ſide, a battery runs northward, and being met by another coming from the weſternmoſt ſea-baſtion, they form together an inverted obtuſe angle.

The ſea-baſtions, which are liable to be attacked by the greateſt force, are carried up ſomewhat higher, and are rather larger than the others; they are covered with bonnets in the middle of their faces, in order to be the better provided againſt an enfilade.

A hornwork extends before theſe baſtions, and covers the curtain between them; its projecting angles command the ſhore both above and below the caſtle, by which a landing any where near it is rendered very difficult, if not impoſſible.

All theſe works are built of brick, for which purpoſe many brickkilns have been erected here, where very good bricks are made.

They were then about making a covered-way, to begin from the flank of the weſtern

ſea-baſtion, and to run round the fortreſs to the other ſide of the eaſtern ſea-baſtion.

The whole is encircled by a wet ditch, which is the ſame that formerly run round the outworks of the old fort.

This is certainly the beſt fortification belonging to the Company, that I have ſeen, in India. Yet it is, by no means, favourably ſituated, on account of the near neighbourhood of the *Roodenberg*, and the lowneſs of its ſcite, by which, in my opinion, it would not be able to make any long or effectual reſiſtance, if the enemy were once landed, and could get their artillery on ſhore, ſo as to erect batteries on the ſurrounding heights.

The ſame defect occurs likewiſe on the ſide that looks towards the bay; for ſhips, if properly moored, can enfilade moſt of the lines of defence, at high water; the water riſing here, in ſpring tides, full ten feet; and the hornwork, which is full one-half lower than the main body of the place, is conſequently ſtill more expoſed.

I purpoſely add the ſuppoſition that the ſhips be properly moored; for the greateſt ſtrength

ſtrength of the place reſts upon the impracticability of bringing ſhips to attack it in a proper ſituation. As there is no anchoring-ground except cloſe to the ſhore, the ſhips are expoſed to the fire of forty or fifty pieces of heavy artillery long before they are able to let go their anchors, and put ſprings upon their cables, in order to haul the veſſels round; and all this is not ſo eaſily done under ſuch a fire, if the artillery upon the batteries be but well ſerved.

The nature of the bay too, the prevailing winds which blow here, and the calms which are not unfrequent, together with the ſtrong currents ſetting continually in and out of the bay, are formidable obſtacles to prevent ſhips from forming their attack, whilſt under ſail, and much more from making good a landing here; for which reaſon a landing muſt be attempted at a more convenient place, which might perhaps be found, either in the bight near *Hamahoeſe*, or in the *Portugueſe* bay.

And, although the old fort of *Victoria* is not to be compared, in point of ſtrength, to the preſent one, I do not believe that our people would ever have ſucceeded, in the

year 1605, in getting poſſeſſion of *Amboyna*, or rather of the peninſula of *Leytimor*, attacking it, at leaſt, as they did, at this place, had the Portugueſe defended this ſettlement with the ſame bravery as they did their other poſſeſſions, and not given it up in ſo cowardly a manner.

There is another great defect, at leaſt it appeared in that light to me, namely, the great extent of the fort. It is ſo large, that if all the works were to be properly manned, all the military to be found here, would ſcarcely be ſufficient to defend one half of them. Moreover, no leſs than a hundred pieces of cannon are requiſite to provide all the batteries as they ought to be, and there are no more than fifty or ſixty cannoneers in the whole province.

In order to fortify the bay ſtill more, the engineer, VON WAGNER, has propoſed to erect two new batteries, viz. one, a ſhort mile ſouthweſt of *Victoria*, at the mouth of the *Elephants*-river, to command the part of the bay, called the *Vrymans*, or *free merchants'* road, and to be able to rake the ſhips which may lie to the weſtward of the caſtle; and another upon the point of the

Laha,

Laha, for which all ſhips coming up the bay muſt ſteer in a ſtrait direction, in order to keep cloſe in with the windward ſhore; which propoſal has met with the approbation of the ſupreme government at *Batavia*.

Perhaps another battery near or upon the point of *Alang*, would be of ſtill greater utility, for ſhips entering the bay muſt equally ſteer ſtrait for, and very cloſe along, it, in order not to be in danger of being driven to leeward of the bay, by the currents.

I did not ſee any of the other little forts which the Company have at *Hila*, *Sapoura*, *Harouko*, and *Larike*; but, according to the information I received reſpecting them, they are of little conſequence, and at moſt ſtrong enough to keep the natives in awe*.

The

* The other forts in this province, are: upon the iſland of *Amboyna*, Fort *Amſterdam*, which mounts ſixteen guns, at *Hila*; Fort *Rotterdam*, at *Larike*; the redoubt *Middleburg*, at the *Paſs of Baguewala*; and a ſmall triangular fort near *Oerien*, called *Fluſhing*: upon *Boure*, the palliſadoed fort *Defence*, mounting fourteen iron guns; upon *Manipa*, the redoubt *Wantrouw*, or *Diſtruſt*, of the ſame force; upon *Hoewamoebil*, Fort *Hardenberg* at *Cambello*, and Fort *Overburg* at *Loeboe*; upon *Nouſſalaut*, a ſmall redoubt of four guns, called *Beverwyck*; upon *Honimoa*, the redoubt *Velſen*, having five guns, at

The buildings within the Fort of *New Victoria* are not yet all finiſhed; there are, however, already two powder-magazines, the rice and ſpice-warehouſes, the naval ſtorehouſe, the proviſion-warehouſe, the dwellinghouſe of the comptroller of equipment, and the guardhouſe at the landgate; but no beginning has yet been made with the government-houſe, or the dwellings for the ſenior merchant; and the captain commandant of the military; the watergate is likewiſe not entirely completed.

Mr. VAN DER V—— told me, that the erection of this fortreſs had already coſt the Company two millions of gilders*; but the engineer, VON WAGNER, ſtated the expence of it conſiderably lower.

the point of *Tetawaroe*; the redoubt *Delft*, of ſix guns, at *Poeta*, and Fort *Duurſteede* at *Sapoura*; and upon *Oma*, Fort *Zeelandia* at *Haroulo*. The capture of *Amboyna* and *Banda* by the Engliſh, will afford opportunities to us of becoming fully acquainted with every particular reſpecting thoſe remote but valuable and intereſting ſettlements. It is to be hoped that ſome of the gentlemen of the navy or army who went upon that expedition, will favour the public with an account of theſe acquiſitions; men of genius and obſervation are not wanting either among our naval or military officers, and a narrative of the expedition alluded to, may not only be ſaid to be deſired, but alſo to be expected, from ſome of them. *T.*

* About 281,200*l.* ſterling. *T.*

CHAP.

CHAPTER VII.

The Clove-trade.—Endeavours of the Dutch to retain it excluſively to themſelves.—Attempts of the Engliſh to participate in it.—Garriſons and Eſtabliſhment at AMBOYNA.*—Profits and Charges of this Province.—Reflections on the Clove-trade.—Large Stock of Cloves.—Endeavoured to be diminiſhed by Extirpations; and by burning great Quantities.—The Hongitogt, or yearly Expedition of the Governor round* CERAM, *&c.—Earthquake at* AMBOYNA.

THE chief, if not the ſole, advantage derived to the Company from the poſſeſſion of *Amboyna* and its dependencies, is the collection of cloves, and the maſtery of this article to the excluſion of all other nations, by which they are enabled, at pleaſure, to raiſe, or lower, the price.

This gave riſe, at an early period, after the conqueſt of the iſland, to much jealouſy and animoſity between the Dutch and the Engliſh, and theſe diſputes did not terminate with the expulſion of the latter from the iſland,

iſland, but were made a pretence, many years afterwards, for declaring war againſt the republic: they were not finally ſettled till the concluſion of the peace of *Breda*, in the year 1667.

The Company would not, however, ever have ſucceeded in ſecuring to themſelves the excluſive trade in this ſpice, which is ſpontaneouſly produced in all the adjacent *Molucca* iſlands, had they not endeavoured wholly to transfer, and confine, the cultivation of it to *Amboyna*; partly by ſubduing the princes of thoſe iſlands by force of arms, and preſcribing to them ſuch conditions of peace as they found convenient, the principal of which had relation to the clove-trade, eſpecially with reſpect to the kings of *Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Machian*, and *Bachian*, compelling them not to ſell any of the cloves, produced in their dominions, to any other nation; and partly, by forcing them, about the middle of the laſt century, to deſtroy all the clove-trees, which grew in their territories, for which they were to receive an equivalent in money.

In the ſame manner, the Company have entered into a contract with the king of

Bouton,

Bouton, to whoſe dominion many places belong, which yield ſpices, that he ſhall not only allow the extirpator, whom they diſpatch every year on an expedition through the iſlands, to perform the ſervice on which he is ſent, but ſhall alſo afford him every aſſiſtance in doing it.

Yet, notwithſtanding all this, and how far ſoever they may be able to extend their extirpations in the circumjacent countries, they will never be able wholly to prevent other nations from procuring ſpices without their intermediation. There are too many iſlands, and too widely diſperſed, that produce theſe commodities, of which neither they, nor their allies, are in poſſeſſion, or poſſibly can be, without entirely exhauſting themſelves by the erection of numerous fortreſſes, which are indiſpenſably neceſſary, if all intercourſe with foreign nations muſt be prevented*.

Thus

* However aſſiduous the Dutch are in the deſtruction of ſpice-trees, they never have, or can, ſucceed in extirpating them all. It is only in places of eaſy acceſs, and near the ſea, that they are generally cut down, but they grow abundantly in many retired ſpots of the large and woody iſland of *Gilolo*, in the receſſes of *Ceram*, upon *Ouby*, *Myſol*, in the foreſts of *Bachian*, as well as upon *Cadoepan*, and many other iſlands,

where

Thus the Engliſh formed a ſettlement ſome years ago upon the iſland *Xullock*, lying north of the *Moluccas*; but as the indifferent quality of the ſoil, and other circumſtances, did not anſwer their purpoſes in forming ſuch an eſtabliſhment, they changed it for *Balambangan*, an iſland on the north-eaſt coaſt of *Borneo*, in order to lay the foundation there for a place of trade, whither the clandeſtine dealers in ſpice might bring their goods, and thus furniſh our rivals with the articles out of which we endeavour to keep them.

where they are inacceſſible to the deſtructive ax of the extirpator; and what is actually deſtroyed, is not, perhaps, the hundredth part of the trees producing the precious ſpices. The parties ſent out on ſuch buſineſs, generally conſiſt of a military officer, or ſome civil ſervant belonging to the Dutch, with three or four European attendants, and perhaps twenty or thirty Bugguefs ſoldiers, with their officer. They generally make it a party of pleaſure; and the Bugguefs officer (while the chief is regaling himſelf in the heat of the day) ſets off to the woods with ſome of his men, where he executes his commiſſion juſt as it ſuits his convenience; taking care to bring back plenty of branches, to ſhew his aſſiduity, when, perhaps, they are all from one tree. Sometimes a ſerjeant at an outpoſt, to get into favour with his chief, ſends an account of his having diſcovered, on a certain ſpot, a parcel of ſpice-trees; with news, perhaps, at the ſame time, that he has deſtroyed them all: poſſibly the chief's domeſtics might inform him of many more ſuch ſpots at hand, but they are too wiſe to ſay much on ſo delicate a ſubject. *T.*

The

The garriſons which the Company keep in this province, were fixed, in the year 1752, at nine hundred men, including the ſeamen and the penniſts. His excellency, Governor MOSSEL, ſays, in his further memorial, written in the year 1753, that this number is ſufficient, ſince *Amboyna* has nothing to fear from an European enemy*.

By that memorial, the profits which accrue annually to the Company upon the ſale of goods, are eſtimated at forty thouſand gilders; the proceeds of the rent of lands, exciſe duties, a duty of five per cent upon the ſale of real property, the ſtamp duties, and the produce of the permits granted for the importation and exportation of private merchandize, are computed to be thirty thouſand gilders; and all the receipts are, conſequently, taken at ſeventy thouſand gilders; which ſum, by a further memorial of economy, was reduced to ſixty-ſix thouſand gilders: and even this latter ſum is not now drawn

* In 1776-1777, the whole eſtabliſhment at *Amboyna* conſiſted of fifty-two in civil employments, three clergymen, twenty-eight ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, forty-ſix belonging to the artillery, 174 ſeamen and marines, 657 ſoldiers, and 111 mechanics, in all 1071 Europeans; beſides fifty-nine natives in the Company's ſervice. *T.*

from

from thoſe objects; ſixty or ſeventy bales of coarſe piecegoods, which are annually diſpoſed of here at an advance of from ſeventy to eighty per cent, the good vent whereof likewiſe depends much upon the ſucceſs or failure of the crop of cloves, do not ſuffice, with the other revenues, to make up that amount.

According to the abovementioned memorial of Governor MOSSEL, the annual charges of this government ought not to exceed one hundred and eighty-five thouſand gilders, in order that the defalcation on the four eaſtern provinces ſhould not be more than four hundred thouſand gilders a year; but, by the lateſt memorial, the charges of *Amboyna* were ſtated at *f.*176,518. 0. 0; and, in the five laſt years, they have averaged yearly *f.*265,549. 10. 11, ſo that they actually amount to *f.*89,031. 10. 11 every year, more than MOSSEL ſtated them at*.

Theſe,

* The calculations of General MOSSEL of the revenues and charges of the ſeveral eſtabliſhments of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, are always particularly mentioned in this work, and contraſted with the actual amounts of each in the year 1779 (that is, from the 1ſt of September, 1778, to the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1779), that year being in the books of the Company

one

Theſe, as well as the charges of the government of *Macaſſer* and *Ternate*, muſt be defrayed out of the profits upon the cloves, nutmegs, and mace, which muſt, likewiſe, contribute towards making good the expences of the Company at *Batavia* and at home; but can any favourable expectations of future advantage be entertained on this head, when we conſider the great decreaſe which is experienced in the ſale of the firſt named ſpice? Three millions of pounds remaining ſtill in the warehouſes at *Batavia*,

one which they call *het boekjaar*, or year in which a general review is taken of all their concerns, as is done every ten years; becauſe the calculations of that gentleman have not only formed the baſis upon which the revenues and charges of each ſettlement, as ſtated in the famous *Hiſtoire Philoſophique et Politique* of Abbé RAYNAL, have been computed, but have alſo obtained a great and almoſt deciſive authority in eſtabliſhing the advantages or diſadvantages reaped by the Dutch from their Indian poſſeſſions. In the courſe of this work, they frequently appear to be conſiderably different from the actual amount of the receipts and expenditure, and are, in fact, rather calculations of what theſe ought to be, than what they really are. In 1779, the charges of *Amboyna* were *f.*201,082; and the whole of the revenues, including the profits upon the ſale of goods (five per cent on the ſale being allowed to the governor and ſecond, two-thirds to the former, and one-third to the latter), amounted to no more than *f.*48,747, leaving a balance againſt the Company of *f.*152,335, or about 13,850*l.* ſterling. *T.*

of

of which no more than one-fifteenth part can be annually diſpoſed of in the Indies, together with a ſtock on hand in Holland, large enough to ſupply the conſumption of Europe for the ſpace of ten years, and the quantities of cloves that from time to time are committed to the flames by the Company, in order to leſſen their ſuperabundant ſtock, form proofs enough of the decreaſe of the clove-trade, and do not require further animadverſion than the bare mention of them*.

On

* Every clove-tree is calculated to produce annually, upon an average, two, or two and a half, pounds of cloves, ſo that the yearly crop is at leaſt one million pounds per annum from the 500,000 clove-trees allowed to be cultivated; much larger crops are frequently made, though in ſome years they fall materially ſhort, and yield but a trifling quantity. One of the largeſt ſales of cloves made in Holland, was in the year 1714, when 435,427 pounds were ſold; in 1758, no more than 200,000 pounds were ſold; in 1778, 234,271 pounds; and in 1788, 400,000 pounds; and about 150,000, or 200,000 pounds are annually diſpoſed of in the Indies. The quantities of cloves always remaining over in the hands of the Company, notwithſtanding their continual extirpations, muſt, therefore, be immenſe; they endeavour to moderate this ſuperfluity by burning large quantities of ſpices from time to time; Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE ſays, in his Obſervations upon Holland, that a Dutchman, who had been at the Spice-iſlands, told him, that he ſaw, at one time, three heaps of nutmegs burnt, each of which

On a ſuperficial view, when we are told that every pound of cloves only ſtands the Company in $4\frac{3}{4}$ ſtivers, the mace in $9\frac{1}{2}$ ſtivers, and the nutmegs about half as cheap as the cloves, it ſhould ſeem that the Spice-iſlands

which was more than an ordinary church could hold; in 1760, M. BEAUMARE ſaw at *Amſterdam*, near the admiralty, a fire of ſpices, the fuel of which was valued at 1,000,000 of livres, and as much was to be burnt on the day following; the tranſlator of this work has himſelf been witneſs to the burning of large quantities of cloves, nutmegs, and cinnamon, upon the little iſland of *Newland*, near *Middleburgh*, in *Zealand*, the aromatic ſcent whereof perfumed the air for many miles around. Although the Dutch have thus, by all the means in their power, endeavoured to counteract the indulgent bounty of heaven, they have not, in any inſtance, attained their object; for, excluſive of the impoſſibility of preventing the ſpontaneous production of ſpices in the extenſive woods of hundreds of iſlands, of which they ſcarcely know the names or ſituation, and the conſtant clandeſtine trade carried on in ſpices, by the Papuas, Cerammers, Bougineſe, and Chineſe, the conſumption of, and demands for, cloves, have ſo much decreaſed, that the monopoly is no more worth the expences of retaining it excluſively: and in regard to nutmegs, they have been the dupes of their own avarice; for, confining as much as poſſible, the cultivation of that ſpice to the iſlands of *Banda*, it was nearly annihilated there in the year 1778, by a violent hurricane and earthquake, and few ſupplies of conſideration have been obtained for ſeveral years afterwards. When Admiral RAINIER took poſſeſſion of *Amboyna*, in 1796, he found, in the treaſury, 81,112 rixdollars, and in ſtore 515,940*lb.* of cloves. The importations into England, by the

iſlands afford an inexhauſtible ſource of riches, ſince the ſelling price exceeds the coſt in ſo uncommon a degree; but if we go farther, and conſider that theſe three articles of trade muſt bear the whole expence of all the four eaſtern provinces, to which muſt be added the charges of ſeven or eight ſhips, employed in fetching them, it will be found that they, in fact, coſt very dear.*

The great ſuperfluity of cloves has, indeed, been endeavoured to be prevented by diminiſhing the number of clove-trees, from

East-India Company, ſince the capture of the Spice-iſlands, till the preſent time (October, 1798), have been as follows:

cloves,	817,312 pounds.
nutmegs,	93,732 do.
mace,	46,730 do.

beſides conſiderable quantities of each in private trade and privilege goods, namely,

100 caſes 20 caſks	cloves, weighing, we ſuppoſe,	about	30,000*lb.*
81 caſes 76 caſks 29 cheſts	nutmegs,	do.	36,000
7 boxes 12 caſes 167 baſk^{t}. 1131 cheſts	mace,	do.	240,000

T.

* See *Secreete bedenkingen over den waaren ſtaat der Nederlandſche Compagnie*, by J. Mossel, Sections liii. and liv. *S.*

time

time to time, by extirpations; but by this means the Company ruin their Amboyneſe ſubjects; and if fortune ſhould ever again favour them, and the vent of this article be again as large as heretofore, they would find that they were poſſeſſed of the ſoil for producing them, but not of clove-trees, which require more years to arrive at maturity, than moments to be deſtroyed.

I ſhould now have to make ſome mention of the *hongitogt*, or yearly expedition of the governor of *Amboyna*, with a fleet of *corrocorros*, round *Ceram*, and the neighbouring iſlands, if VALENTYN had not ſo amply related every particular of it, that I can only add, that it did not take place during the time I was at *Amboyna*, the month of October being the period appointed for it.*

Between

* The *hongi*, or fleet of armed *corrocorros* of *Amboyna*, was inſtituted by Governor HOUTMAN, in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century. In the month of October, the faireſt ſeaſon of the year, they aſſemble in the bay of *Amboyna*; all the different *rajahs*, and *orancayos*, are then bound to appear with their *corrocorros*, in order to accompany the governor in this annual expedition round the iſlands under his juriſdiction. It is undertaken for the purpoſe of examining into, and deciding upon, all diſputes that may ariſe among

Between the 18th and 19th of April, we felt here an earthquake, which laſted full

the Indians that are ſubject to the Company; of preventing and diſcovering all illicit trade; and of deſtroying ſuch ſpice-trees as are found growing in places where they are not allowed: one chief purpoſe, however, is, that numbers of the common people, who are obliged, by their tenure, to ſerve the Company during one month in the year, are by this means taken away from the collection of the crop of cloves which falls in about this time, and which is, in conſequence, much leſſened for want of hands, it being, as we have before ſeen, a great object of policy in the Company to prevent a too abundant ſupply. They are obliged to maintain themſelves during this expedition, which laſts five or ſix weeks, except that the Company allow each man one and a half, or two pounds of rice per day; and to the *orangcayos*, when they ſet out, three gallons of arrack, twelve pounds of pork, or beef, and a meaſure of rice. This expedition has, at different times, been neglected; but the annual performance of it has been frequently enjoined by the government at *Batavia*, and in particular in the years 1680, 1688, and 1693, when the coaſts of *Ceram* were greatly infeſted by the incurſions of the Papuas. The *Hongi*-fleet generally conſiſts of forty, fifty, or ſixty veſſels; when complete, it ſhould conſiſt of ſixty-one *corocorros*, viz.

6 from the iſland of *Oma*
3 from the coaſt of *Ceram*, under *Oma*
4 from the iſland *Manipa*
14 from the diſtrict of Fort *Victoria*, upon *Amboyna*
6 from the peninſula of *Hitoe*
1 from the coaſt of *Ceram*, under *Hitoe*
8 from the iſland *Honimoa*
3 from the iſland *Noeſſa-laut*

8 from

full five minutes. The dull rumbling noiſe that accompanied it, and the undulating motion,

8 from the iſland *Ceram*
3 from the diſtrict of *Larike*
and 5 from the iſland of *Bouro*

61

If any village is unable to join the fleet with their appointed *corrocorros*, or is excuſed from the ſervice by the governor, they muſt burn a kiln of lime for the Company; and if they wilfully neglect it, they are ſubject to arbitrary puniſhment. The governor uſed formerly to carry his flag on the *corrocorro* of the rajah of *Nouſſani-vel*, but the rajah of *Titaruay* has now that privilege; this *corrocorro* is one of four *gnadjes*, or ranks of paddlers, and is provided with two or three handſome apartments for the accommodation of the governor, who is attended by a guard of fifty or ſixty ſoldiers. The fleet is divided into three diviſions, the firſt being all *corrocorros* of Chriſtian chiefs, the ſecond of Mahomedans, and the third partly of Chriſtians and partly of Pagan chiefs. In order to give an idea of the force of ſuch a fleet, we ſubjoin a ſtatement, from VALENTYN, of that which went on the *Hongi* expedition of the year 1706, under Governor VAN DER STEL; it conſiſted of fifty-ſix *corrocorros*, namely,

Seven of four *gnadjos*, or banks of paddlers *(quadriremes)*.

corrocorros.	manned with	armed with		
	paddlers.	other men.	ſwivels.	muſquetoons.
1	77	24	2	1
1	71	36	1	5
1	67	36	0	2
1	64	22	0	0

corrocorros.	manned with	armed with		
	paddlers.	other men.	ſwivels.	muſquetoons.
1	64	20	0	15
1	60	20	2	0
1	60	16	2	2

corro-

motion, ſeemed to run in a direction from S.W. to N.E. The thermometers did not

Forty-nine of three *guadjos (triremes)*.

corre-corres.	manned with paddlers.	manned with other men.	armed with ſwi-vels.	armed with muſ-quetoons.	*corre-corres.*	manned with paddlers.	manned with other men.	armed with ſwi-vels.	armed with muſ-quetoons.
1	95	18	1	2	1	55	16	4	0
1	70	20	3	3	1	55	12	1	0
1	70	20	0	1	1	55	10	0	1
1	70	12	1	0	1	54	22	0	0
1	70	10	1	1	1	54	7	0	0
1	65	25	0	2	1	53	18	2	3
1	65	21	1	1	1	53	18	1	1
1	62	20	4	0	1	53	10	2	1
1	61	24	3	0	1	53	10	1	1
1	61	16	1	1	1	50	25	1	4
1	60	20	2	3	1	50	20	1	3
1	60	20	2	2	1	50	20	0	2
1	60	20	1	3	1	50	20	0	0
1	60	10	1	1	1	50	20	0	0
1	60	10	1	0	1	50	13	0	5
1	60	10	0	1	1	50	13	0	0
1	59	15	0	0	1	50	10	0	0
1	58	26	2	1	1	48	16	1	0
1	58	20	0	0	1	47	25	1	1
1	58	15	1	6	1	44	18	1	2
1	58	12	0	4	1	38	16	2	2
1	56	14	0	1	1	38	7	1	0
1	55	22	2	2	1	31	10	1	0
1	55	20	2	2	1	27	8	1	1
1	55	20	2	0					
				Total	56	3182	978	59	89

undergo

undergo any change before, during, or after the ſhock. The air was clear, and the weather was dead calm. The water in the bay was alſo much agitated: my ſhip, which lay, at that time, at the pierhead, received a very violent ſhock, being impelled forwards, and driven back again, with great force. The northeaſt wall of the newly-erected rice-warehouſe in the caſtle was rent, by this earthquake, in an horizontal direction, juſt below where the rafters were inſerted that ſupport the roof, forty feet in length; and a ſummerhouſe made of bamboos, cloſely covered with ſhrubbery, which ſtood behind my houſe, was thrown down; beſides which, no damage was found to have been done any where.

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from AMBOYNA.—*View of the Iſland* AMBLAUW.—*Of the Iſlands of* ST. MATTHEW.—*Of the* TOUCAN-BESSIS.—*Of* CADOEPAN.—*Of* BOUTON.—*Of* CABYNE *and* LIZARD-*Iſland.*—*Of* SALEYER.—CELEBES.—*Paſſage of the* BUDGEROONS.—*The Iſland* TANAKEKE.—*View of the* TONYNS, *or* TUNNY *Iſlands.*—*Of* GREAT SOLOMBO.—*Of* MADURA.—MANDELIQUE.—*Anchorage off* JAPARA.—*Navigation along the Coaſt of* JAVA.—*Anchorage in the Road of* BATAVIA.—*Obſervations reſpecting the Navigation to* AMBOYNA.—*Great Inaccuracy of the Charts.*—*Strong Currents.*—*Calms.*

AFTER my ſhip had been unladen, and had taken in a new cargo, we left the road; we were the whole of that day, and the following night, in working down the bay, keeping always on the windward ſide, which was the ſhore of *Leytimor*, as, on entering, it had been that of *Hitoe*.

On the 9th of June, at ſunriſe, we were breaſt

abreaſt of the Portugueſe bay, and at ten o'clock, A.M. we were out at ſea.

At ſunſet we got ſight of the iſland *Amblauw*, and on the next morning, of the iſland *Bouro*, abreaſt of us, to N.N.E.

On the 11th, in the evening, we ſaw the iſlands of *St. Matthew*, from the maintop, and lay-by during the night, on account of our vicinity to the *Toucan-beſſis*.

In the morning of the next day, we again purſued our courſe, but made but little ſail, as the air was very thick, by the rain, and we had no good view, in order not to fall unexpectedly upon the *Toucan-beſſis*; at ſeven o'clock, however, we ſuddenly ſaw them before us, about a league ahead; we inſtantly tacked and ſtood off, till the weather cleared up a little, and till, at eight o'clock, we could purſue our voyage again. We paſſed thoſe dangerous iſlands, and had likewiſe a view of the iſland *Cadoepan*, where it is ſaid that many cloves are produced; ſteering for the eaſt point of *Bouton*, which we doubled about midnight.

On the 13th, at ſunſet, we ſaw the iſland *Cabyne* and *Hagediſſen*, or *Lizard*-iſland; on the morning of the next day, the

iſland

iſland *Saleyer*, and two hours afterwards the coaſt of *Celebes*, with the little iſlands the *Budgeroons* lying between them; at ten o'clock, A.M. we paſſed this narrow ſtrait in ſafety, running between the ſouthernmoſt and middlemoſt of the *Budgeroons*, at the diſtance of one-eighth of a league from the former.

In the afternoon we ſounded, for the firſt time, in thirty-four fathoms, ſtiff clay, being then abreaſt of *Boele-comba*, about three leagues off ſhore.

Sailing by the lead, during the night, along the coaſt of *Celebes*, we were, on the morning of the next day, by the iſland *Tanakeka*; whence we ſteered our courſe ſo as to paſs the *Laars*, or *Boot*, at a proper place. At noon we ſaw the *Tonyns*, or *Tunny* iſlands, and at ſunſet the iſlands of *Salinas*, bearing north, five leagues, ſounding continually with a line of twenty-five fathoms, without ſtriking ground upon the *Laars*.

On the 16th we again ſtruck ſoundings, which we afterwards kept.

On the 17th we got ſight of the iſland *Great Solombo*, which we found to be of a moderate

moderate height, and placed too far ſouth in the charts, by thirteen minutes, or three leagues and a quarter. Hence we ſteered, in order to make the iſland *Madura*, of which we came in ſight the next day at noon.

On the 20th, at ſunriſe, we paſſed *Mandelique*, and anchored at two o'clock, P.M. in the outer road of *Japara*, and ſending our boat on ſhore for refreſhments, we received a plentiful ſupply the next day from the worthy reſident, Mr. VAN DER BEKE; at the ſame time I received information that my ſhip, *Ouwerkerk*, was appointed, by the government of *Batavia*, to go a voyage to *Surat*.

In the afternoon we ſaw the point of *Pamalang*, and the lofty ſummit of Mount *Tagal*.

On the 23d, the hill of *Cheribon* was abreaſt, and the point of *Indramaye* nearly ahead of us; in the afternoon we ſaw the *Boomptjens* iſlands, and in the evening we reckoned that we had paſſed the rock upon which the ſhip called *the Caſtle of Woerden* was loſt.

The following day, in the morning, we ſaw

ſaw the high trees of *Sedary*, and at ſunſet we came to an anchor off *Murderer*'s Point, and in ſight of the iſland *Edam*.

On the 25th, at eleven o'clock, A.M. we got under ſail, and paſſing between the little iſlands of *Leyden* and *Enkhuizen*, we ſteered for the road of *Batavia*, where we caſt anchor at three o'clock, P.M.

Before I go any farther, I think it neceſſary to ſay ſomething reſpecting the navigation to *Amboyna*, as it is deſerving of much attention, and has always been held a very dangerous voyage.

There are three circumſtances which often unite to make it very hazardous, and are the chief cauſes of the difficulty and peril which are complained of:

Firſt, the bad and inaccurate charts of this paſſage, which are made uſe of; and which are certainly extremely defective, notwithſtanding the governor general, Mossel, alleges, in his further memorial, that at that time (the year 1753), the charts had been ſo improved, that, for two or three years before, none of the ſhips trading to the eaſt had been loſt. I am therefore not at all ſurprized, that, before that time, ſhips were

were loſt every year, if they were without any other aid than that of ſuch deceitful guides. If I may judge from the charts which are thus pretended to be improved, and which are at preſent given to the ſhips that perform that voyage, they muſt undoubtedly have plunged many an intrepid ſeaman, who had not before ploughed theſe dangerous ſeas, into uncertainty and deſpair, and have driven him headlong into the midſt of unknown and unavoidable dangers.

The firſt and chiefeſt requiſite of a good ſea-chart is, that in it the iſlands and coaſts be accurately laid down in their proper latitudes; and all the charts from *Java* to *Amboyna*, are glaringly defective in this particular; one iſland is placed too far north, another too far ſouth, and this is occaſioned by the obſervations, whence theſe charts have been made, not being exact. This might be adduced as a diſculpation of the hydrographer, were it not that the navigators of later times have conſtantly noted down, and pointed out theſe defects in the journals of their Amboyna voyages. My obſervations agreed with three of them, which I took with me for reference, when

I went

I went to *Amboyna*. Yet has not all this ſufficed to produce the removal of this hurtful defect.

The ſecond neceſſary requiſite of a chart is, that the true direction of the coaſts, and the exact poſitions of the iſlands, and their bearings with reſpect to the neareſt land, be duly and accurately attended to. The defective ſtate of the charts in queſtion, in this particular too, is not a little complained of, and remains equally unrectified, although many reports have been made by navigators, on the ſubject. And, laſtly, that the reſpective diſtances be laid down as exactly as poſſible, which has, in theſe charts, been totally neglected; of which glaring defects, I have, from time to time, made mention in my journal.

The ſecond cauſe of the danger and difficulty of the eaſtern navigation, are the currents, which ſet with ſo much violence between the iſlands and along the coaſts of this archipelago, that if I had not experienced it myſelf, I ſhould ſcarcely credit the account: in addition to this, they have no regular courſe, and ſometimes run contrary to the wind, and at uncertain times.

Add

Add to theſe, as a third cauſe, the calms which prevail ſo much in theſe climates, and the dangers which ſurround navigators in this paſſage will be very manifeſt; for veſſels are driven, in dead calm weather, by the violent currents, upon unknown ſhoals and rocks, ſo that the moſt experienced ſeamen is unable, in ſuch caſes, to ſave the ſhip and cargo entruſted to him.

It has likewiſe been obſerved, that ſuch of the Company's captains as have performed ſeveral voyages to the eaſtern provinces are, for this reaſon, continued in that navition, which is not diſadvantageous for the intereſt of the Company, but unfortunate for thoſe captains, as theſe voyages afford but little profit, and they do not, in conſequence, feel much attachment for the ſervice of the Company.

CHAP-

CHAPTER IX.

Departure from BATAVIA.—*Paſſage to* SURAT.—*Signs of Land.—Curious Species of Molluſca.—Zodiacal Light.— Waterſnakes. — View of the high Land of* BAZAIM.—*Of Cape* ST. JOHN.—*Of the Pike* PISCADORES.—*Directions for ſailing into the Road of* SURAT.—*Anchorage there.*

I HAVE before ſaid, that the ſhip *Ouwerkerk* was appointed to ſail to *Surat*, and as it had been reſolved that two ſhips ſhould be ſent thither this year, the ſhip *Overhoud*, commanded by Captain PETER ANGELOORST, was ordered to proceed to *Surat*, in company with mine.

All poſſible expedition was uſed to get both veſſels in readineſs half a month earlier than ſhips bound on that voyage generally are, becauſe, in the preceding year, the ſhip *the Lady Gertrude*, that had cleared the Straits of *Sunda* on the 28th of Auguſt, did not reach *Surat* before the beginning of December.

The

The crew of each ſhip conſiſted of ſeventy-eight European ſailors, twenty-five Moors, or Laſcars, and twenty-five native, or Bougineſe, ſoldiers, whoſe military abilities almoſt extended ſo far as to fire off a muſquet. I had beſides ten Bantammers on board, who were going on a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and took their paſſage by my ſhip.

Thus equipped, we left the road of *Batavia* on the 4th of Auguſt, ſteering between the ſhore of *Java* and the iſland *Onruſt*, afterwards paſſing the iſlands *Middelburg*, *De Combuis*, or *Furnace*, and *Menſcheneeters*, or *Cannibal*-iſland, and, at ſunſet, we came to an anchor in ſight of the iſlands which lie in the bay of *Bantam*.

At daybreak, on the 7th, we weighed anchor, and ſteering for the point of *Bantam*, were abreaſt of it at noon.

An hour before ſunſet, Captain ANGELOORST hailed me, and informed me that the looſeneſs of his rigging would not allow him to carry ſail any longer during the ſtiff ſouth-weſterly gale which we then had; and we, therefore, came to an anchor under *Geertruida*-iſland.

Here, on this and the following day, we

met with a regular current, changing twice in twenty-four hours, and ſetting s.w. and N.E. at the rate of four to five leagues in a watch; but the ſtream ſetting to the s.w. was the ſtrongeſt.

On the next day, we could not again get under ſail till towards noon, when the north-eaſt current had ſubſided: at four o'clock, P.M. we had paſſed the iſlands *Dwars-in-den-weg*, or *Thwart-the-way*, and the *Brabandſch hoedje*; and as we had determined to run into the bay of *Jeritte*, we endeavoured, by plying to windward, as the wind was at s.w. to reach that anchoring-place; but as the wind blew freſher every moment, I was afraid of coming to an anchor, and, therefore, kept under weigh during the night, with very little ſail.

The following day, we again worked farther on towards *Jeritte*, and caſt anchor about a league from that place.

We remained here at anchor till the 16th of Auguſt, when we took our laſt obſervation of *Princes*-iſland at ſunſet, and loſing ſight of the ſame, as well as of the land of *Java*, on the next day, we ſteered w.s.w. according to the Company's ſailing-orders, till

till the 24th, when being in about the latitude of 10° ſouth, we changed our courſe to due weſt.

On the following day, in the afternoon, having got into longitude 82° eaſt from *Teneriffe*, and our compaſſes ſhewing 7° N.W. variation, we then, agreeable to the abovementioned ſailing-orders, ſteered due north.

On the 8th of September, we thought that we ſaw the iſland *Gracia* from the tops, yet we could not aſcertain the reality of it, as the weather was ſhowery; in order, however, not to run any danger, we bore away from it in the evening; and reſuming our courſe at two o'clock in the morning, we could ſee no appearance of land at daybreak.

The day before, and eſpecially in the evening, we had ſeen many birds, which confirmed us in the opinion that we were not far diſtant from ſome iſland. Our compaſſes then ſhewed full 7° N.W. variation, and we were in $7\frac{1}{2}$° ſouth latitude.

On the 14th, we loſt the eaſterly winds, which we had had from the commencement of the voyage, and met with weſterly gales, being $1\frac{1}{2}$° ſouth of the line, which we paſſed

on the 16th, with a northweſterly variation of about 6°, ſteering N. by W. in order not to be driven upon the *Maldive* iſlands, by the currents, which, in this time of the year, ſet towards the eaſt, in which direction from us thoſe iſlands lay.

It was a long time before we got as far as 13° north latitude. Continued calms, which had laſted ſeven days, and previous thereto contrary winds, together with currents ſetting to the ſouth, were the obſtacles which prevented the more ſpeedy proſecution of our voyage.

On the 13th of October, we ſaw ſome floating ſeaweed, and, the day after, we caught a quail; a bird, which, it is ſaid, is always met with on the coaſt of *Arabia*.

The ſigns of land ſtill continued on the following day; and beſides theſe, we ſaw many little round white ſea-animals, of various ſizes, ſome being as large as a gilder-piece *, and others very little bigger than a *dubbeltje* †. I had ſome taken up

* Which is ſomewhat leſs in ſize than a half-crown-piece. *T.*

† Or Dutch two-penny-piece, about as large as our ſixpence. *T.*

out

out of the ſea, in order to take an accurate view of them. At firſt, they appeared no more than inanimate marine productions; but having ſtood ſtill for ſome time in bowls of water, they proved to belong to the animal kingdom. That which, floating in the ſea, appeared like a piece of money, was a hard, bony, round ſubſtance, of about one-tenth of an inch in thickneſs, yet more or leſs flexible, divided on the upper ſide into three circles, the outermoſt of which was of a beautiful pearl-colour, the two others were a little darker; fine ſtrokes, like rays, cloſe to each other, of a brighter hue than the circles, ran from the center to the circumference, and were croſſed by others, running in a wavy direction, but exactly following the circular ſhape of the whole ſubſtance: innumerable animalculæ, like polypi, the longeſt of which was not one-fourth of an inch in length, ſpread themſelves out from the outer edge; ſome of them had two branches upon one trunk, that ſpread out like a fork, but moſt were ſingle. The glaſs which I had to view theſe molluſca, was but of ſmall powers, yet I perceived by it that each of the abovementioned polypi

were ſtudded with ſeveral little ſky-blue ſpots, and their bodies were, lengthwiſe, in the form of a priſm, the ſides of which, being convex, appeared of a tranſparent blue. At the under part of this bony ſubſtance (for this creature always ſwam with what has juſt been deſcribed uppermoſt) appeared an infinite collection of vermicular forms, cloſely intertwined together, of a dirty white colour, and which I was not able to ſeparate from each other. In the middle was a little lump, about a line in ſize, of an irregular ſhape, in which ſometimes an expanſion and contraction were viſible, as in the heart of a live animal. When the polypi were fully expanded, the whole appeared very much like a paſſion-flower.

I was not able to keep one of theſe creatures alive for longer than three or four hours; during that time many of the polypi fell off from their common parent ſtock, and ſank down to the bottom of the bowl, without the leaſt appearance of life remaining in them.

The ſeeing of all theſe ſigns of land, made us ſuſpect that we were much more to the weſtward than we reckoned; and ſome obſervations

ſervations of the longitude, taken according to the manner of M. DE LA CAILLE, confirmed this ſuppoſition. On the 15th, likewiſe, in the evening, at ſunſet, we ſaw ſomething to the northweſtward, that bore much the appearance of land; but not finding any bottom with a line of one hundred fathoms, we attributed that appearance to the weather. It, however, afterwards appeared, that our conjectures were well-founded, and that, at that time, we were not far from the coaſt of *Arabia Felix*.

On the 24th of October, I ſaw, for the firſt time, the zodiacal light, in the morning, at half paſt three o'clock, being two hours and a half before the ſun was to riſe. The horizon was beſet with clouds, to the height of 3° to 4°, and the light appeared above them, ſtanding like a cone, upon a broad baſis, of 15° to 20°, ſhooting upwards, and ending in a point, about 35° or 40° above the horizon: the light was dim, but very diſtinguiſhable, as it was then new moon, and the night, conſequently, dark. We were then in the north latitude of 20°.

The calms, and light airs of wind, which we here met with, cauſed us to make little

progreſs in our voyage, and it was not before the 3d of November, that we ſtruck ſoundings in fifty fathoms. We ſaw many water-ſnakes that day, but did not perceive the leaſt change in the colour of the water, no more than on the following day, although we were then fifteen or twenty leagues nearer to the land.

On the 5th of November, we let drop our anchor in twenty-four fathoms, becauſe both wind and ſtream were againſt us; they, however, changed in our favour that evening, by which we were again enabled to follow our route.

On the day after, at half paſt nine o'clock, A.M. we ſaw the high land of *Bazaim*, and in the afternoon, we made Cape *St. John*, from which we computed that we were ſix or ſeven leagues diſtant, and the pike *Piſcadores*; we alſo thought we ſaw the iſland *Salſet*.

The pike *Piſcadores* is here, beſides the latitude, the beſt mark for making Cape *St. John*; but it lies very far inland, and appears rather too ſmall, on account of the diſtance, ſoon to get ſight of it: it is called the pike, on account of its ſharp ſummit; but

but one may err here, in this reſpect, as there is a mountain, ſomewhat more ſoutherly, ſituated near the high land of *Bazaim*, which equally appears with a lofty ſummit, but this does not lie ſo far inland.

The beach is very flat here, for ſoundings in fifty fathoms are met with, at the diſtance of forty leagues weſt of Cape *St. John*.

From that promontory to the road of *Surat*, the track lies N.N.E. between the continent and the ſea-banks, which lie about ſeven leagues off. You muſt keep in the depth of ſixteen and eighteen fathoms, hard clay bottom, till a little hill, which ſtands at a ſhort diſtance to the north of the city of *Daman*, bears ſouth of eaſt, and you may then ſteer for the land till in ten or nine fathoms, ſailing afterwards along it at the diſtance of one and a half, or two leagues.

The land is very low, and interſperſed with trees. When you ſee the tower of *Sualy*, which is a lofty white monument, at the north point of the river of *Surat*, keep it N. or N. by W. and run ſtrait for the road; the ſhips that lie at anchor there, are diſcerned ſoon enough, to ſteer a proper courſe towards them.

We

We anchored there on the 10th of November, at half paſt three o'clock, P.M. after the Company's ſchooner, the *Young Peter*, had been on board of us, in the forenoon, with the comptroller of equipment, to fetch the Company's papers.

CHAP.

CHAPTER X.

Province of GUZURAT.—*Decay of the Mogul Empire.*—*Situation of* SURAT.—*The River* TAPI, *or* CHEDDER.—*Banks of Sand in it.*—*Eſteemed holy by the Gentoos.*—*High Tides.*—*The Road.*—*Monſoons.*—*Obſervations on the Temperature of the Weather.*—*Experimental Proof of the Dryneſs of the Atmoſphere.*—*Intolerable Stench in the City.*—*Fertility and high State of Cultivation of the ſurrounding Country.*

THE province of *Guzurat**, in which is ſituated the city of *Surat*, was formerly an independent kingdom, although of no very

* According to the memorial of Mr. SCHREUDER, the name of *Guzurat* ſignifies properly *Gold-Surat*, of which *Amedabab* is the capital, and *Surat* the chief ſeaport. *S.*

This is a fanciful, or rather a laughable, derivation of an Indian proper name, from an European appellative, ſomething like Dean SWIFT's ſatirical etymology of *Archimedes* from *Hark ye, maids*, and *Alexander the Great* from *All eggs under the grate*. Dr. VINCENT derives the name of the province of *Guzurat* from the Arabic *gezira*, a peninſula; others think that it was ſo named from the maſs of its inhabitants being of the *Guzer* caſte, cowherds. *T.*

great

great extent; but having been conquered, in the year 1565*, by the emperor ACBAR, it now conſtitutes one of the weſtern provinces of the empire of the Great Mogul. The preſent emperor is ALEM GHIER, the ſecond of that name; but he has no power; as this empire, formerly ſo potent, which comprehended, according to the imperial records, one-and-twenty extenſive provinces, two hundred and four populous cities, five ridges of mountains, and five thouſand and forty-ſix *pergunnahs*, or diſtricts, containing towns and villages, and the yearly cuſtomary revenues from which, paid into the imperial treaſury, amounted to 251,323,851¼ rupees, or *f.*376,985,772¼, about three hundred and ſeventy-ſeven millions of Dutch gilders†, has now been ſo torn by internal commotions, that the Great Mogul retains only the mere name of emperor, unſupported by any real authority or power.

AURENZEBE, who died in the year 1707, exalted the Mogul power to the pinacle of glory; but his ſucceſſors, not poſſeſſing his

* According to THEVENOT. *S.* VALENTYN and others ſay 1568. *T.*

† *Memorial of Mr.* SCHREUDER. *S.*

abilities,

abilities, could not maintain it in the ſplendid ſtate in which he left it to them; and his children and grandchildren exhauſting the land by their civil wars for the poſſeſſion of the ſovereign authority, this powerful empire was ſhaken to its foundation by the invaſion of the Perſian ſhah, THAMAS KOULI KHAN, in the year 1739, after which it never recovered its ancient ſplendour. It remained always expoſed to the incurſions of the ſurrounding nations. Moreover, when its ſovereigns became more and more effeminate, and withdrew themſelves from the active adminiſtration of the affairs of the empire, the nabobs, ſoubahs, and other great men, arrogated to themſelves, in a great meaſure, the ſovereignty over thoſe provinces, of which they were the delegated governors, and in which they have maintained themſelves till the preſent day, ſave in thoſe parts where the Engliſh have introduced themſelves by force, and where the appointment and depoſition of the nabobs depend upon the good-will of that nation.

Thus, AHMED ABDALLAH, chief, or prince, of the Patans, marched to *Debli*, in the year 1757, and took the Great Mogul,

ALEM

ALEM GHIER *, and all his omrahs, priſoners; and after having kept poſſeſſion of the place for ſome time, and collected as much treaſure as he could find, he ſent for the emperor out of priſon, and placed him again upon the throne; but this unhappy monarch did not long ſurvive his reſtoration to the imperial dignity; for he was treacherouſly murdered, in the year 1795, by order of his grand vizier, SHAH ABADIN CHAN †; but the abovementioned prince of the Patans, being diſpleaſed with the conduct of this traitor, attacked and defeated him and his allies, and placed his ſon TIMUR, whom he had made king of *Lahore* in his former expedition, upon the imperial ſeat of *Debli*.

Surat lies, according to the French obſervations, in 21° 10′ north latitude, which differs about 6′ from our ſeveral times repeated obſervations made while in the road.

It ſtands on the left or ſouth bank of the

* ALLUMGIRE SANI. *T.*

† Otherwiſe GHAZI-UL-DIEN, a man who crouded into a few years of early youth more crimes and abilities, than other conſummate villains have done into a long life of wickedneſs and treachery. For a particular and well-written account of all theſe tranſactions, the reader is referred to *Dow's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan*.

river

river *Tapi*, or *Tappi*, which the Moors call *Chedder*, and which THEVENOT ſays, has its ſource ten miles from the little town of *Brempore*, in the kingdom and mountains of *Decan*, and runs into the ſea, about two leagues and a half below *Surat*. At the mouth of the river, which is about half a league over, there is a bank, or bar, upon which, at low tide, there is no more than three feet water; as, however, in ſpringtides, the water riſes full fifteen feet, pretty large ſhips can enter the river. Beſides this, there are ſeveral other banks higher up in the river, of which that which lies near the village of *Omrah*, half a league below *Surat*, is the ſhoaleſt; as at low water, it is not even paſſable by ſmall craft: a little above the city, and farther up, the river becomes ſhallower and ſhallower, ſo that at low water it is fordable near the village of *Briauw*, about a Dutch mile higher up.

The Banians and Gentoos eſteem this a very holy river. It follows in ſanctity of eſtimation upon the *Ganges*, which they think the oldeſt in the world; and the ſame ceremonies which are obſerved with reſpect

to

to the former *, likewiſe, in a great meaſure, take place in regard to the *Tapi*.

The river has many ſinuoſities, but its courſe lies as far as *Old Surat*, in an E.N.E. direction; from that place it runs more to the ſoutheaſtward.

The flux and reflux of the tide occur even above the town; there is no conſiderable afflux of water, except in the rainy ſeaſon, when the river riſes ſometimes to a great height, and occaſions much damage. In the year 1727, it roſe ſo high, that the people ſailed with *horrys* † over the city walls as far as the *Durbar* ‡.

In the month of July, of the year 1776, in the time of the bad monſoon, the water of the river roſe ten feet, in the ſpace of a quarter of an hour, and encreaſed ſo rapidly, that it was almoſt upon a level with the wall of the city in a very ſhort time. The

* The ceremonies obſerved in the feſtival inſtituted in honour of the river *Ganges*, are circumſtantially deſcribed by Mr. STAVORINUS in his *Voyage to Batavia, Bantam, and Bengal*, book iii. chapter ii. DUTCH EDITOR.

† *Horrys* are ſmall veſſels, uſed as lighters, in the river of *Surat*, of from twenty to forty tons burthen. *T.*

‡ *Memorial of Mr.* SCHREUDER. *S.*

afflux

afflux was ſo violent, that all the veſſels were carried away by it: the Company's ſchooner, the *Young Peter*, was driven from before the town high upon the ſhore, at *Attua*, and the *Gonjouwer*, or the *Holy Ship*, as it is called, was carried down the river, and daſhed to pieces; a piece of the wreck, being part of the head, was to be ſeen oppoſite to the black guard, when I ſailed up the river in February, 1777.

The road is about a league ſouth of the mouth of the river. From October to April it is never without ſhips, that arrive here from all parts of India, and meet with a ſafe place to ride in, as that is the time when the northerly winds, moſtly confined between the points of N.E. and N.W. prevail. After April, the road becomes dangerous, not being protected from the weſterly and ſoutherly winds, which rage uninterruptedly along this coaſt, from the month of May till Auguſt, and raiſe a very high ſea; the ſea-banks, which lie about four leagues out to ſea, do not afford the leaſt lee; ſeveral ſhips were loſt in the month of May of this year, and only one or two of thoſe that were

driven from their anchors, and run high upon the ſhore, were got off again.

The anchorage here is in ſeven, eight, or nine fathoms water, according to the diſtance from the ſhore which is preferred; the Company's ſhips uſually anchor in eight fathoms, with the tower of *Sualy* N. to N. by W. and the point of *Naſſary* S.E. or S.E. ½ S.

From repeated obſervations, we found that the anchoring-place was in 21° 57′ north latitude, the variation of the compaſs 1° 30′ N.W. and high water, at new and full moon, at twenty-four minutes paſt four o'clock; the water riſing in ſpring tides fourteen or fifteen feet.

The ſeaſons or monſoons are, as every where between the tropics in India, of two kinds, the good and the bad; yet, ſome divide the year, as we do, in four portions, of which the months of March, April, and May, make the ſpring, or temperate ſeaſon; June, July, and Auguſt, the hot ſeaſon, or bad monſoon; during which, very ſultry winds and continual rains prevail: September, October, and November, the autumn; and December, January, and February, the cool

cool ſeaſon, which is the beſt time of the year. I take theſe circumſtances from what others related to me, for I was only in perſon here on my firſt voyage in the months of November and December; I ſhall therefore only communicate the obſervations which I made myſelf during that time, reſpecting the temperature of the climate.

From the 18th of November, to the end of that month, I found that the medium height of the thermometer was 83°, the higheſt during that period; namely, at three o'clock in the afternoon, 100°, and the loweſt in the morning, half an hour before ſunriſe, 63°, both with a clear ſky.

From the 1ſt, to the 25th of December, the medium height of the thermometer was 74°, the higheſt 92°; namely, on the 1ſt, and on the 22d in the afternoon, with a clear ſky: and the loweſt 52°, being on the 21ſt in the morning, half an hour before ſunriſe, alſo with a clear ſky.

Although I could not keep daily annotation of the degrees of heat, ſhewn by the thermometer, during the time that I remained at *Surat*, on my ſecond voyage, from the 25th of February to the 7th of April, the heat was not exceſſive till the middle of

March, ſeldom being higher than 96°; but towards the end of March, and in the beginning of April, the thermometer was ſeldom under 104° in the afternoon, between half paſt one and half paſt three o'clock, and it roſe twice as high as 108°; the northerly winds brought on ſuch a ſuffocating heat, that the thermometer, though hanging in the ſhade, and away from all reflection, roſe 7° and 8° by them.

The dryneſs of the air is likewiſe very remarkable here, even in the cool ſeaſon. In December, I put in a ſcale, hung upon an exact balance, the quantity of 600 grains of ſal tartari vitr. twenty-four hours afterwards, it had only encreaſed nine grains in weight, on the following day ſix, and on the third day three, grains; without any further change being afterwards obſervable.

When I made the ſame experiment, on my ſecond viſit, the ſal tartari did not receive the leaſt addition in weight; and the drought was ſo great, that wooden furniture, and even tortoiſe ſhell ſnuff-boxes, bound with gold rims, and more articles of the ſame nature, fell in pieces.

The air is likewiſe here ſtrongly impregnated with volatile particles. In a morning, before

before ſun-riſe, it is both difficult and noiſome to paſs through ſeveral parts of the town, on account of the horrid ſtench ariſing from carrion, human ordure, and other impurities; eſpecially near the inner *Mocha*-gate: but three or four hours after the ſun has riſen, the intolerable odour is nearly diſſipated and exated by the rays of the ſun. The country round *Surat* is very fertile, and the inhabitants are more induſtrious than in other places, ſo that ſcarcely a piece of uncultivated ground is to be ſeen, or any ſpot that does not yield ſome uſeful production. The ſoil is a reddiſh clay, and is ſeldom manured; only they ſometimes burn the dry ſtubble, or refuſe, of the fields, the aſhes of which ſerve, in ſome meaſure, to ſupply the want of other manure. The cow and horſe dung is either uſed for fuel, or for other purpoſes.

CHAPTER XI.

Productions of the Fields.—An uſeful Shrub, producing Oil, and a Kind of Flax.—Tobacco.—Wheat.—Nilly, or Juary, a Sort of Indian-Corn.—Method of ſowing, and of reaping, of uſing, and of ſelling it.—Fruits.— Palm Wine.—Capok, or Cotton Wool.—Manufactures of Cotton.—Few Trees.—Timber brought from DAMAN.—*Vegetables.—Proviſions.—Wild Animals.—Avenues to the City.—The Road to* ATTUA.—*To* BRIAUW.—*To* CATTERGAM.—*To* NASSARY.—*The* LAANTJES.—*Walls and Extent of the City.—Gates.—Minarets.—Houſes.—Suburbs.—Streets.*

THE chief productions of the fields here, are wheat, *nilly*, and rice, as alſo a certain ſhrub, yielding a fruit, from which an oil uſed for lamps is expreſſed; the ſtalk, after having been laid to rot in water, ſeparates, like the flax with us, into threads, of which ſail-yarn is ſpun; I conceive, likewiſe, that it would be fit for the manufacture of cordage, were the experiment made. Among the produce of the land, tobacco may equally be reckoned, which is planted along the low grounds, by the riverſide,

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The wheat, which is reaped in a ſufficient quantity to admit of exportation, and which is ſometimes ſent from this place to *Batavia*, is large-grained, yet ſomewhat longer-ſhaped than the Zealand wheat, and yields good, though not very white, flour. A laſt of wheat uſually coſts one hundred rupees, or one hundred and fifty gilders.

The grain, which is called *nilly* by the Europeans, and *juary* by the Moors, ſerves here almoſt univerſally for the food of the natives, in the ſame manner as rice does in nearly every other place in India. It grows in bunches like maize, to which it bears a great reſemblance; yet the corn is ſomething ſmaller, and has a little point at top; they are likewiſe not ſo thick ſet; ſome of theſe bunches weigh half a pound and more. The ſtalk grows to the height of five or ſix feet, and has at the upper part ſeveral broad leaves, which hang downwards; when ripe, it aſſumes a yellowiſh appearance.

The ſeed is ſown in the month of July, after the firſt rainy ſeaſon, and the harveſt is made in December or January: in the latter end of November, or in the beginning of December, the ſtalks are bound together by

the tops five and five, in order to promote the ripening of the grain for the harveſt.

After the land has been ploughed and harrowed, the ſeed is ſown, nearly in a ſtrait line, in the following manner: by the ſide of one or more oxen, a long hollow reed or bamboo is faſtened, which is wide above, and narrower at bottom, by which laſt end it trails along the ground; the ſower caſts his ſeed into the upper orifice of the reed, and it runs out at the lower as the ox goes along, in a ſtrait line.

The ſtraw of this grain ſerves for food for the oxen and cows, and the ſtubble is uſed as fuel. The grain itſelf is ground, between two ſtones, into meal, which being mixed up to a dough, with water alone, is baked into flat unleavened cakes, which taſte much like cakes of buckwheat-meal.

The grain is ſold by weight; the maund, of 34½ pounds, was ſold, when I was there, for three-fourths of a rupee, or about twenty-three ſtivers of our money.

The abundance or ſcarcity of food for the natives, depends upon the good or ill ſucceſs of the harveſt of this grain, as they ſubſiſt, for the moſt part, entirely upon it. A failure

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of the crop is always apprehended, when the rains do not fall at a proper period, or not in ſufficient quantities.

I have been aſſured that very good mangos grow here, which are not ripe till February or March; as alſo grapes, ſome of which I ſaw in vineyards, but did not taſte them, as they too are not ripe before the latter end of January, or the beginning of February. On my ſecond voyage, grapes were ſo ſcarce, that I did not ſee them at all.

The cocoa-nut-tree does not occur here: though a ſort of it is found, from which *tary*, or toddy, is drawn; it, however, more reſembles the palm-tree; the ſtem is ſtrait, and ſome of them pretty thick and ſmooth, with a ſmall crown. The taſte of the toddy is very different from that of the ſame kind of liquor which I drank in the eaſtern provinces of *Macaſſer* and *Amboyna*, known there by the appellation of *ſagwire*; the flavour of the former being much more pleaſant. The trees that yield the two liquors are likewiſe very different in appearance; though they ſeem to me to belong to the ſame genus.

The chief article of trade which this country affords, is cotton-cloth, the material for which, the *capok*, or cotton-wool, is produced

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in abundance round *Broot Chia*, or *Baroche*, and higher up the country; but the chief part of the piece-goods which are manufactured here, are coarſe and coloured cottons: yet very fine checqued and ſtriped *doreas* are made not far from *Baroche*.

No foreſts are met with in the neighbourhood of *Surat*; nothing but low and ſmall underwood; though at intervals, and eſpecially along the roads, ſome ſhady trees occur, and, in general, of that ſpecies that ſhoot down little filaments from their branches, to the ground, which take root, and, in time, grow up into trees, and propagate themſelves in the ſame manner as the parent ſtock. Numbers of theſe trees are eſteemed very holy by the Gentoos, for which reaſon, many of their pagodas, or temples, are built under the ſhade of ſuch a tree.

Moſt of the wood for fuel, and all that is wanted for houſe or ſhip-building, is brought hither from *Daman*, by water-carriage.

Vegetables are ſaid to be in ſufficient plenty for the Europeans, during the cool ſeaſon. Thoſe which I eat here, were an inferior ſort of green peas and aſparagus, both of which, though they looked very well, were watery and taſteleſs, and by no means ſo nice

nice as thoſe grown at *Batavia*; good ſpinage, ſalad, purſlane, beet-root, cabbage, and carrots.

The beef is very good and fat, as is mutton and veniſon; but poultry is ſcarce, and is chiefly brought from other places. The butter and milk are likewiſe very good, and not very dear.

Of wild animals, the tiger is, I believe, beſides ſnakes, the only one whoſe ravages are to be feared.

The houſes ſwarm with bugs, eſpecially in the hot ſeaſon; but I cannot ſay that I had any reaſon to complain of ſuffering from them myſelf.

There are ſeveral beautiful avenues which lead to the city from the country. On going out of the *Attua*, or, as the natives call it, the *Mocho*-gate, there is a broad road, which leads ſouthward, at no great diſtance from the river; it is planted with ſhady trees on both ſides, as far as *Attua*. This road leads farther on to the village of *Omrah*, cloſe to the river, and afterwards to the village of *Domis*, which is at the mouth of the river, on the ſouth ſide.

The *Briauw* road runs on the other ſide of the city, ſo called from the village of *Briauw*,

Briauw, which lies full one Dutch mile off, on the oppoſite ſide of the river. Turning from this road to the right, the way leads to *Poele Parre*, a village on this ſide of the river. A celebrated *fakir* has, for many years, reſided near this place, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more hereafter. A little farther, a handſome garden has been laid out, which belongs to the broker of the Engliſh; but the buildings appertaining to it, were burnt down laſt year by the Marattas. THEVENOT calls the abovementioned gate the gate of *Baroche*, becauſe it is through the ſame that travellers to the latter place ſet off. This is a very pleaſant and handſome avenue, and planted, almoſt the whole way, on both ſides, with leafy trees, which afford an agreeable ſhade.

A handſome road likewiſe runs from the *Cattergam*-gate to the village of that name, and alſo to *Poele Parre*. Not far from there, upon an eminence, are the burial places of the Gentoo ſaints, of which I ſhall ſay more in the ſequel.

Going out of the *Saras*-gate, called by THEVENOT that of *Daman*, there is likewiſe a pleaſant road, reaching to *Naſſary*, and to a village called *Oedanain*, where there is a

pagoda

pagoda, which is held in great veneration by the Hindoos.

The road which I thought the moſt pleaſant, was that which we call the *Laantjes*, or the *green walk*. The little gate at the upper part of the town leads to it: we give it that appellation becauſe it is narrow and cloſely overſhadowed: it has much analogy with country roads, in my native and pleaſant iſland of *Walcheren*.

The city of *Surat*, as I have before ſaid, ſtands on the left bank of the *Tapi*. It is encircled by a double wall; the innermoſt, being about two hours' walk in circumference, and the outermoſt, which incloſes both the inner town and the ſuburbs, requires almoſt three hours to walk round it. At the time of THEVENOT, the inner wall was reconſtructed of brick, having before been merely a mud-wall. The inner wall is much decayed, but the outer one is in tolerable good condition. The height of it within, I calculate at about twelve feet, and without, as the ground there is much lower, twenty and more feet; it is ſeven or eight feet in thickneſs; at the height of eight feet, it loſes about half its thickneſs, as a parapet is made there for thoſe who defend the wall with ſmall arms,

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the upper part ſerving thus as a breaſt-work, loopholes being made in it, for the fuſees to be fired through.

This is alſo almoſt the ſole defence which they poſſeſs; for as to the round and ſemi-circular baſtions, or places of arms, which jut out from the walls, on either ſide of the gate, and which are planted with a few cannon, together with the bulwarks, or ſconces, that they call guards, which project a little from the wall, and are placed at intervals all round the town, at the diſtance of five or ſix hundred feet from each other, they are too weak, and too incapable of defence, to contribute much to the ſecurity of the town, excepting that by the *Naſſary*-gate, which has lately been rebuilt in a ſtronger manner, by order of the Engliſh.

The inner town has twelve gates, two towards the river, and ten towards the country. There are as many gates in the outer, oppoſite to thoſe in the inner wall, each of which bears the ſame name with the correſponding inner one.

One of the gates of the city, leading to the river, ſtands juſt below the caſtle, and is called the *Chiap*-gate, becauſe all the goods, imported and exported, muſt be carried through

through this gate to be houſed in the town, or ſhipped in the river, in order that the cuſtoms may not be defrauded.

Cloſe to the inner walls, are ſeveral high and narrow ſpires, round which there are balconies, which the Turks call *minarets*, and are uſed to call the Mahomedans to prayer.

Few houſes are ſeen in the inner town that have any external good appearance. There are even many places, where nothing but little huts, made of bamboo, and plaiſtered with mud, are met with. In the ſuburbs, few other than the laſt-mentioned are found; ſave in one diviſion, or ward, through which one muſt paſs, on going out of the *Debli*-gate; in this there are none but ſtone-buildings, which have a tolerably handſome appearance.

The ground encloſed between the two city-walls, is not, however, near being covered with houſes; there are extenſive gardens in it, and even tracts of arable land, and many lime and brick-kilns, eſpecially from the *Saras* to the *Attua*-gate.

The ſtreets are, in general, unpaved, narrow, and irregular, with projecting corners and ſhops. In this inſtance, THEVENOT is miſtaken, who ſays, that they are long and broad,

broad, or things muſt have greatly changed ſince his time*. In the rainy ſeaſon, they are very dirty, and the native inhabitants pay little attention to keeping them clean, making a common dunghill of them, and throwing every kind of filth into the middle of the road.

* Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE's tranſlation of THEVENOT's travels has it, that the ſtreets are "large and even." OVINGTON, who was at *Surat* in 1689, ſays, "the ſtreets are ſome too narrow, but in many places of a convenient breadth." *T.*

CHAP-

CHAPTER XII.

Deſcription of the Garden of the Nabob.—Of a Pleaſure-garden laid out by the Siſter of AURENZEBE.—*Other Gardens belonging to Europeans.—A new Garden of the Nabob.—Burial-places of the Dutch and Portugueſe.—Monument of Mr.* VAN RHEEDE.—*Singular Tomb of a Ship's Butler.—The large Tank and Banian-tree which* THEVENOT *and* VALENTYN *ſpeak of, not now to be found.—Wells of Water.—The Caſtle.—The Durbar, or Court of the Nabob.—The Mint.—Method of Coining.—Factories of the Europeans.—That of the Dutch.—Caravanſeras.—Moſques, or Maſſieds.—Bazars, or Markets.—The Meidan, or Caſtlegreen.*

AMONG the gardens which lie in the outer town, or ſuburbs, that of the nabob, who is called MAMOUDI BEG, deſerves the firſt place, as well on account of its large buildings, as the general magnificence with which it is laid out. But I do not know how to give an exact deſcription of it, notwithſtanding I was fully employed for more

than three hours in viewing it, as it conſiſts, for the moſt part, of buildings, in which there is an infinite number both of large ſaloons, and ſmall apartments, which I have been aſſured amounts to more than ſeven hundred.

The whole is incloſed within a high ſtone wall, which requires a quarter of an hour to walk round. The entrance is through a large ſtone gate, into an area of conſiderable extent; then up ſome ſteps into the great ſaloon, looking towards a large tank, or reſervoir, in which there is ſix feet water, and which is, as I gueſſed, more than one hundred and fifty feet long, and about half as broad. The ſaloon, I take it, is full one hundred feet in length, and thirty in breadth: little niches are every where made in the walls, as well as an architectural ornament, as to hold little burning lamps of an evening; on three ſides it is ſurrounded with little apartments.

Over this there is another range of apartments, nearly ſimilar; and again a third on another ſtory; but the laſt contains fewer of the little retiring rooms. From the roof, which is flat, in the Mooriſh faſhion, there

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is a moſt delightful proſpect over the city, and its environs.

The baths are on the ſecond ſtory; they are built in cloſed apartments, and are kept ſo warm, that though it was then cool weather, I could not ſtay five minutes in them.

In every apartment, both in the ſaloons, and in the ſmall rooms, are fountains and ciſterns of water, for waſhing.

At the upper end of the abovementioned tank there is another building, and on the right hand, a third, all conſtructed in the ſame manner as that firſt deſcribed. Here the *mahal*, or ſeraglio of the nabob, is held, when he reſides here. Before the ſalooon belonging to it, there is likewiſe a large tank, or reſervoir, of ſixty or ſeventy feet in length, and twelve or fourteen in breadth; at the upper end of which, the eyes are delighted by a beautiful artificial caſcade, of twenty feet in height: on each ſide of the reſervoir, into which the caſcade falls, are a number of fountains, the ſtreams of which play in an oblique direction, oppoſite to and towards each other, making a watery arch, which has a moſt pleaſing effect. The

water which is employed in theſe works, and for the baths and ciſterns within the buildings, is brought part of the way from the deep wells, whence it is drawn by oxen, in leathern bags, and then is introduced into the gardens by a kind of chain pumps, to which earthen pots are faſtened.

There was no furniture in any of the apartments; ſuch is only placed there when the nabob takes his pleaſure, in perſon, in the gardens.

Although theſe buildings are ſaid to be not forty years old, and to have coſt nine lacks of rupees, or full thirteen tons of gold, every thing ſeems to be in a very ruinous condition, which is indeed the caſe with all the Mooriſh buildings.

Thus the pleaſure-garden laid out by BEGUM SAHEB, the ſiſter of AURENZEBE, is at preſent in a moſt deſolate ſtate of delapidation. This is ſituated in the outer town, near the *Naſſary*-gate. THEVENOT, who was here in the year 1666, and calls it the *garden of the princeſſes*, deſcribes it with much accuracy and fidelity. It remains ſtill in an entire ſtate; and I went over the whole of it, with his deſcription in

in my hand. Moſt of the trees have, however, been cut down; and few remain, but thoſe conſtituting the four chief walks, and one or two of the others, being all tamarind-trees.

Flowers are not found here; all the ground is ſown with different ſorts of pulſe and greens. It is ſurrounded by a high wall, and, I compute, covers about fifteen or ſixteen acres. The abovementioned traveller ſays that it lies out of the city; but the ſuburbs were not then encircled by walls.*

Beſides

* THEVENOT's deſcription of this garden is as follows: "We went a quarter of a league farther to ſee the princeſs's "garden, ſo called, becauſe it belongs to the great Mogul's "ſiſter. It is a great plot of trees of ſeveral kinds; as "mangos, palms, mirabolans, and many others, planted "in a ſtraight line. Among the ſhrubs I ſaw the *querze-* "*here*, or *aacla*, and alſo the acacia of *Egypt*. There are "in it a great many ſtraight walks, and eſpecially the "four which make a croſs over the garden, and have in "the middle a ſmall canal of water, that is drawn by oxen "out of a well. In the middle of the garden there is a "building with four fronts, each whereof hath its divan, "with a cloſet at each corner; and before every one of "theſe divans there is a ſquare baſon full of water, whence "flow the little brooks which run through the chief walks. "After all, though the garden be well contrived, it is no-"thing to the gallantry of ours. There is nothing to be

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Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral other gardens, belonging as well to natives as to Europeans. The ſecond of the Dutch factory, SLUISKENS, occupies a pleaſant garden, laid out by one PRICE, formerly chief of the Engliſh here. The purveyor, MONTE', and the junior merchant, ZIMMERMAN, together with ſeveral Engliſh, equally occupy gardens, which are all ſituated within the ſuburb-walls.

After the year 1775, which was the time I was at *Surat*, the nabob laid out a new garden, which is known by the appellation of the *julmi-bach*, or the garden of injuſtice, becauſe, by an abuſe of his authority, he had a number of houſes, belonging to poor people, pulled down, in order to procure room for making his garden, without giving any ſatisfactory indemnification to the indigent inhabitants.

It covers about ſeven or eight acres of ground; it is very well planned and laid out, with a ſaloon, before which there is a

" ſeen of our harbours, borders of flowers, nor of the ex-
" actneſs of their copartments, and far leſs of their water-
" works." Thevenot's Travels, part III. chap. xiv. T.

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beautiful parterre of the moſt fragrant flowers, and an aviary, in which it is a ſingular ſight to ſee, a great number of geeſe, ducks, and turkies, among a collection of curious birds.

The burial-places of the Dutch, and of the Portugueſe, are likewiſe ſituated in the ſuburbs. The former merit the attention of the traveller, as there is ſcarcely any grave that has not a tomb with lofty ſpires upon it; the meaneſt have a graveſtone with a ſculptured epitaph. That of Mr. VAN RHEEDE, commiſſary-general of the Eaſt-India Company over the weſtern factories, excels all the others in largeneſs of dimenſion, elegance of architecture, magnificence of ornament, and richneſs of material, and is kept in repair at the expence of the Company; for which purpoſe, not long ago, about ſix thouſand rupees, or nine thouſand Dutch gilders, were charged in account to the Company *.

The tomb of a ſhip's butler, who when

* When THEVENOT was at *Surat*, this monument was then building; OVINGTON mentions it, and calls it a noble pile. T.

alive was a true votary of Bacchus, and proved faithful to the worſhip of the jovial god even in death, by expreſsly deſiring that three large punchbowls of ſtone ſhould be placed upon the corners, and one at the top of the ſpire, of his tomb, is much decayed, and only one of the punchbowls now remains entire *.

Theſe burial-places are ſurrounded by a high wall, and cover, as I compute, about one hundred roods of ground.

The burying-place of the Engliſh is without the ſuburb-walls, on the right ſide of the road to *Briauw*.

Whatever pains I took to find the large tank, and banian-tree, of which THEVENOT and VALENTYN make mention, I could not diſcover them; they have, perhaps, both been deſtroyed ſince that time. I was, however, aſſured, that at *Seculture*, a place not far from *Baroche*, ſuch a tree exiſted, as that

* THEVENOT and OVINGTON both likewiſe notice this ſingular monument, and add, that the ſurviving friends of the deceaſed uſed to make merry at the tomb, preparing their beverage in the ſtone bowls, and "remembering him "there ſometimes ſo much, that they quite forgot themſelves." T.

of

of which thoſe writers take ſuch particular notice.

Although the city of *Surat* is built upon the banks of a river, the inhabitants would be in want of water, as that of the river before the town is almoſt always brackiſh, if proviſion were not made againſt this inconveniency, by a number of wells, lined with brick, which are very deep, and whence the water is brought by oxen in leathern bags.

The principal edifice belonging the city is the caſtle, which was erected by the Moguls, on the conqueſt of *Guzurat*. Its ſhape is an irregular ſquare; the ſhorteſt ſide of it, and one of the oblique ſides facing the weſt and northweſt, are waſhed by the river. At each angle it has a large round tower, which ſerves for a baſtion; the walls, or curtains, that connect theſe together, are about half as thick, and nearly as high, as the towers, which I reckoned to be full forty feet from the ground to the battlements. On the narroweſt ſide there is a circular place of arms made between, and of the ſame height as the towers. A ravelin was added to the oblique flank, next

to

to the river, by the Engliſh, after they got poſſeſſion of the caſtle, which covers that ſide.

As far as can be ſeen from without (for into the caſtle, none who do not belong to the Engliſh are admitted), it appears to be pretty ſtrong, built of hewn ſtone, and to be well provided with artillery. On the landſide it is ſurrounded by a ditch. It has but one gate, which is on the ſouth ſide, oppoſite to the *Meidan*. Yet it could not be long defended againſt a bombardment, on account of the great number of buildings, which occupy the ſpace within its walls, none of which, as I was aſſured by thoſe who had been within it, by connivance of the Engliſh, are bomb-proof, and the garriſon would, therefore, be without ſhelter againſt the deſtructive effects of ſuch an attack.

The Mooriſh colours are hoiſted on the ſoutheaſternmoſt tower, and thoſe of the Engliſh upon the ſouthweſternmoſt.

The court, or palace, where the nabob reſides, is called the *Durbar*; it lies to the ſouthweſt, about two hundred paces from the caſtle. Within it, it is ſaid, there is little

little worthy notice. The gate which forms the entrance to it, is kept by a guard of *Habſis*, or Arabians, and is mounted with two old pieces of cannon, but it more reſembles a ruinous hovel, than the entrance to the reſidence of a prince.

The mint, where the ſilver which is imported is coined into rupees, by having the impreſſion of the emperor's name, and the year of his reign, ſtamped upon them, is a large pile, ſurrounded by a high wall. Along the wall are ſheds, under which the workmen ſit: on the right hand is an elevated apartment for the overſeers and inſpectors, when any work is doing. Oppoſite to it, a ſquare place is walled off, where the ſilver and copper are melted, and caſt in moulds, into bars, or ingots. The metal is weighed to the workmen, who cut it into pieces of the exact weight which the coin to be ſtruck requires, every one having a pair of ſcales at hand for that purpoſe, in which every piece is ſeparately weighed; theſe workmen beat it round and flat, though one piece ſometimes falls thicker than another, to which exact attention is not paid. It then goes to the coiners, who were then about

about thirty in number, each of whom has an aſſiſtant, who puts the prepared pieces of copper, or ſilver, upon the lower die, while the other places the upper one, which he holds in his left hand, upon them, and ſtamps the impreſſion upon them with a forcible blow of a hammer.

The lodges, or factories, of foreign nations, namely, of the Portugueſe, French, Engliſh, and Dutch, likewiſe ſtand in the inner town, though each have what they call a wharf in the ſuburb, called *jenghi bander*. The factory of our Company is an old building, ſituated nearly in the center of the town; there is nothing worthy of obſervation about it, and it is in an extremely ruinous condition: it is at preſent only made uſe of for *bazarring* the piece-goods, that is, for examining them when they come from the manufacturers, and comparing them with the patterns. The Company ſtill pay a yearly rent for the uſe of this building, to one of the natives, to whom it came by inheritance; beſides which, it muſt be kept in repair at the expence of the Company.

Formerly, when *Surat* was in a more flouriſhing

flouriſhing condition, there were ſeveral caravanſeras here, which were all very well maintained, as well from the donations of pious Muſſulmen, as from certain revenues ariſing from what was paid by the travellers who reſorted to them. There are at preſent two, which I ſaw; one by the ſide of the *Naſſary*-gate, which for that reaſon is called by us the *double*-gate, becauſe the ſquare area of the caravanſera has on the two oppoſite ſides a large gateway, leading to the road of *Naſſary*; and one not far from the mint: they are both ſquare buildings, with colonades on the ſides, and provided with little ſquare rooms, in which the travellers paſs the night, while their baggage and cattle remain in the area of the caravanſera.

The moſques, which are here called *maſſieds*, the interior of which may be ſeen by any one who will pull off his ſhoes, poſſeſs nothing worthy of particular regard. On entering the gate, you come into an open court, which occupies about one-half of the depth of the building; the other half is covered: no ornaments, or furniture, are ſeen, except the pulpit, and a ſmall cloſet, fixed in the wall, in which the Koran is kept.

kept. A few chapters of this book are ſometimes read on Fridays; but the chief ſervice of their devotion conſiſts in muttering their prayers, at certain times, in this place.

There are many *bazars*, or market-places, here; for example, the bazar for cottons, for exchange, for greens, for wood, and ſeveral others, which overflow with people, towards the evening, eſpecially the firſt-named, which is likewiſe the place where the Banian and other Aſiatic merchants meet, as thoſe of Europe do upon their exchanges. A great number of retail-ſhops are equally found here.

The *Meidan* * is a large open plain, ſouth of the caſtle, where both our Company and the Engliſh have large tents, or awnings, ſurrounded by palings of bamboos. The bales of piecegoods are kept in them till they are *chiapped* and ſhipped off.

Not far from here, a *latty*, or warehouſe, has been run up of wood, and cloſed with matts of palm-leaves, in which private goods were formerly houſed.

* The Engliſh call it the Caſtlegreen, on account of its vicinity to the caſtle.

CHAPTER XIII.

Inhabitants of SURAT.—*Banians.* — *Brahmins.*— *Faquirs.*— *Moors.*— *Their particular Religion.*— *Their Character.* — *Gentoos.* — *Pagodas.* — *Belief in Tranſmigration.*—*Their Solicitude not to kill any living Creature.*—*Their ſuperſtitious Opinions in this Reſpect.*—*Tombs of their Saints.*

THE city of *Surat* contains, it is ſaid, full five hundred thouſand inhabitants, which does not appear entirely improbable to me, as its populouſneſs is very conſiderable. Mr. SCHREUDER divides them into four claſſes, namely, Moors, Banians, Gentoos, and Perſians; but, in my opinion, they ought only to be divided into three ſorts, for the Banians and Gentoos are the ſame people, derived from the ſame origin, and profeſſing the ſame religion; the Banians are in much greater numbers than the Gentoos, but they differ from each other in no other reſpect than as being of different caſtes, while the caſte of the Banians, according to Mr. SCHREUDER,

SCHREUDER, is again ſubdivided into ninety-two ſorts.

By the beſt information which I could obtain, from ſeveral tolerably learned Banians, the general diviſion of the people is into four claſſes, brahmins, warriors, agriculturers, and mechanics, who are all again ſubdivided into a great number of caſtes; all which are held in honour, in proportion as they refrain from the uſe of forbidden things, fleſh meat, or any thing that has received life, from the drinking of ſtrong, or inebriating liquors, from the commiſſion of adultery, from lying, &c. On this account, the claſs of agriculturers, who are the leaſt infected with theſe vices, are the moſt eſteemed, and much above the mechanics, who do not ſo much obſerve the dictates of morality.

Although the brahmins form a head-caſte, ſome are, however, found among them, who are equally incorporated into other caſtes, for inſtance, in that of the Banians, the preſent broker of the company, GOVEN RAM, being one of them; he always wore a ſtring of yellow amber beads in his hand, in the ſame manner as the illiterate Roman catholics have their paternoſters, for counting of their prayers.

Faquirs,

Faquirs are met with in all the caſtes, and likewiſe among the Moors, the Marattas, and the Malabars; and they have the ſame religion as the Gentoos.

The Europeans are too few in number here, to be conſidered as a fourth claſs of inhabitants.

The Moors, or Monguls, among which may be reckoned the Arabians, the Turks, and the modern Perſians, who have ſettled here for the ſake of trade, becauſe they profeſs the ſame religion, are the proprietors of the ſoil, by right of conqueſt, by which they brought nearly the half of the peninſula within the *Ganges* under ſubjection to them, and would probably have extended their dominion ſtill farther, had the ſucceſſors of AURENGZEBE inherited his abilities and bravery, together with his empire.

They are called Moors in common with ſeveral nations who adhere to the doctrines of Mahomet. The inhabitants of the kingdom of *Granada*, in Spain, were, for that reaſon, diſtinguiſhed by the ſame name, by the chriſtians of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*; in the ſame manner as the inhabitants of the Peninſula of *Hitoe* at *Amboyna*, are diſtinguiſhed

from the Leytimoreſe chriſtians, though no difference of colour has given occaſion thereto.

Theſe people, as well as the modern Perſians, are of the ſect of the *Chiais*, who do not conſider ABUKEKER, OMAR, and OSMYN, as the lawful ſucceſſors of MAHOMET, but as uſurpers, eſteeming ALI, the ſon-in-law of MAHOMET, as the perſon who ought to have immediately ſucceeded to the place of the prophet; whereas the Turks, who are called *Sunnites*, believe the contrary. This difference of belief is the cauſe of an irreconcileable hatred between theſe people, which is encouraged and cheriſhed by the princes on both ſides.

Although theſe Monguls, or Moors, are profeſſors of the Mahomedan faith, and obſerve the ſolemnities and ceremonies it preſcribes, they are nevertheleſs much infected with the ſuperſtition of the heathens whoſe country they have ſubdued, of which their *ſalammas*, or ſalutations to the moon, is a prominent inſtance.

Here, as well as in *Bengal*, the Moors are, in general, both very indolent and very proud; hence moſt of them either enliſt as ſoldiers, or become mendicants: few of them

are

are to be met with who underſtand any mechanical art, and ſtill fewer who carry on any trade: if, however, any of them do engage in commercial purſuits, they launch deep into buſineſs, and adventure largely upon the ſeas.

A few of them who engage as ſailors, of whom the company have a conſiderable number in their ſervice, which is even calculated at eighteen or nineteen hundred, frequently become very good ſeamen, although they ſeldom loſe their natural indolent diſpoſition.

Of their ſtature, dreſs, and manners, and likewiſe of their women, &c. I have made ample mention in my obſervations upon *Bengal* *.

The religious ceremonies of the Gentoos, are not ſo deſerving of obſervation as in *Bengal*. The great feſtivals which are obſerved at the *Ganges*, do not appear to take place, at leaſt they are not accompanied with ſo much pomp and circumſtance as there, when they are obſerved.

Once in their lives, they viſit the pagoda of *Jagernate*, on the coaſt of *Orixa*, where

* See book III. chap. 2. of Mr. STAVORINUS's Voyage to the *Cape of Good Hope*, *Batavia*, *Bantam*, and *Bengal*.
DUTCH EDITOR.

no diſtinction of caſtes is made, and they all, like a nation deſcended from one common ſtock, eat, drink, and make merry together. At that time too, the caſte of the warriors, and ſome others, are allowed to eat fleſh and fiſh.

The burning or burying alive of widows with their deceaſed huſbands, is rare here. Above *Banca Parra*, on the banks of the *Tapi*, a ſort of tomb is ſhewn, where a woman was burnt with her huſband, which is a proof of the rarity of the occurrence.

The difference they make between what they eſteem fortunate and unfortunate days, which are announced and regulated by their prieſts, is more obſerveable here than in *Bengal*, on account of the number of Banian merchants, with whom one has always ſome dealings.

Their prieſts did not appear to me to have ſo much reſpect paid to them as in *Bengal*; perhaps on account of their great number; for they are made uſe of for *cooleys*, or labourers, to carry goods in and out of the warehouſes, for which they have even an excluſive privilege. Another ſort, called *bhooys*, are alone entitled to load and unload them.

The

The pagodas are neither ſo large nor ſo handſome here, as in *Bengal*, and their idols are of leſs conſideration than there.

Their belief in the metempſychoſis, which, it is ſaid, is univerſal among the Hindoos (though I could never reconcile this with the expectation which their prieſts endeavour to impreſs upon thoſe women who ſuffer themſelves to be burnt or buried alive with their huſbands, namely, that, united to the deceaſed in another life, they will enjoy eternal pleaſures with him), makes them very ſolicitous about the life of every animal, as well of ſuch as are hurtful, as of ſuch as are uſeful or harmleſs. They will not premeditately kill any animal of any kind, nor eat of its fleſh. Thoſe among them, who ſeek to attain the higheſt degree of ſanctity, and endeavour to make themſelves agreeable to the divinity by their good deeds, put every means in practice to avoid being guilty of the murder even of the meaneſt inſect.

I ſaw ſeveral of them here, who wore a piece of thin linen, or gauze, before the mouth, in order not to deprive any creature of life, by their breath. Others have beſides a bruſh or broom, with which they ſweep away

the duſt from the ground upon which they tread, that they may not cruſh any living thing to death with their feet. Others again ſearch for the places where ants reſort, and ſtrew flour about them, in order to furniſh thoſe inſects with food. If they have the misfortune of accidently killing any inſect or other animal, they impoſe a heavy penance upon themſelves, which is always accompanied by many waſhings and purifications.

How ridiculous ſoever the ſuperſtition of theſe blind heathens may now appear to us Europeans, we have only to recur to our own portion of the globe, and to the middle ages, and we ſhall find an inſtance of a very renowned ſaint, who performed a penance of ſix months, becauſe he had killed a knat or flea that had ſtung him *.

When theſe Indian ſaints, whom THEVENOT calls *vartias*, and the Dutch, for what reaſon I know not, *potje piſſers*, die, their bodies are not burnt, like thoſe of the other Gentoos, but buried. Their burying-place, which I mentioned before, lies out of the *Catergam*-gate; they are not, as was in

* *Philoſophie du bon Sens*, chap. *de l'Incertitude de l'Hiſtoire*, ſect. 6. 8.

general

general aſſerted, placed in their graves with the feet upwards, but in a poſture as if they ſat upon their heels. Over each grave is a ſquare tomb, about four feet high, and three feet broad, open all round, except the corners, upon which a little dome reſts, which is built upon the tomb; under it, exactly in the middle, is a ſquare ſtone, perfectly white, in which the repreſentation of two footſteps, next to each other, is carved, with an inſcription round them. Their fellow-believers ſhew great veneration for theſe tombs, and ſtrew them daily with freſh flowers.

CHAPTER XIV.

Account of an Hoſpital for ſick, lame, or maimed Animals—Supported by the Contributions of the Banians and Gentoos.—Its Revenues. — Supplies of Hay, Corn, &c. — Grain in which there are any Worms or Wevils depoſited here.—Lice, and other Vermin, kept and fed here.—Apes and Monkeys. — A land Tortoiſe, of a remarkable Weight and Age.—The Perſees of Surat.—Their Origin.—Their Character. —Their Numbers. — Their Appearance. — Their Women.—Cuſtoms.—Ceremonies of Marriage.—At the Birth of a Child.—Reception of the Boys, as Members of their Religion.

THE Banians, or Gentoos, whoſe daily occupations do not permit them to tread in the footſteps of theſe meritorious ſaints, fulfil the duties impoſed upon them in another manner, by providing for the welfare of animals.

For this purpoſe, they have entered into engagements, more than a century ago, to devote a certain part of their gains in trade, annually, to a ſort of hoſpital for animals, which was then erected by them, out of the city,

city, but which now, by the walling round of the ſuburbs, has been taken into the town, and ſtands in the ward called *Sagurampoura*, near the *Madjara*-gate.

The hoſpital itſelf is called *Panjeropor*, which denotes as much as *a ſociety*, as both Banians and Gentoos contribute their ſhares towards the ſupport of this inſtitution.

The former, however, contribute the largeſt portion, as their profits are greater than thoſe of the former; the rate by which they pay is, one *ana*, or one ſixteenth of a rupee, out of every hundred rupees, clear gain.

In the ſame manner, the pecuniary mulcts, to which they are condemned by their Brahmins, for the ſpeaking of untruths, or other venial offences, are appropriated to the ſupport of this hoſpital.

The chief direction over it is confided to the chief of the Banians, who receives the revenues of the inſtitution, and pays the daily expences of it out of them.

Although by the decay of the trade of *Surat*, this inſtitution has ſuffered in common with it, theſe revenues yet amount yearly to full ſix thouſand rupees, or nine thouſand Dutch gilders.

From

From this forty ſervants are kept, who take care of and feed the animals committed to their charge. Every year, five hundred thouſand truſſes of hay, and every day, ſixty *ſeer* of corn, and fifty *ſeer* of milk, are required for keeping the ſick cattle; beſides which, the cows and oxen are ſent to paſture out of the city, unleſs they are lamed, or unable by extreme age, to crop their food themſelves.

The hoſpital conſiſts of a large plain, nearly ſquare, of about twenty-five acres in extent, ſurrounded by a high wall, having ſheds in ſeveral parts of it, under which the cattle ſleep. On the left hand of the entrance, which is through a great gate, there is a ſtone building, in which there is a floor, twelve or fourteen feet from the ground, whither the Banians and Gentoos carry their ſpoiled grain, in which there are any worms or wevils; when it has lain ſome time there, it is caſt through large ſquare holes in the floor, into the lower part of the building, where it is kept as in a warehouſe, till the corn, with the animals in it, are entirely turned to duſt, when it is carried out of the town, and ſtrewed upon the garden-grounds.

Lice,

Lice, and other vermin, are likewiſe kept and fed in this place, but I did not ſee any of them *.

The birds that are ſick or maimed, are kept in cages; but the greateſt part of the quadrupeds were unconfined.

Among all the animals that are maintained here, I did not, however, ſee any that may be claſſed as carnivorous; but there were a number of apes and monkeys of all ſorts, who were all either ſick, lame, or maimed.

Amongſt others, I ſaw likewiſe a land tortoiſe, which, as I gueſſed, weighed at leaſt one hundred and fifty pounds. This animal, as the Banians aſſured me, had already been kept there for the ſpace of ſeventy years, and it could now ſcarcely move, from extreme old age. Under its paws, on each

* In deſcribing this hoſpital, OVINGTON adds the following curious circumſtance, that "to maintain the vermin with that "choice diet to which they are uſed, and to feed them with "their proper fare, a poor man is hired now and then to lie "all night upon the cot or bed where the vermin are put; "and he is faſtened upon it, leſt their ſtinging force him "to take his flight before morning; and ſo they nouriſh "themſelves by ſucking his blood, and feeding on his car-"caſs." T.

ſide,

ſide, there were four nails ſticking out, which were white, and reſembled fingers that had been cut off. The animal was entirely blind, and was fed with nothing but milk. It was, however, dead when I was at *Surat*, for the ſecond time, in the year 1777.

Faquirs are likewiſe met with here, who come down from the interior parts of the country to this populous city, in order to perform their ſingular penances, before numerous ſpectators, who croud the ſtreets of it. In my obſervations upon *Bengal*, I have made ample mention of them, and ſhall, therefore, only add, that their manner of life and corporal ſufferings are the ſame here, as in *Bengal* *.

The third people, or nation, who help to form the body of inhabitants at *Surat*, are the Perſians, or Perſees.

Theſe deſcendants of the ancient Perſians, thoſe well-known enemies of Greece, and benefactors of the Jewiſh people, known for many ages by the name of *Guebres*, or *Gaives*, and likewiſe by the appellation of

* See the third book, in the ſecond volume, of Mr. Stavorinus's beforementioned voyage. Dutch Editor.

Ateck

Atech Pereſt, or worſhippers of fire, abandoned their country upon the conqueſt of it by the caliph OMAR, and the capture by him of their laſt king HORMISDAS.

As the conqueror forced all his new ſubjects to embrace the mahomedan creed, and perſecuted with fire and ſword thoſe who refuſed to abandon the religion of their forefathers, ſome of them fled to the moſt diſtant parts of the province of *Carmenia*, in which, though belonging to *Perſia*, it ſeems that the mahomedan ſovereigns of the country have ſuffered them to remain undiſturbed, with reſpect to their religion. THEVENOT, who was in *Perſia*, in the year 1665, writes, that they dwelt there, and likewiſe in other parts of *Perſia*, and exerciſed their religion unmoleſted.

A great portion, however, abandoned their country, in the year 636*, and fled for refuge to Hindoſtan, reſorting more particularly to the neighbourhood of *Surat*, where they obtained permiſſion to ſettle from the Hindoos, and to exerciſe their religion

* This was the date when the lieutenants of OMAR ſubdued *Perſia*; in the Dutch original it is printed by miſtake 1632 *T.*

without

without reſtraint; upon the condition, however, that they ſhould never kill any ox or cow, and which they likewiſe affirm they have never done, even until the preſent day.

Their number, in and round *Surat*, is at preſent eſtimated to amount to one hundred thouſand ſouls, who almoſt all maintain themſelves by agriculture and manufactures*. As they much ſurpaſs the other inhabitants of *Surat* in induſtry, no Perſees are ſeen among the beggars, with which the city ſwarms; if they are ever oppreſſed by poverty, their chiefs take care that they need not have recourſe to the deſpicable life of mendicants. Many of them are domeſtics in the houſes of the Europeans, and become occaſional ſervants to the ſtrangers who arrive in the city: they receive five rixdollars per month wages, but muſt provide their own victuals.

They encreaſe in numbers from day to day, and have built and inhabit many entire wards in the ſuburbs. The greateſt number

* VALENTYN ſays that the Perſees of *Surat* are the poſterity of about 18,000 of their countrymen, who, flying from OMAR, came by ſea from Cape *Jaſk*, in the Gulph of *Perſia*, *Gombroon*, and *Ormus*, to *Guzurat*. *T.*

of

of them, however, ſays Mr. SCHREUDER, live in the country, and along the ſeacoaſt from *Baroche* to *Bazaim*, and farther, where they have ſeveral large and wealthy villages.

There are ſome among them, although few, who leave their countrymen, in the neighbourhood of *Surat*, for ſeveral years, and reſort to *Cochim*, the coaſt of *Coromandel*, or other places in India, in order to procure a better livelihood; theſe leave their wives and children behind them, and marry other wives at the places where they go to reſide: but they are much deſpiſed by their own people, eſpecially when they die in another part of the country, and cannot be inhumated in the uſual burial-places, for it is an article of belief among them, that ſuch perſons are eternally miſerable in a future life; for this reaſon their relations ſpare no expence in order to have the bones conveyed to their receptacles, and ſometimes are at the coſt of twenty thouſand rupees, and more, to effect this purpoſe.

Several among them at *Surat* are rich, and may be counted among the principal merchants.

They are much fairer than either the Moors

Moors or Gentoos, and do not differ much in complexion from the Spaniards: they have, in general, large eyes, aquiline noſes, and are well-proportioned.

Their women, who are ſtill fairer than the men, are, generally ſpeaking, tall and graceful; they have large piercing black eyes, full of the moſt faſcinating fire; their eyebrows are black, perfectly arched, and placed at a proper diſtance from the eyes, to add conſiderably to the beauty of the face; the forehead is high; the noſe, like the ſame feature in the men, has an aquiline bend; the mouth is ſmall, and adorned with the moſt beautiful pearly teeth; the boſom is full, and the breaſts moſt ſymmetrically rounded; their legs are very handſome; their deportment and gait is airy and graceful; and their Mooriſh attire looſe and gay.

Theſe people, it is ſaid, are much addicted to ſenſual pleaſures, and are even guilty of the unnatural crimes, which were not a little prevalent among the ancient Perſians, and are not rare among the inhabitants of the country in which they at preſent reſide.

They, however, marry no more than one woman

woman at the ſame time, and never any one but of their own nation, ſo that they have preſerved their race, through ſo many ages, pure and unmixed with other nations, to the preſent day.

Adultery and fornication they puniſh amongſt themſelves, and even by death; but they muſt, however, give cognizance of any capital puniſhment to the Mooriſh government: the execution is performed in ſecret, either by lapidation, drowning in the river, caſtigation, or beating to death, and ſometimes by poiſon.

Purſuers of unlawful pleaſures, ſpurred on by the deſire of variety, and ſuch as did not otherwiſe make any difficulty of confeſſing and even triumphing in their amours, have uniformly aſſured me, that they have never ſucceeded in having their will of any Perſian woman, notwithſtanding they have neither ſpared aſſiduity nor money. The fear of puniſhment has ſo much influence upon theſe women, that they never dare conſent, well knowing that if ever their indiſcretion be diſcovered, they cannot eſcape certain death. They are not, however, at all deficient in the amorouſneſs of conſtitution,

which is ſo much the characteriſtic of all the oriental women. They are ſeen, every day, in the ſtreets, and frequently fetch water at a diſtance from their houſes. A number of Perſian women are, however, always together, and a young girl eſpecially is very rarely ſeen by herſelf.

Girls are marriageable before they are twelve years old, and their marriages are contracted at a very early age, and while they are mere infants; but cohabitation is deferred till the girls are about the above-mentioned age of puberty.

As ſoon as the wedding-day is fixed upon, the bridegroom and his father go round, a few days before, to the houſes of all their relations and friends, in order to announce the intended nuptials to them; every one is then obliged to preſent the bridegroom with ſome articles of houſehold furniture, money, or clothes, to which cuſtom he, in his turn, is obliged equally to conform, when others of his friends marry.

When the marriage-ceremony is performed, the bride and bridegroom ſit down, with their legs croſſed under them, upon a ſquare board, covered with cloth, and laid upon

upon the ground; the fathers ſit next to their children; a cocoanutſhell is given to the young couple, with ſome thread, which they wind round it, and give it interchangeably to each other three times; the prieſt then ſtrews ſome rice, as a ſymbol of prolificneſs, upon them; next, after uttering a prayer, he writes upon a little billet, or note, that the father, named ſo and ſo, has given his daughter to be the wife of the bridegroom, ſuch a one; as ſoon as the note is rolled up, a ſtring of green beads is put round the neck of the bride, which ſhe never puts off till it is entirely worn out. It is not cuſtomary to give any portion with the bride.

As ſoon as a child is born, the father goes to one of their prieſts, in order to inform him thereof, and he writes down where and when the child was brought into the world. The prieſt then forms three names out of the horoſcope of the child, writes them upon a little board ſtrewed with aſhes, and ſends it, with much ſolemnity, on the ſixth day afterwards, to the parents, that they may make choice of one of the names.

When the boys are ſeven years old, they

are admitted as members of their religion. They then receive a narrow woollen bandage, woven by the wives of the prieſts, which is wound three times round the body over the ſhirt, and which they muſt wear as long as they live; whenever it is worn out, another is furniſhed by the prieſts, to whom a certain fixed price muſt be paid for it.

Nothing of the kind takes place with reſpect to the girls, who are only ſuppoſed to be incorporated into their religion upon being married.

CHAPTER XV.

Ceremonies of Sepulture among the Perſees.—Deſcription of their Tombs, or Receptacles for their Dead.—Deſolate and dreary Aſpect of the Place.—Deſcription of the Outſide of one of them.—Of the Inſide of another.—Danger in too eager a Curioſity to examine them.—Singular Method of Interment mentioned by THEVENOT.*—Superſtitious Opinions of the Perſees.*

WHEN a Perſee dies, the body is waſhed clean, and dreſſed in the oldeſt clothes belonging to the deceaſed. Then four carriers of the dead, who are equally Perſees, but of the very loweſt claſs, to whom it is not even allowed to touch fire, take up the body, and lay it upon an iron bier, made in the form of a grate, upon which they carry it out of the city, to one of their burying-places, or, more properly, receptacles of the dead *.

There

* OVINGTON, who was an eye-witneſs of the ceremonies obſerved at the depoſition of the body of a Perſee, relates

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There are ſeveral of theſe receptacles near *Surat*, but the principal of them ſtands about

the following circumſtances reſpecting them: "After the "body is for ſome time dead, the *Halalchors* (a ſort of for-"did Indians) take and carry it out upon an open bier, into "the open fields, near the place where it is to be expoſed "to the fowls of heaven. When it is there decently de-"poſited upon the ground, a particular friend beats the "fields and neighbouring villages, upon the hunt for a dog, "till he can find one out; and having had the good luck "to meet him, he intices him with a cake of bread, which "he carries in his hand for that purpoſe, till he draws him "as near the corpſe as he is able; for the nearer the dog is "brought to the dead body, the nearer are its approaches "to felicity. And if the hungry cur can by bits of cake be "brought ſo nigh the deceaſed, as to come up to him, and "take a piece out of his mouth, it is then an unqueſtionable "ſign, that the condition he died in was very happy; but "if the timorous dog ſtartles at the ſight, or loaths the ob-"ject, or being lately well fed, has no ſtomach to that ordi-"nary morſel, which he muſt ſnatch out of the dead man's "jaws, the caſe then with him is deſperate, and his ſtate "deplorable. The poor man, whom I ſaw, was, by theſe "prognoſtics, very miſerable; for the ſturdy cur would by "no means be inticed to any diſtance near him. When the "dog has finiſhed his part of the ceremony, two *daroos* "(prieſts) at a furlong's diſtance from the bier, ſtand up, "with joined hands, and loudly repeat, for near half an hour, "a tedious form of prayer by heart; but with ſuch a quick "diſpatch, that they ſcarce draw breath all the while, as if "they had been under ſome invincible neceſſity of running "over the words in ſuch a time. All the while they

"were

about half a Dutch mile out of the *Double*, or *Naſſary*-gate. The piece of ground upon which it is built, and which is about a

" were thus gabbling, a piece of white paper, faſtened to " each ear, o'erthwart the face, hung down two or three " inches below the chin; and as ſoon as they had ended " their petitions, the *Halalchors* took up the corpſe, and con- " veyed it to the repoſitory, which was near; all the company " ranking themſelves by two and two, and following it with " joined hands. The place of ſepulture is in the open fields, " within a wall, built in form of a circle, about twelve feet " high, and about an hundred in the circumference; in the " middle of which was a door of ſtone, about ſix feet from " the ground, which was opened to admit the corpſe. The " ground within the walls is raiſed above four feet, and " made ſhelving towards the center, that the filth and moiſ- " ture which are drained continually from the carcaſſes, may " by an eaſy paſſage deſcend into a ſink made in the mid- " dle to receive them. The corpſe, therefore, was left here, " and all the company departing thence, betook themſelves " to a rivulet that ran near the place, for ablution, to cleanſe " themſelves from what defilements they might have con- " tracted on this melancholy occaſion; and retired after- " wards to their proper habitations in the city, from whence " this place is diſtant about a mile; but within the ſpace " of a day or two after, ſome of the neareſt relatives return " again hither, to obſerve which of the eyes of their deceaſed " friend was firſt picked out by the hungry vultures; and " if they find, that the right eye was firſt ſeized on, this " abodes undoubted happineſs; if the left, they then are " ſorrowful; for that is a direful ſign of his miſery."

Ovington's Voyage to Surat, London, 1696, page 376. *T*.

quarter of a mile in circumference, is the property of the Perſees; it lies a little higher than the country round it; the ſoil is a hard, ſtony, clay, which is ſplit to a conſiderable depth, in ſeveral places, by the great aridity of the climate. The little bruſhwood, and the faded and thorny buſhes, which are interſperſed upon it, bear the viſible marks of a deſert and barren ſoil, upon which they rather appear to pine, than to grow.

The death-like ſilence, and diſmal ſolitude of the place, the hoarſe croakings of the crows and ravens, that reſort hither in numerous bands, to feed upon the putrifying carcaſſes, make this ſpot a truer picture of the dreary abodes deſtined for the reception of departed ſouls, and a more ſolemn and more gloomy ſcene, than even the far-famed *Avernus* of the Roman poets.

On this piece of ground, are four of their repoſitories for dead bodies, two of which are entirely decayed, open, and overgrown withinſide with graſs and buſhes.

The neweſt, which had been built, entirely new, three or four years before, was, like the others, round. Its circumference I found was about three hundred feet; it

was

was ſixteen or ſeventeen feet above the ground, with a border all round at the top, and made entirely of hard hewn ſtone.

The opening, through which the bodies are carried into the repoſitory, was, as well in this as in the others, facing the eaſt, in order that the riſing ſun might ſhine upon them, and in the upper part of the wall, juſt below the border, at the diſtance of full five feet from the ground: this opening was ſhut by two maſſy ſtone doors, with a very large lock, and ſo well cloſed, that none can either enter into, or even behold, the inſide.

A ſloping aſcent is made to the door, up which the bodies which are to be depoſited in the repoſitory are carried; I went up it, and to the entrance, but could not find any crevice through which I might ſee the inſide. On the border over the door is a ſemicircular frontiſpiece, in which ſeveral mottos, alluſive to the place, are carved in Perſian letters.

To the N.E. N.W. S.W. and S.E. about twelve feet from the place of ſepulture, were four pits, or ſinks, of brick, ſunk in the earth, and with a covering of maſonry over

over them, riſing three or four feet above the ground, with ſeveral holes in it. Theſe ſerve to receive the moiſture that runs from the dead bodies, either by the rain falling upon them, or otherwiſe, through as many pipes, or ſewers, that communicate with the principal building. The peſtilential vapours ariſing from ſo many rotting carcaſſes, infected the air all round, in ſo intolerable a degree, that nothing but the moſt eager curioſity could have induced me to ſtay a ſingle moment here; and the little time I did remain in this foul congregation of putrifaction, brought on a moſt violent headache, and it was a long time before I got rid of it.

At the diſtance of about forty or fifty roods from this large receptacle, were three others of the ſame ſhape and height; but ſmaller in circumference: two of them were in ſo ruinous a condition, that there was nothing worthy of obſervation about them; but I had an opportunity of ſatisfying my curioſity at the third, which was ſtill entire.

I had left my ſervants and palankeen-bearers at a diſtance from the place where theſe

theſe receptacles of the dead were, becauſe I had been told, that the great curioſity of the brother of the French chief, DE BRIANCOURT, to behold the inſide of one of theſe charnelhouſes, would have coſt him his life, had not his brother come in time to his aſſiſtance with ſome military; he was aſſaulted by a number of Perſees when he entered the gate, as he had been watched by them when he got up to the wall. I was beſides ſo fortunate, that the attendant, who dwells near this place, at a ſmall temple, where the holy fire is kept burning, happened to be gone to the city, ſo that I was entirely alone in this ſolitary abode of death.

Clambering up the wall, by means of the holes which were in it, I got as high as the opening through which the bodies were conveyed in, and I found a crevice between the doors, of ſufficient width to admit of my ſeeing how the bodies were diſpoſed: it was as follows; in the center of a ſhelving floor of ſtone, which was laid from the wall, beginning a foot or a foot and a half below the threſhold of the doors, and which went all round the building, was a large opening,

or

or pit, and over it an iron grate, ſerving to receive the moiſture that trickled from the putrifying bodies, and of which I could not ſee the bottom.

This floor was divided into three circular rows; the uppermoſt, or that which was neareſt to the wall, was appropriated for the bodies of men, the ſecond for thoſe of women, and the third, which was the ſmalleſt, for children; and this laſt, when the bodies were conſumed by the birds, and the action of the air, ſerved likewiſe as a common receptacle for the bones, which either ſlid down, or were thrown there, from time to time.

Every corpſe had a ſeparate partition in which it lay, provided with a border of about an inch in height, above, below, and on each ſide; between which, and the next partition, a narrow grove was made, by which the moiſture could flow down into the opening, in the center; and the apertures, which were made for the water to flow from every corpſe, were ſo arranged, that the fluid exſuding from one, did not unite with that of another, till in the central ſink.

In

In the row of the women I ſaw a body half conſumed, and many entire ſkeletons in other places *.

THEVENOT

* OVINGTON gives a moſt ſtriking picture of this loathſome ſcene, in the following words: "The burying-place of "the Perſees is an object the moſt dreadful, and of the "moſt horrid proſpect, in the world, and much more frightful than a field of ſlaughtered men. It contains a number of carcaſſes of very different, diſagreeable colours and "aſpects. Some are ſeen there bleeding freſh, but ſo torn "by the vultures that croud upon the walls, that their faces "reſemble that of a death's head, with the eyeballs out, and "all the fleſh upon the cheeks picked off. And on the "fleſhy part of the body, where the ravenous bird taſted a "more delicious morſel, are eaten ſeveral large holes, and "all the ſkin on every part is mangled and torn, by the "ſharp beaks of theſe devouring creatures. Here was a leg, "and there an arm, here lay half, and there the quarter, of "a man. Some looked as if they were partly jelly, others "were hardened like tanned leather, by the various operations "of the ſun and weather upon them. Here lay one picked as clean as a ſkeleton, near that, another with the ſkin "in ſome parts green, in others yellow, and the whole ſo "diſcoloured, as if all within were putrifaction. A ſight "terrible enough almoſt to affright an hungry vulture from "his prey. But theſe birds are moſt delighted with theſe "diſmal objects; and that noiſome ſmell which evaporates "from the dead corpſe, affords a pleaſant odour to their "ſenſes. The ſtench of the bodies is intolerable, and of "malignity ſufficient to ſtrike any man dead that would endure it; and yet the vultures chooſe to ſit to the leeward

"upon

THEVENOT writes, that the *guebres*, who ſtill remain in *Perſia*, and eſpecially in the province of *Carmenia*, ſet the bodies of their dead upright, in a place walled in for that purpoſe; and leſt the body ſhould fall, they put a forked inſtrument under the chin, to hold it up: they leave it in this poſture, till the crows have picked out the eyes; and if they begin by the right eye, they think the deceaſed is happy, and then put the body upright, in a place walled in, which they call the *white grave*; but if the crows begin by the left eye, they think the deceaſed is miſerable, and put the body into the *black grave*. Theſe graves, he ſays, are pits, or wells, raiſed ſome fathoms high of earth, where they put the bodies ſtark naked, covering only the privities with a rag. He further adds, that the greateſt kindneſs the *guebres* think they can do to a dead man, is to kill for his ſake a great many frogs,

" upon the wall, luxuriouſly to ſuck up, and indulge their " ſmell with theſe deadly foul vapours. Some of theſe " glutted birds were ſo cloyed and crammed with human " fleſh, that they ſeemed ſcarce able to take wing, and the " feathers of others were much moulted away, by this kind " of rank feeding." Page 379. T.

ſerpents,

ſerpents, and other reptiles *. But nothing of all this takes place among the Perſees at *Surat*, as I have been aſſured by ſeveral people, of whom I made enquiries on the ſubject †.

Forty roods from the repoſitories, or tombs, which I have deſcribed, ſtands a ſquare ciſtern of water, where the corpſe is waſhed by the relations, before it is carried into the tomb; and no Perſee may approach near to the repoſitory, much leſs may look into it. If the firſt be done inadvertently, which, however, ſeldom happens, his clothes muſt be burnt, his body waſhed clean, and purified by the prieſts; beſides which he muſt perform ſome heavy penance.

Near this lavatory is a ſmall four-cornered temple, covered with a ſort of cupola, in which a little fire is kept alight, or ſmouldering, night and day, by one of their nation, who has likewiſe the care over the burying-places.

* See *Suite du Voyage du Levant*, tom. III. page 389 to 399. *S.*

† Yet we have ſeen that OVINGTON mentions the ſame ſuperſtitious opinion, with reſpect to which eye is firſt picked out by the birds, as prevalent alſo at *Surat*. *T.*

The

The bodies which have once been carried into the repoſitory, may never again come out of it; and if, by accident, any one who might be carried in for dead, were to recover again, and give ſigns of life, the carriers of the dead, who are obliged to look particularly hereto, are bound to diſpatch him effectually, without delay; of which, it is ſaid, that there have formerly been inſtances.

They believe, that if any one were to return again out of the tomb, God would be ſo incenſed, that he would forbid the earth to bring forth fruits, and that the moſt dreadful diſaſters would befal all the inhabitants of the country.

END OF VOLUME THE SECOND.

VOYAGES

TO THE

EAST-INDIES;

BY THE LATE

JOHN SPLINTER STAVORINUS, ESQ.

REAR ADMIRAL IN THE SERVICE OF THE

STATES-GENERAL.

Tranſlated from the original Dutch,

By SAMUEL HULL WILCOCKE.

WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The Whole compriſing a full and accurate Account of all the preſent and late Poſſeſſions of the Dutch in India, and at the Cape of Good Hope.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

CONTAINING

A CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE FROM SURAT TO BATAVIA, THE COAST OF MALABAR, AND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE; in THE YEARS 1775-1778.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATER-NOSTER-ROW.

1798.



VOYAGE

TO

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, BATAVIA, SAMARANG, MACASSER, AMBOYNA, SURAT, &c.

IN THE YEARS 1774-1778.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Manner of Life of the Perſees.—Their Chiefs.—Their Religion.—The holy Fire.—Their Reverence for Fire; and for Water.—No Diſturbance on Account of Religion among the Moors, the Gentoos, and the Perſees.—Diſeaſes prevalent at SURAT.

THE Perſees live temperately; contrary, however, to the cuſtom of the Gentoos, they eat all kinds of fleſh meat, except that of oxen, and of hares, in order not to give offence to that nation; but it muſt always be killed and prepared by their own people.

Two of them, one of whom, MANTCHERGI by name, is the broker of the Dutch,

and the other of the Engliſh Company, are the chiefs of the Perſees who dwell in and about *Surat*; they are, at the ſame time, their chief eccleſiaſtics, or prieſts; they likewiſe ſettle the diſputes that ariſe among them, and the parties muſt ſubmit to their deciſions: murder, homicide, and other crimes amongſt them, which diſturb the public tranquillity, are puniſhed by the nabob, or governor of the city; he, however, acts very circumſpectly in ſuch caſes, becauſe he ſtands more in awe of the Perſees than of the Moors, or Gentoos, on account of their large numbers and greater courage, whereby they are left, in ſome meaſure, independent: ſuch heavy crimes, I was told, are very ſeldom heard of among them; and beſides, as they all live in ſeparate wards, in which they do not allow any ſtrangers to reſide, many things may remain hidden among them, which would ſoon be publicly known, if they lived more diſperſed.

The religion of the ancient Perſians, inſtituted by ZOROASTER, and which part of that nation have retained to the preſent day, is too well known for me to ſay much about; beſides which, in order to form a true idea

of

of the religion of a nation, their language ſhould be perfectly underſtood, eſpecially when it is enveloped in abſtruſe metaphyſical, or allegorical, propoſitions; for the beſt interpreter is not of any uſe in this point, much leſs thoſe who are met with here, and who can ſcarcely tranſlate the occurrences of daily converſation from one language into another.

Hence I conclude that we ſhall never be able, in Europe, to obtain a true idea of the various religions of the nations of Aſia, that of Mahomet excepted, before ſome really learned man, well verſed in religious and metaphyſical diſquiſitions, takes the trouble of learning their language, eſpecially that of their ſaints, which is excluſively appropriated to the ſervices of their religion.

I ſhall, however, ſay ſomething, in a few words, of the religion of the Perſees at *Surat*.

In the firſt place, they allege that they poſſeſs a genuine copy of the inſtitutes of ZOROASTER.

They likewiſe pretend that the holy fire which they brought with them at the time of their flight from *Perſia*, has remained

burning to the preſent day, without being extinguiſhed, in their largeſt and principal temple, which ſtands near the Portugueſe city of *Daman*. The allegations, in this reſpect, of the prieſts, who, like thoſe of other ſimilar religions, play their parts in a maſterly manner, are blindly and implicitly believed by the unenlightened many. They moreover take care that this holy fire be only expoſed once a year to the profane eyes of the vulgar; this is a feſtival which takes place in the month of October, and marks the commencement of their year, and they eat, drink, and make merry on the occaſion.

Beſides this feſtival, they have one every month, which is excluſively a religious one, and on which they offer up ſolemn ſupplications to the divinity.

Every Perſee likewiſe offers up a prayer every morning, and every evening: in the morning he turns towards the riſing ſun, and in the evening to the moon, if ſhe be viſible.

The element of water is equally an object of their reverence; yet only in ſo far as they believe that the ſun, fire, and water, are the pureſt repreſentations of the godhead,

head, to whom they ſay, that they ſolely pay adoration.

Their reverence for fire is carried ſo far, that they will not extinguiſh it on any account; they will not even put out a candle or lamp.

When a fire takes place in the town, they do not endeavour to quench it with water, but try to ſtop the progreſs of the flames by pulling down the houſes and buildings round where they rage, till the fire goes out by not meeting wherewithal to conſume.

They have ſix or ſeven houſes appropriated to their religion, or churches, as well within, as out of the town, in which a prayer, ſermon, or exhortation, is every day pronounced by their prieſts; and in which fire is kept conſtantly burning, the flames of which are fed by the pureſt and moſt coſtly wood that can be procured; this may never be blown upon by the breaths of any impure creature, but it is kept alive by being fanned with a fan. None but a Perſee may enter one of theſe buildings.

In contradiſtinction to moſt other religions, they do not endeavour, or deſire, to make any proſelytes.

Theſe three diſtinct nations, the Moors, the Gentoos, and the Perſees, whoſe religions are widely different from each other, exerciſe the greateſt toleration and indulgence, in this reſpect, towards one another; no one is moleſted on account of his religion; they may be ſeen together in, and near, the river, offering up their prayers, each to that being whom he adores, without any marks of deriſion or contempt being ſhewn by any one: this even goes ſo far, that the days which one perſuaſion look upon as holy, are alſo looked upon with a degree of veneration by the others: when the holy fire of the Perſees is exhibited to the people, no Gentoo will either approach, or touch, fire, no more than the Perſees themſelves.

The principal diſorders to which the inhabitants of theſe countries are ſubject, are burning fevers, and the dyſentery.

The burning heats, which prevail here from the month of June till Auguſt and September, are the cauſe, it is ſaid, of the former, and the flatulency of the greateſt part of the uſual food of the inhabitants of the latter; which I leave to the determination

tion of thoſe who are better acquainted with pathology than myſelf.

Few of the natives of the country attain to very advanced age. The emperor AURENGZEBE, however, lived, according to VALENTYN, one hundred and three years.

CHAPTER II.

Coins current at SURAT.—*Almonds uſed as the loweſt Medium of Exchange.—Ancient Grecian and Roman Coins met with here.—Weights.—Meaſures.—Lime and Brick-kilns.*

THE coins that are current here, are of gold, ſilver, and copper.

The coin of gold of the country is the *mohur*, which is gold of twenty-three carat; it goes here for fifteen ſilver rupees; though its value is not conſtantly the ſame, but is ſettled according as gold is at a high, or at a low price. All foreign gold coins are only taken according to their weight and intrinſic value.

Ducats are likewiſe met with here, but no one is obliged to receive them in payment contrary to his inclination; they are diſtinguiſhed into three ſorts; the Venetian ducats, which are worth from $4\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{5}{16}$ rupees, or *f.*6. 7 to 8 ſtivers; all other European ducats, to which they give the appellation of

images,

images, and which are current at from 4½ to 4$\frac{3}{11}$ rupees, or *f.*6. 3 to 5 ſtivers; and the third, or laſt, ſort, thoſe of *Conſtantinople*, or *Stambouli*, among which are comprehended all other Turkiſh, Arabian, and Perſian ducats, and which go at from 3½ to 3$\frac{11}{11}$ rupees, or *f.*5. 16 to 18 ſtivers. The value of theſe coins is lowered or enhanced in proportion as more or leſs gold is imported.

The ſilver rupee is the ſtandard coin of the country, the only one which is ſtruck in the empire of Hindoſtan, and is current all over it; its real value in Dutch money is ſcarcely four-and-twenty ſtivers, but here, among the Europeans, it is calculated at thirty ſtivers *: every rupee contains ſixteen *annas*; but the calculation by *annas* is not ſo common here as in *Bengal*; the fractions of rupees are generally ſettled by *pice*, which is the only copper coin here, and of which more or leſs go to a rupee, in proportion as copper is at a low, or at a high price; when

* Mr. STAVORINUS here gives the aſſay, and weight of the rupee, according to the Dutch denominations; the reader is referred on this ſubject to the note ſubjoined to page 460 of the firſt volume, where the aſſay, real weight, ſtandard weight, and intrinſic value, of the rupee, is given from Sir ISAAC NEWTON's Table. *T.*

I was

I was at *Surat*, ſixty-four *pice* were given for a rupee: it is ſaid that there are alſo leaden *pice*, but I ſaw none of them.

In the ſame way as cowries are made uſe of in *Bengal*, as the loweſt medium of exchange, almonds, which are called *badams*, are employed for that purpoſe here; the comparative value whereof, is, as may eaſily be conceived, more liable to variation, than any other repreſentative medium*.

No other money is current here, and all foreign coins are taken according to their weight and aſſay; but the Mexican dollars, or pieces of eight, known among the natives by the appellation of *raal lakria*, muſt, if weight, contain ſeventy-three *waals*: their value is uncertain, running from *f.*318 to *f.*324 per hundred†, and ſometimes, but ſeldom, a little higher.

* When OVINGTON was at *Surat*, about ſixty bitter almonds was the current rate of a *pice*. THEVENOT ſays ſixty-eight; he adds, that the almonds that paſs for money at *Surat*, come from *Perſia*, and are the fruit of a ſhrub that grows on the rocks. *T.*

† Or about 5*s.* 9*d.* to about 5*s.* 11*d.* per dollar. According to RICARD, pieces of eight go at *Surat*, viz.

100 Mexican dollars for 217¼ rupees.
100 Peruvian ditto for 218 ditto.
100 New Spaniſh dollars for 214 ditto. *T.*

What

What are called imperial dollars, are alſo brought hither, to a conſiderable amount, from *Mocha* and *Jedda:* they are either bought up by the Europeans at the rate of two rupees, or three gilders, apiece, or are ſent to the mint, in order to be refined and coined into rupees.

Ancient Grecian and Roman copper coins are likewiſe ſometimes met with here, ſome of which I have got in my poſſeſſion. They have probably been diſperſed by the wars of thoſe nations in *Perſia, Parthia, Egypt,* and the ſurrounding countries, and brought hither, among other coins, by the Armenian, Perſian, and Arabian merchants.

The weights are very various here, and are regulated according to the nature of the commodities to be weighed.

The *maund* is here, as in *Bengal,* the general ſtandard weight, by which moſt kinds of goods are reckoned; but it is diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral ſorts, as is the *ſeer;* the contents of the ſeveral ſpecies of weights are, viz.

The *ſeer kalſah,* or ſingle *ſeer,* $\frac{82}{80}$ pound Amſterdam.

The *ſeer pakka,* which is the double of the former, $1\frac{82}{80}$ ditto.

The

The *maund kalſah* contains forty ſingle *ſeer*, or $34\frac{1}{2}$ pounds: this is uſed for weighing alum, areca, tortoiſeſhell, elephants' teeth, grain, indigo, copper, lead, redlead, braſs, quickſilver, ſandalwood, ſalt, tin, ſteel, vermillion, iron, &c.

A *maund* of $40\frac{1}{4}$ ſingle *ſeer*, or $34\frac{11}{11}\frac{8}{8}$ pounds, is uſed for weighing of ſaffron.

A *maund* of 41 *ſeer*, or $35\frac{1}{1}\frac{2}{6}$ pounds, for raw ſugar.

A *maund* of 42 *ſeer*, or $36\frac{2}{4}\frac{3}{6}$ pounds, for lamp-oil, almonds, flower of piſtachio, catchoo, camphor, cinnamon, cardamom, cotton, cotton-yarn, coffee, cumminſeed, corianderſeed, dried ginger, mace, filberds, cloves, nutmegs, black piſtachio-nuts, ſaltpetre, ſapanwood, tea, wax, ſoap, &c.

A *maund* of $43\frac{1}{4}$ *ſeer*, or $37\frac{1}{1}\frac{7}{2}$ pounds, for ſugarcandy.

A *maund* of 44 *ſeer*, or $37\frac{1}{1}\frac{9}{6}$ pounds, for gum arabic, aſſa fœtida, Bengal pepper, cowries, galls, gumlack, roſin, cubebs, brimſtone, &c.

A *candil* is twenty *maund kalſah*, or ten *maund pakka*; but theſe are Bengal *maunds*, which contain eighty ſingle, or forty double *ſeer*; thus a *candil* is 690 pounds Amſterdam weight;

weight: it is by this weight that capoc is ſold.

A *harrah* is ſeven *maund kalſah*, or 241½ pounds.

Gold and ſilver are calculated in the following proportions:

A *ſeer kalſah* is thirty-five *tola*;

A *tola* is thirty-two *waal*, or twelve *maſſa*;

A *maſſa* is 2⅔ *waal*, or eight *retti*;

A *retti* is four *nilly*.

Two and a half *tola* are equal to one Dutch ounce; a *ſeer kalſah* is therefore fourteen ounces; a *waal* is eight *aas*; a *maſſa* 21⅓ *aas*; a *retti* 2⅔ *aas*; and a *nilly* ⅔ *aas* *.

THEVENOT ſays that a *tola* makes fifty-ſix carats.

Pearls are weighed by *fangis*, one of which is twenty-four *retti*, or 20⅔ carats, each *retti* being $\frac{17}{16}$ carat.

A *fangi* is alſo 330 *chouw*;

A *chouw* is $\frac{100}{177}$ of a grain;

A *chouw* is likewiſe ſixteen *annas*;

And an *anna* is $\frac{51}{1600}$ of a grain.

Diamonds are taken by *retti*; one hun-

* An Engliſh ounce troy is 82½ *waal*, or *vales*. RICARD. T.

dred

dred *retti* is equal to eighty-five carats, a *retti* being $\frac{17}{20}$ of a carat, or $10\frac{1}{2}$ grain.

A *retti* is likewiſe twenty *waſſa*;

And a *waſſa* is $\frac{1}{20}$ of a grain.

The *yard*, which, though an Engliſh meaſure, is familiarly known to the natives by the ſame name, is one *ges* and eight *teſſoe*, or $1\frac{1}{3}$ *ges*, a *ges* being twenty-four *teſſoe*.

The ſtandard *ges* of *Surat* is $1\frac{1}{11}$ Dutch ell.

The *bazar ges* of *Surat*, or that which is uſed upon the bazars, and in the ſhops, is $1\frac{3}{20}$ Dutch ell.

The ſtandard *ges* of *Baroche* is $\frac{24}{25}$ of a Dutch ell.

The *bazar ges* of *Baroche* is $\frac{103}{100}$ of a Dutch ell.

The *Baroche* ſtandard *ges* is exactly as much ſhorter than a Dutch ell, as the *Surat* ſtandard *ges* is longer; which is equally the caſe with the *bazar ges* of both places.

Diſtances are reckoned by *coſs*, each of which is full half of a Dutch mile.

The above is taken from a particular report made on the ſubject by Meſſieurs ZIVEERS DE LANDES and DAVID KELLY, ſpecially appointed to form ſuch a ſtatement by

by the direction of *Surat*, by order from the ſupreme government at *Batavia*, in the year 1758.

The burning of lime, and making of bricks, though a great nuiſance, is of little importance or value to the city. Theſe trades are carried on in the ſuburbs; and in calm weather, the methods obſerved in them occaſion a moſt offenſive ſmell, and impregnate the air with very noiſome vapours. A certain ſort of coralline, ſtony earth, is made uſe of for the former; this they throw together in a heap, mix it, and cover it with cowdung, and ſet the whole on fire, and it ſometimes continues burning for a fortnight. The material of which they make bricks is a clayey earth, which they mould at the ſpots where it is dug, ſet them in heaps, and burn them with cowdung. The manipulation of both articles is, however, performed in a ſlovenly and awkward manner.

CHAPTER III.

Carts.—Hackeries.— Palankeens.— Ships and Ship-building.—Deſcription of the old or holy Ship.— It was deſtroyed in 1777.—*Mode of building Ships at* SURAT.— *Durability of their Veſſels.—Great Expence of their Conſtruction.*

THE carriages which are made uſe of to convey goods about the town, and up the country, are carts of a ſimple conſtruction, running upon two wheels, upon which, when the carts are loaden, they are nearly upon a poiſe; they are drawn by one or two oxen, which are here, in general, of a pretty large ſize.

The carriages, or *hackeries*, which the natives uſe to ride about in, go likewiſe upon two wheels. The body of the carriage is placed in the middle upon the axletree; it is juſt large enough for two people to ſit in it with their legs croſſed under them; it has a circular covering over it, generally of white linen, open at the ſides when men ride in them,

them, but cloſed all round when women are the paſſengers. The belly and legs of the oxen (for horſes are only uſed for the ſaddle) are frequently painted of a light roſe-colour, and the horns are gilt either with gold or ſilver; they have little bells hung round the neck, by which the foot-paſſengers can hear them when they approach: the conductor ſits, as the coachmen do with us, on a ſeat before the body of the carriage; he guides the oxen by a ſingle rein on each ſide, which paſſes through the cartilage of the noſe, and he urges them on, when neceſſary, by a ſtick, with which he goads or puſhes them.

People of high rank, or of great wealth, are carried about in palankeens, or litters, as I have before mentioned in my obſervations upon *Bengal*.

As *Surat* is a large and ancient place of trade, and a ſeaport of conſiderable importance, there is no want of ſhips and veſſels of various kinds and ſizes, which are either built here, or are brought hither completely finiſhed, for ſale or charter.

The ſhips which are built here, coſt, it is true, very dear, but they are able to navi-

gate the ſeas for a hundred years together. There was a ſhip here in exiſtence, which performed a voyage to *Mocha* and back in the year 1770, being freighted on account of Mr. SLUISKENS, the ſecond of the Dutch factory at *Surat*, of which the time when it was built is not known; and only that, in a letter, written by Mr. ZWAARDEKROON, the then director of *Surat*, to the government at *Batavia*, in the year 1702, it is called *the old ſhip*, although from that time, till the year 1770, it performed an annual voyage to the Red-ſea.

This ſhip was always known by the appellation of the *holy ſhip*, becauſe the pilgrims from India, going to, or returning from, *Mecca*, always took their paſſage on board of her; and, on the ſame account, that ſhip had a peculiar privilege at *Mocha* and *Jedda*, of taking on board a certain number of cheſts and boxes, free of duty; which privilege was the more valuable to the owners, as the duties exacted at thoſe places are exceſſively high.

When I was at *Surat* on my firſt voyage, this ſhip was a-ground, about half a Dutch mile below the city, and ſo near falling to pieces,

pieces, that I did not think the owners would be at the charge of repairing her again; in effect, when I was at *Surat*, in the year 1777, on my ſecond voyage thither, ſhe was, as I have before mentioned, entirely deſtroyed by the laſt violent afflux of the river.

I computed it to be one hundred and thirty, or thirty-five, feet from ſtem to ſtern. It was built like a frigate, with three maſts, and cut away full as ſharp at the bow as our ſhips. The ſtern, as tradition ſays, had been that of an Engliſh ſhip, which was loſt in this river; it has at leaſt much reſemblance to the repreſentation of the ſhips of the laſt century. It had two decks, likewiſe a quarter-deck, and forecaſtle; the gunroom was very large; the height between the decks was ſcarcely five feet; the cabin was adorned within with a great deal of carving, and not the leaſt piece of wood was left without ſome foliage or imagery. Upon the quarter-deck were, as in our ſhips, little huts or cabins, and before them a fixed awning, ſuch as we call a *wafelkraam*; the catheads were exceſſive heavy pieces of timber, twice as large as thoſe of a ſhip of one hundred and fifty feet. The cables run over the top at

the bow, in a deep notch, as our towlines are done. The bowſprit was not fixed upon the ſtem, but at the right ſide of it.

This ſhip belonged to a Turkiſh merchant called *Tjillebe*, who had ſeveral other ſhips. He is one of the principal merchants of the city, and greatly reſpected by the nabob.

They do not build their ſhips in the ſame manner as the Europeans; moſt of the timbers are fitted in after the planks have been put together. There was one built while I was at *Surat*, in what is called the Engliſh yard; it appeared to me to have about one hundred feet length of keel: it ſtood in a kind of graving-dock; if a large excavation, cloſed towards the river by a dam, without a ſtone facing, or any thing that reſembled it, may deſerve that appellation *.

They do not put the planks together as we do, with flat edges towards each other, but rabbet them; and they make the parts fit into each other with the greateſt exactneſs,

* They do not thus launch their ſhips, as we do, from ſlips; but, when ſufficiently finiſhed for floating, they dig through from the water to the ſort of docks mentioned above, which they call cradles, where the ſhips are, as it were, dropped into the ſtream that is brought up to them. *T.*

beſtowing

beſtowing much time and attention upon this operation; for this purpoſe, they ſmear the edges of the planks, which are ſet up, with red lead, and thoſe which are intended to be be placed next, are put upon them, and preſſed down, in order to be able to diſcern the inequalities, which are marked by the red lead, and afterwards taken away: they repeat this till the whole fits exactly; they then rub both edges with a ſort of glue, which becomes, by age, as hard as iron, and they cover it with a thin layer of capoc, after which they unite the planks ſo firmly and cloſely with pegs, that the ſeam is ſcarcely viſible, and the whole ſeems to form one entire piece of timber.

They fit the timbers and beams in the ſame way to the planks; ſo that a piece of wood is ſometimes put in and taken out more than ten times before it is fixed for good and all *.

Inſtead of bolts, they make uſe of pieces of iron, forged like ſpikes, the point of which

* The knees, or crooked timbers, are generally of the natural growth into that form, without being forced or warped by fire, eſpecially where particular care is taken of the conſtruction, and no expence ſpared. *T.*

is driven through, clenched on the inſide, and again driven into the wood. They make the iron which they employ for this purpoſe very tough and flexible *.

The tedioufneſs of their method, together with the dearneſs of timber they employ, which muſt be brought hither from diſtant places, make ſhip-building very dear here, but, at the ſame time, their veſſels are very laſting, and can go to ſea for many years,

* They have alſo a peculiar way of preſerving their ſhips' bottoms, by occaſionally rubbing into them an oil which they call wood-oil, which the planks imbibe, and it ſerves greatly to nouriſh and keep them from decay. The maſting generally uſed in the country-ſhips, are pohoon-maſts, chiefly from the Malabar coaſt; but for the cordage, what is worth any thing, muſt come from Europe; their coir-ropes being, for either running or ſtanding rigging, more harſh and untractable than what is produced from hemp. Coir-cables, however, are very ſerviceable, and have their excellencies, as we have before ſeen, in oppoſition to the European cables; they laſt much the longer in ſalt water, freſh being apt to rot them. Their anchors are moſtly European, our iron being much better, and better worked. With ſails, they are very well ſuppplied by the country-manufacture of cotton into a ſailcloth called *dungaree*, which, though not ſo ſtrong or laſting as canvas, Hollands duck, or vitry, is, whilſt in uſe, more pliant, and leſs apt to ſplit than they are. For pitch, they have the gum of a tree called *damma*, which is not at all inferior to the other. *T.*

before

before any repairs of the hull are at all wanted. Caulking of the ſeams, as may eaſily be conceived, does not come in queſtion here; for if they once give way, the whole bottom is of very little value.

The ſhip that I ſaw building, was contracted for ſeventy-five thouſand rupees, or *f.*112.500 — Dutch, and was intended to load one thouſand nine hundred canaſſers of ſugar, or one hundred and ninety laſts.

CHAPTER IV.

Great Decline in the Power of the Mogul Emperors.— Cauſes thereof.—Reflexions on the Riſe and Downfall of Empires.--Superſtition a firm Support of arbitrary Power, inſtanced in the Empires of PERU — PERSIA — *The* OTTOMAN PORTE. — *Conqueſts greatly contribute to cement the Power of a State.— Inſtances from the Hiſtory of* CARTHAGE —ROME —*The Mogul Empire under and after* AURENGZEBE. —*Encroachments of the Engliſh in* HINDOSTAN.— *Means by which they became Maſters of* SURAT.—*Account of the whole Tranſaction from* CAMBRIDGE'S *War in India.—Capture of* SURAT *by the Engliſh Forces under Captain* MAITLAND, *in* 1759.— *Agreement between* ATCHUND *and the Engliſh.— They obtain Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle and Tanka.— Confirmed therein by the Mogul.—Dutch Account of the Affair. — Contract between* FARISCHAN *and the Engliſh Company.*

I HAVE before already made ſome mention, in a curſory manner, of the great decay which the power of the Mogul Emperors has undergone; their ſovereign authority is now

ſo

ſo much circumſcribed, that they are not even maſters over their own perſons.

The cauſes hereof are no other than ſuch as are found to prevail in almoſt all deſpotic ſtates.

The ſovereign, ſeated upon his throne in the interior of his empire, cannot himſelf pay any attention to the provinces that are diſtant from the ſeat of government; but is obliged to confide the adminiſtration of them to lieutenants, whoſe oppreſſive diſpoſition far exceeds that of the monarch himſelf; while, though they are not entirely diveſted of awe for the throne, yet, by forming confederacies with the neighbouring princes, or amongſt themſelves, they become, in their turn, objects of apprehenſion to the ſovereign.

I could adduce many inſtances of the above from hiſtory, if they were not as generally known, as the truth of the propoſition is clear and evident.

There are three methods by which, according to my judgment, the power and dignity of large and extenſive empires, can be, and have been, cemented and maintained.

Firſt, by means of the laws, the execution of which belongs excluſively to the monarch,

to

to which he, as well as his lieutenants, are, at the ſame time, ſubject, and whereby both he and they are kept within bounds, and prevented from oppreſſing the lower ranks, ſo that they may not have any cauſe or inducement to oppoſe the juſt authority of the prince, to riſe in rebellion againſt him, or put themſelves under the protection of a foreign power.

Next, by means of ſuperſtition, by which ſubjects attached by religious prejudice to the family of their princes, on account of the ſupernatural origin to which they may lay claim, believe that their whole welfare depends upon the conſervation of that race. The monarch is hereby enabled to rule with the moſt abſolute ſway, as long as this belief is predominant, without having ever any cauſe to fear that any one will be fool-hardy enough to oppoſe his will. We have an example of this in the ancient Peruvians, who were moſt firmly perſuaded that their kings were the children of the ſun, and that they brought with them to earth an heavenly bond that the people over whom they reigned ſhould always proſper; whence many of that nation preferred to ſuffer death with their laſt king,

king, ATHA BALIPA, than live to encounter the evils threatened under another government.

In this ſame manner, too, THEVENOT informs us that the Perſians are firmly aſſured that no one can have, or has, any title to be their ſovereign, but one that is a deſcendant from one of the twelve Imams, of whom ALI was the firſt; that they, in conſequence, never look upon him but with fear and trembling, and have ſuch reſpect for him, and pay ſo blind an obedience to all his orders, that, how unjuſt ſoever his commands may be, they perform them, though againſt all law, both of God and Nature *.

Likewiſe that the Janiſſaries, in the Turkiſh empire, though in their mutinies they ſometimes depoſe and murder their ſovereigns, yet they ſo much reſpect the blood of their prince, and have ſo great a veneration for the race of the firſt OTHOMAN or OSMAN, that they never ſo much as dream of altering the ſucceſſion from that family †.

In the third place, another means of add-

* *Suite du Voyage du Levant, tom.* III. *chap.* xi. and xiii. *Voyage du Levant, tom.* I. *p.* 243.

ing

ing ſtrength and ſecurity to empire, is that of conqueſt, by which the fear and reſpect of the ſubjects for their victorious monarch are more and more augmented, and his greatneſs and power are magnified much beyond what they really are, while his reſentment and revenge are dreaded for the ſlighteſt offence. It is by this that that ſlaviſh fear is created, which MONTESQUIEU ſuppoſes a neceſſary foundation of arbitrary power; and we find his obſervation verified both in ancient and modern hiſtory.

As long as *Carthage* waged war againſt the Romans, with equal fortune, ſhe held her conquered provinces, and Spaniſh ſubjects, in controul, notwithſtanding they were oppreſſed by numberleſs vexations, by extortions of money, and by requiſitions of men, which exhauſted the land; their bearing theſe injuries could only be aſcribed to the fear of the power, and vengeance of the Carthaginians. But no ſooner did *Carthage* ceaſe to conquer, and her power begin to decline, than they ſhook off their fears, and either choſe other maſters, or reinſtated themſelves in their original ſtate of independence.

Juſt

Juſt ſo it was, too, with *Rome* herſelf, when ſhe had no conqueſts to boaſt of out of *Italy*, and when involved in the firſt and ſecond Punic wars; eſpecially in the beginning of the latter, when fortune ſmiled upon the arms of *Carthage*, their ſurrounding allies, or rather their ſubjects, immediately diſmiſſed all apprehenſions of the reſentment of *Rome*; and when they ſaw her deprived of the CAMILLI, the QUINTII, the FABRICII, and other great and conſummate generals, who had ſo often made them feel the power of the Roman people, they ceaſed to pay her their obedience.

Afterwards, when the Roman empire had attained the ſummit of glory, and of greatneſs, and began to bow under its own unwieldy weight, when conqueſts were no more heard of, and no new nations received the Roman yoke, firſt the more remote and then the nearer nations ſhook off their allegiance to the tottering coloſſus, or were ſubdued by others hitherto unnoticed and unknown, till they gradually left to *Rome* no more than the ſhadow of what ſhe was.

Not to ſay any thing more of other monarchies, the Mogul empire, and that of

Hindoſtan

Hindoſtan have undergone the ſame fate. As long as their ſovereigns were conquerors, no one dared to riſe againſt them, and if they did, they were without delay brought again to their obedience: but no ſooner did conqueſt leave the imperial banners upon the death of AURENGZEBE, than each of the conquered princes, and the lieutenants of the Mogul, no longer reſtrained by the fear of their ſovereign's vengeance, who waged no other wars than with his own relations, and who could do little without their aſſiſtance, renounced their dependence upon the court of *Dehly*, diſregarded the mandates of the Mogul, and uſurped the ſovereign authority of their reſpective diſtricts.

The journal of Mr. KETELAAR, who went as ambaſſador from our Company to the court of the great Mogul, in the years 1711 and 1712, thus only four or five years after the death of AURENGZEBE, affords ſeveral examples of the way in which the orders of the court were obeyed by the governors of the provinces: and this has at laſt brought the empire into that ſtate of debility, that it has not been able to repel a handful

handful of Europeans, nor to prevent them from penetrating into the moſt interior parts of the empire, and making themſelves maſters of the richeſt provinces.

Bengal, *Babar*, *Orixa*, part of *Coromandel*, and *Surat*, are now almoſt wholly under the dominion of the Engliſh, and the treaſures which formerly flowed into the coffers of the emperor from theſe wealthy domains, are now diverted to the purpoſe of maintaining their preſent maſters in the poſſeſſion of them.

The wars which that nation have waged in thoſe countries are well known; but as no true idea can be formed of the actual political ſituation of *Surat*, without being acquainted with the manner in which the Engliſh became maſters here, and have continued till now in poſſeſſion of the caſtle, upon which that of the city depends, I ſhall communicate the particulars thereof, firſt, according to their own accounts, and then agreeable to ours, where they may differ.

The Mogul emperor, having much intereſt in the preſerving the navigation and trade to and from *Surat*, free from moleſtation,

tion, and not being inclined to maintain a naval power himſelf, entered into a contract with the SIDDEE, an Arabian, who, though of an obſcure origin, had found means to collect a fleet ſufficient to render the neighbouring coaſts inſecure *, and he nominated him his admiral; with a yearly revenue of three lacks of rupees, or four hundred and fifty thouſand gilders, for which he was to keep the coaſt free from the ravages of pirates. The payment of this ſum was made, partly out of the revenues of ſome adjacent lands, and partly from the revenues of *Surat*, which was to be annually paid him by the governor of that place.

But when the government of *Surat* failed in the payment thereof, about the year 1750, or 1751, the SIDDEE took an opportunity, under the colour of claiming his arrears, to ſend ſome of his cruiſers into the river of *Surat*, at a time when the monſoon was

* The SIDDEE was chief of a colony of Coffrees, or negroes, from the coaſt of *Africa*, and from *Madagaſcar*, who having been ſettled at *Dundee-Rajapore*, carried on a conſiderable trade there, and had likewiſe many veſſels of force. *Cambridge's War in India*, page 216. T.

ſetting

ſetting in, and then made a pretence of the ſeaſon for their remaining there, which does not appear to have excited the ſuſpicion of the governor of *Surat*. SIDDEE MUSSOOT, the commander of the ſquadron, profiting by this ſupineneſs, made uſe of the opportunity to get ſome kind of footing in the government, and to ſeize unexpectedly on the caſtle; which he held till his death, which happened in the year 1756, and left the poſſeſſion of that fortreſs to his ſon, as his lawful ſucceſſor.

MUSSOOT not only retained the government of the caſtle, but greatly encroached on that of the town, and appropriated to himſelf one-third of its revenues. Another third had long ſince been annually paid to the Marattas, and by them farmed out to an officer who reſides at *Surat*. The walls of the town, with the aſſiſtance of the Europeans who have factories there, are a ſufficient defence againſt theſe plunderers; but as they are at all times maſters of the whole country up to the very gates, it has been thought expedient to pay them duly their allotment, rather than ſubject the inland trade to the many delays and difficul-

ties with which it is in the power of the Marattas to clog and interrupt it. They are continually hovering about the place, and watching for invitations, which through the inconſtancy and fluctuation of the governing powers of the city and caſtle, they might eaſily receive; and though they know that the conſequence of their admiſſion into the town would be the abſolute loſs of their revenue for the future (for their government, wherever eſtabliſhed, is fatal to trade), yet from their habitual paſſion for plunder, they are ever feeding themſelves with hopes that ſome governor, in the decline of his power, will open the gates and invite them to a preſent booty, which no arguments of reaſon or policy could reſtrain them from ſeizing.

One MEAH ATCHUND had applied to them for their aſſiſtance, to turn out NOVAS ALLEE CHAN from the government, who likewiſe entertained a ſecret correſpondence with ſome of the Maratta chiefs, and to be himſelf inveſted with the government. MEAH ATCHUND was brought by a party of Marattas from *Poona* to the walls of the town. Having ſo far availed of their aſſiſt-

ance,

ance, he diſcarded them; for the SIDDEE, preferring him to NOVAS ALLEE CHAN, whom he thought to be more dangerouſly connected with the Marattas, agreed to join MEAH ATCHUND, and eſtabliſh him in the city, upon the condition that he would abſolutely renounce their alliance.

The government of the city being thus continually weakened by the encroachments of the caſtle upon the town, it was daily expected that the Marattas would take advantage of this ſtate of anarchy, to make themſelves maſters of the city, for which the internal ſtate of the place ſeemed to be fully ripe, by the lawleſs behaviour of the SIDDEE's ſon, who filled the city with riot and murders, while new exactions and additional burdens were daily laid upon trade, and grew to be intolerable.

In the year 1758, earneſt application was made to Mr. ELLIS, the Engliſh chief at *Surat*, by the principal merchants and inhabitants of the city, deſiring him to recommend it to the preſidency of *Bombay*, to fit out an expedition for the taking poſſeſſion of the caſtle and *tanka* (which was the appellation given to the yearly conſideration

paid to the SIDDEE, for the protection of the coaſt from pirates). They enforced their ſolicitations by entering into an obligation to become reſponſible, for five years, for any deficiency in the revenues of the caſtle and *tanka*, which were eſtimated at two lacks of rupees per annum.

PHARRASS CHAN, who had been *naib*, or deputy-governor, to MEAH ATCHUND, and, properly ſpeaking, the acting magiſtrate, had regulated the police to the ſatisfaction of the whole city; it was therefore propoſed to have him for governor, ſince he had ſufficiently ſhewn how well he was qualified for it by his conduct and behaviour while he acted as ſecond.

Theſe propoſals were the more readily approved and accepted, as the Engliſh complained that they had been often grievouſly oppreſſed by frauds, extortions, and many impediments thrown purpoſely in the way of their buſineſs; as alſo by frequent inſults, violences, and even murders, committed on their ſervants, with a total diſregard to the protection and privileges of the Company.

It was alſo a conſideration of no ſmall weight,

weight, that the poſſeſſion of the caſtle would be a ſecurity againſt entertaining apprehenſion of the Marattas.

Theſe were arguments for undertaking ſuch an enterprize at any time; but what determined the preſidency of *Bombay* to come to a deciſive reſolution on the ſubject, and at laſt cauſed the expedition to take place, was the weight and influence of the ſquadron of men-of-war which was at *Bombay* in the year 1759, under Admiral Pocock, who promiſed to reinforce the Company's armament with two of his ſhips.

Mr. Ellis had taken great pains to obtain a thorough knowledge of the ſtate of affairs, and intereſts of the ſeveral perſons concerned in the government of the city and caſtle, during his reſidence there; and had, with no leſs judgment, concerted a plan for ſettling it upon a better eſtabliſhment.

Mr. Spencer, who ſucceeded Mr. Ellis, communicated to the governor and council of *Bombay*, the beſt information he could procure of the poſture of affairs in *Surat*, in the beginning of the year 1759.

He wrote, that he found MEAH ATCHUND governor of the town, but with ſo little power, that the SIDDEE did not ſo much as leave him the nomination of the officers properly belonging to him; and thoſe of the SIDDEE's party, who had been moſt inſtrumental in lowering the authority of ATCHUND, were apprehenſive of his entertaining a correſpondence with the Marattas.

The dread of thoſe ravagers, and the frequent murders which were committed with impunity, ſince the government of the city had ceaſed to be reſpectable, had intimidated the inhabitants to ſo great a degree, that many conſiderable traders and people of ſubſtance had left the place, entertaining at the ſame time, apprehenſions of being plundered in the conteſt between the two parties; and thoſe who ſtaid, were ſincerely deſirous that the caſtle ſhould be in the hands of the Engliſh Company, from the confidence, which they alleged, that they had in the Engliſh, and the opinion they entertained of the humanity and juſtice of their government; truſting, that ſo long as they poſſeſſed the caſtle, they would have influence

ence enough in the town to prevent the violence and oppreſſion which had too long raged without controul.

Beſides the invitation from the whole mercantile intereſt, overtures were made to Mr. SPENCER by two of the principal men in the government, SIDDEE JAFFIER and VELLEY ULLAH, who engaged to contribute all in their power towards ſecuring the caſtle and *tanka* for the Company, upon condition that they ſhould agree to make PHARRASS CHAN governor of the town; or in caſe it ſhould be found too great a difficulty to ſet ATCHUND aſide, that the Company ſhould bring PHARRASS CHAN to *Surat*, with their forces, and place him in the government, by agreement, as *naib*, or deputy-governor, to ATCHUND.

The principal motive of SIDDEE JAFFIER was the preſervation of his large property, which he could not but apprehend to be in great danger under ſo anarchical a government, notwithſtanding his influence with both parties.

VELLEY ULLAH acted upon different principles: he had formerly been a dependant on NOVAS ALLEE CHAN, and had

ſacrificed him to MEAH ATCHUND, with whom he held the ſame place, but with a greater degree of influence; and this he was ſuppoſed to uſe without any ſcruple, for betraying his new maſter to the SIDDEE: conſcious of this, and aware of the diſtruſt which ATCHUND muſt naturally have of him, from his known inſincerity, he was for embracing any opportunity of ſecuring himſelf, by overthrowing or weakening that power which he had juſt reaſon to fear.

From the character of theſe people, there was very little reliance to be placed in their profeſſions of friendſhip, and promiſes of aſſiſtance; it was therefore of much greater conſequence to the ſucceſs of the deſign, to examine into the force that was to oppoſe it, than to be vainly looking after that which was too precarious to be depended on for ſupport.

It was ſoon diſcovered that the SIDDEE had about two thouſand men in pay; after deducting from which, ſuch as were employed in domeſtic ſervices, or kept merely for parade, there might remain a body of about ſeventeen hundred, compoſed of various people, Moors, Gentoos, Arabs, Patans,

tans; and others; but they were allowed to be a better corps than ATCHUND's ſepoys, who were in number about four thouſand. To this body were to be added ſuch a number as they could be expected to raiſe upon the news of the preparations at *Bombay* for an intended attack. At the ſame time it was conſidered, that a body of men ſo raiſed could be no great addition of real ſtrength, ſince they were not likely to behave themſelves as ſoldiers, on the mere conſideration of a few days' pay, well knowing that they ſhould be diſcharged as ſoon as ever the affair was decided. There ſeemed, therefore, to be but one thing to be apprehended, which was, that ATCHUND, or even the SIDDEE, might, in diſtruſt of their own ſtrength, fly to the deſperate reſource of calling in the Marattas.

The preſidency of *Bombay*, now fully apprized of all particulars, and being principally upon their guard againſt the laſt-mentioned fatality, determined upon attempting the enterprize. No danger was to be apprehended by ſea, for, beſides the aſſiſtance of two ſhips from the ſquadron of Admiral POCOCK, it is to be obſerved, that the SIDDEE,

DEE, who enjoyed the *tanka* on condition of keeping up a fleet for the Mogul, had ſo far fallen off in the performance of that condition, that his marine was by no means capable of oppoſing the ſhips of the Company.

The troops appointed for the expedition conſiſted of eight hundred and fifty Europeans, artillery and infantry, and fifteen hundred ſepoys; they were under the command of Captain MAITLAND of the royal regiment of artillery, and embarked on board of the Company's armed veſſels, commanded by Captain WATSON, who ſailed on the 9th of February, and landed them on the fifteenth *.

When Captain MAITLAND approached the town, he found that ſome of the SIDDEE's people had taken poſt in the French garden, whence he diſlodged them, after a hot diſpute of four hours, in which he loſt twenty men. He then directed the engineer to look out for a proper place for a bat-

* The troops were landed at a place called *Dentilowry*, about nine miles from *Surat*, where they encamped three or four days, for refreſhment. *T.*

tery,

tery, which was erected in the night, and on the next day, and alſo on the three following, a briſk fire was kept up from two four-and-twenty pounders, and a thirteen-inch mortar. The enemy had taken poſſeſſion of the Engliſh garden (wharf), and the *Siddee's bunder* (*jenghi bander*, or cuſtom-houſe), and had ſecured them with works and ſtrong palliſadoes. After this continued firing, without any apparent effect, Captain MAITLAND called a council of war, compoſed of military and marine officers, when they concerted a plan for a general attack, and reſolved to carry it into execution the next morning. In purſuance of this plan, the Company's grab and bombketches * warped up the river in the night, and anchored oppoſite to the *bunder* early in the morning; and then a general attack began from the veſſels and a battery, with a deſign to drive the enemy from their batteries, and ſo facilitate the landing of the infantry, who were embarked on board the boats. The firing laſted till after eight, when, upon a ſignal made,

* The large ſhips were of no uſe, the *Bombay* grab of twenty guns, and four bombketches, being the only veſſels that had water enough to go into the river. *T.*

the

the boats put off, and landed under cover of the veſſels, the military being greatly aſſiſted by the conduct and gallant behaviour of Captain WATSON. They ſoon put the enemy to flight, and took poſſeſſion of all the outer town.

There ſtill remained the inner town and caſtle. In order to attack them both at once, three mortars were planted at the diſtance of about ſeven hundred yards (one hundred and ſeventy-five roods) from the caſtle, and five hundred yards (one hundred and twenty-five roods) from the wall of the inner town.

About ſix in the morning the mortars began to play very briſkly, and continued to do ſo till two the next morning. The cannonading and bombardment put the beſieged into ſuch a conſternation, that they never returned one gun.

Several meſſages paſſed, during the attack, between the principal perſons in the town, and Mr. SPENCER, who uſed his utmoſt endeavours to place PHARRASS CHAN in the government; but it appeared that his friends, notwithſtanding the hopes they had given, made not the leaſt effort in his behalf, even after

after the Engliſh had been two days in poſſeſſion of the outer town, but ſignified to Mr. SPENCER, that they choſe PHARRAS CHAN ſhould be *naib*, and that the government ſhould be continued to ATCHUND.

Theſe conſiderations, added to the expence of ſtores, and the loſs of men by the caſualties of war and deſertion, made it imprudent to perſiſt in bringing in PHARRASS CHAN, againſt the inclination of his former partizans, and the intereſt of ATCHUND, who, ſhould he be thereby provoked to unite with the SIDDEE, might fruſtrate the whole deſign. It was therefore agreed to propoſe this plan to ATCHUND and his party, offering to ſecure the government to him on condition of PHARRASS CHAN being made *naib*, and the Engliſh eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of the caſtle and *tanka*. Mr. SPENCER accordingly ſet on foot a treaty with ATCHUND, and the following agreement was ratified on both ſides:

" Agreeable to your deſire, I ſent a per-
" ſon to you, by whom you adviſed me ver-
" bally of your demands; and with ſincerity
" of heart I now write the particulars I can
" agree to, which are as follows:"

[ATCHUND's

[ATCHUND's *Seal.*]

"Article I. That PHARRASS CHAN ſhall be appointed to the office of *naib*, in its greateſt extent, as in the time of SUFFDAIR CHAN, and nobody but himſelf ſhall interfere in the ſaid poſt."

"II. That whatever articles PHARRASS CHAN has given in writing, or promiſed, to the honourable Company (the particulars of which cannot be drawn out at preſent, and muſt be deferred till we can meet), ſhall be fully complied with, without the leaſt diminution."

"III. That the *Mecca*-gate ſhall be opened, and our troops admitted, and we ſhall join our forces, to drive our enemy out of the town."

"IV. The above articles a perſon in your behalf demanded, all which I agree to, and will comply with, and the government ſhall be continued to me in full authority; and to the above I have put my own ſeal, and MEER COOTBODEEN will

[COOTBODEEN's *Seal.*]

"Article I. Agreeable to this article, I fully conſent to PHARRASS CHAN's appointment."

"II. Whatever PHARRASS CHAN has written, or promiſed to do for the honourable Company, I will ſtand to without the leaſt alteration."

"III. The *Mecca*-gate ſhall be opened, your troops admitted, and joined by mine, to drive out the enemy."

"IV. Agreed to; and that we ſhall act jointly in turning the enemy out of the town. Whatever the honourable Company have demanded, I agree to."

" will ſign and ſeal the
" ſame, after which you
" muſt ſend a counterpart
" of this writing, with the
" honourable Company's
" ſeal affixed."

A counterpart of the above articles were ſealed with the honourable Company's ſeal, and ſent to ATCHUND, on the fourth of March, 1759.

As ſoon as theſe articles were executed, ATCHUND immediately opened the inner town gate, and ordered a party of men to aſſiſt in bringing the SIDDEE to terms; who being acquainted with this junction, was convinced that it muſt be impoſſible for him to hold out againſt their combined force, and the general voice of the people.

After many repeated meſſages, with a variety of propoſals, it was at laſt agreed, that the SIDDEE's people ſhould have liberty to march out with their arms and accoutrements, and alſo be permitted to take away all their valuable effects, and even the common furniture of their houſes.

The whole of this was effected with the greateſt regularity, and the Engliſh were peaceably put in poſſeſſion of the caſtle and *tanka*.

The

The guns and ammunition found in the caſtle were ſecured for the Company, as alſo the veſſels and naval ſtores, till ſuch time as the Mogul's pleaſure was known. As ſoon as the grants arrived from *Debly*, appointing the Company admiral to the Mogul, the ſhips and ſtores belonged to them, of courſe, as part of the *tanka* *.

The

* It ſhould be remarked, that theſe grants were ſolicited and obtained before the murder of the Mogul, and the revolution at *Debly*; and arrived ſome time after the reduction of the caſtle. The two principal grants were as follows:

Firman, or order, under the great Mogul's ſeal, and under-ſealed by his vizier, for the honourable Company's holding the government of the caſtle of *Surat*.

" Let the renowned among the people, the Engliſh Com-
" pany, hope for his majeſty's favour; and be it known unto
" them, that in theſe happy and victorious times, his majeſty
" has been pleaſed, out of his great grace and favour, to grant
" unto them the *killidaree*, or government, of the caſtle of
" *Surat*, on its being taken from MUSSOOT ACHMED CHAN;
" it therefore is requiſite that they ſhould be very grateful for
" this his majeſty's favour, and look particularly to the welfare
" of the caſtle, keeping proper order and diſcipline among the
" troops, and having proviſions, ſtores, and ammunition al-
" ways in readineſs, as has been uſual, which is ſtrictly and
" eſpecially required of them by his majeſty."

" Given on the eleventh day of *Moharam*, and in the ſixth
" year of his majeſty's reign (or 4th of September, 1759)."

Houſbul Hookum, or order, under the ſeal of the nabob vizier,

ULMA

The killed and wounded on the ſide of the Engliſh, in this expedition, did not amount to more than one hundred Europeans, but the loſs by deſertion was greater.

This particular account of the tranſaction is drawn from the *Account of the War in India*, by RICHARD OWEN CAMBRIDGE, printed at *London*, 1761; where likewiſe are detailed the articles of agreement which the Engliſh entered into with the Marattas on this head *,

The

ULMA MALECK BAHADOUR, to the Engliſh Company, accompanying the *firman*.

" May his majeſty's favour ever remain upon the brave and " noble Engliſh Company. It has pleaſed his majeſty to grant " unto you the office of *killedar* (or caſtle-governor) of the " *bunder* of *Surat*, vacant by the diſmiſſion of HOSSIS AMED " CHAN; as alſo the office of *derega* (or admiral) of the great " fleet of the *vaid bunder*, vacant by the diſmiſſion of SIDDEE " YACOOD CHAN. Therefore, agreeable to his order, you " are now directed to take particular care of the proper ex- " ecution of the above offices, by looking well to the welfare " of the caſtle, and preſervation of the merchants, &c. on the " high ſeas, keeping them clear of pirates and rovers who " may infeſt them. This is poſitively required of you." *T.*

* The following are the articles of agreement, between the Engliſh Company, and the Marattas, alluded to:

" I. As the SIDDEE at *Surat* has not only become trouble- " ſome for many years to the honourable Company, the " *Circar* (the Maratta officers), the merchants, &c. but has

The accounts which were given me of the matter in our factory at *Surat*, differ, in ſome

" poſſeſſed himſelf of the caſtle, and uſurped the government " of the place, to the entire ruin of trade, and of the city " of *Surat*; it is therefore agreed, between the *Circar* and " the honourable Company, to turn him out of *Surat*, that " every body may be eaſy there, to purſue his own advan- " tage, and for the general benefit of the place."

" II. That the Engliſh ſhall have the ſole power and au- " thority to make any man nabob there, and the *Circar* ſhall " approve ſuch election without heſitation; and they (the " Engliſh) ſhall have the ſame power and authority to turn " him out, by informing the *Circar*, who will not have " any objection to it, ſhould he prove a bad man, in any " reſpect, towards the merchants, or any body elſe."

" III. That the nabob, &c. ſhall make no alterations in " the cuſtoms on goods, &c. but let that article, and every " thing elſe, remain as at preſent."

" IV. That the caſtle, when taken, ſhall be poſſeſſed by " the Engliſh, and they ſhall have the ſole command of it " for the ſafety of the place, and benefit of the government, " and for which they ſhall receive the uſual allowanee."

" V. That when the SIDDEE at *Surat* is turned out, the " *tanka* which he had for maintaining a fleet, ſhall be divided " yearly in three ſhares, viz. to the *Circar*, to the Company, " and to the Nabob, each one-third."

" VI. That the *Circar* ſhall receive, as uſual, from the " government, what is juſtly due to them, and pay out of it " what is due to *Damojee*, but both the *Circar*'s and *Damojee*'s " officers and people are to give aſſiſtance, for the greater im- " port and export of goods, &c. to and from *Surat*."

" VII. That the nabob, or governor, of *Surat* ſhall re- " ceive,

ſome meaſure, from the foregoing; they were as follows:

The governor of the city of *Surat* was, in the year 1750, a Moor *, of an obſcure

" ceive, as uſual, what is due to him from the *Circar* and " *Damojee*, for the country without *Surat* gates."

" VIII. That ſhould there be any quarrel or diſturbance " within the town, and there be an occaſion for putting a " ſtop to any thing any where out of the gates of *Surat*, the " *Circar's* people are to do or deſiſt from the ſame, conforma- " ble to the deſire of the Engliſh, and not otherwiſe; and " thoſe officers and people are not to offer to meddle in any " affairs of the *Surat* government, or ſhew any moleſtation to " the ſame."

After theſe propoſals, it was extremely difficult to manage the Marattas, who were continually interfering. During the ſiege, a body of their troops approached *Surat*, and deſired to be admitted to act in concert with the Engliſh: but as ſuch an affair would have diſguſted the Moors in the town, Mr. SPENCER managed ſo as to wave it without offence; uſing, at the ſame time, all poſſible precautions to prevent the Marattas from having any intercourſe with the SIDDEE, or ATCHUND, with both of whom they had been tampering, notwithſtanding their profeſſions to the Company. At laſt he found it neceſſary to declare, that he would not allow of any force appearing before the place, while the Engliſh were carrying on their operations againſt it. *T.*

* Mr. CAMBRIDGE aptly remarks, that it is a great impropriety to call the Mahomedan conquerors of India by the name of Moors; and yet, as the writers of all nations have always given them that appellation, it would now be a greater impropriety to deviate from that uſage. *T.*

origin, who had raiſed himſelf into importance by treachery, and maintained his ill-gotten power by corruption, and by the aid of the Engliſh He acknowledged, it is true, the great mogul for his lord paramount, but he paid little regard to his commands. He had likewiſe, it is true, ſeveral co-regents, who, on account of their great wealth, were much looked up to by the inhabitants; but they had very little to ſay in the actual adminiſtration of the government. He had even ſucceeded in introducing his ſon as governor of the caſtle, who was a youth, who dared not do any thing without the concurrence of his father; ſo that the governor of the city was, at that time, if not wholly independent, yet entirely uncontrouled in his local government.

This, however, was not of long duration; for the SIDDEE making himſelf maſter of the caſtle, his great power, joined to a conſummate and artful policy, enabled him to ſettle almoſt every thing according to his own liking: the governor was even obliged to ſubmit to him, though externally the SIDDEE paid every reſpect to his office.

As

As long as this SIDDEE lived, he kept every thing in proper order. His moderation and equity prevented him from acting with much injuſtice; the inhabitants enjoyed a tolerable ſtate of tranquillity; he took care, in particular, that the Engliſh did not overſtep the bounds of law and authority, when they thought they might freely launch out into exceſſes, upon the ground that they had afforded aid to the governor of the city.

But no ſooner did this SIDDEE die, but all was replete with confuſion: his ſon and ſucceſſor being ſtill a child, could not be equal to his father in abilities, nor keep the city in repoſe and peace: the flames of civil contention began to rage anew between thoſe who aſpired to the government, and who, in their turns, ſucceſſively eſtabliſhed and depoſed each other. One party had recourſe for aſſiſtance to the Marattas; another called in the aid of the Engliſh. As the latter conceived that theſe commotions were very advantageous for their intereſt, they formed a plan for getting poſſeſſion of the caſtle, and keeping it in their power for ever.

For that purpoſe, and in order to give the

greater appearance of juſtice to their cauſe, they firſt entered into articles of agreement with a certain Moor, called FARIS CHAN, who was at that time *naib*, or deputy of the governor, which were ſigned at *Bombay*, on the 12th of March, 1758, and a copy whereof, written in the Perſian language, was ſent by FARIS CHAN himſelf, after he had conceived ſome diſguſt with the Engliſh, to our director SENF, and which is ſtill preſerved among the Company's papers at *Surat*, being as follows:

Tranſlation of the Perſian contract, ſigned between the Engliſh Company and FARIS CHAN, *by the mediation of* RICHARD BOURCHIER, *governor of the iſland of Bombay, in the month* Reuel, *or, according to the European account, on the 12th of March,* 1758.

" Article I. The Engliſh Company ſhall " be bound to eſtabliſh the ſaid FARIS " CHAN as governor of *Surat*, by force of " men and ſhips, to place him in that go- " vernment, and to give him their aſſiſtance " to maintain him in it."

" II. The caſtle of *Surat*, together with " its revenues, the uſual amount of the pay

" of

" of the SIDDEE, ſhall remain with the " Engliſh Company, who ſhall enjoy the " whole, in the ſame manner as the SID- " DEE."

" III. FARIS CHAN ſhall be bound to " take the charges of this war for his ac- " count, and to defray them, out of the " revenues and duties of *Surat*, which ſhall " be ſpecially bound as ſecurity for the " ſame."

" IV. Beſides which, FARIS CHAN ſhall " further give, as a donation to the Euro- " pean land and marine forces, two lacks " of rupees, in order that they may not " plunder the town, which ſum ſhall be " levied upon the merchants and money- " changers."

" V. The city-gate, ſituated by the " waterſide, and called *Molnakeerkee*, ſhall " always remain in the poſſeſſion of the " Engliſh, without that the governor ſhall " be allowed to diſturb them in the leaſt " therein. They ſhall likewiſe have two " other gates, one in the inner, and an- " other in the outer town, for their free " and uncontrouled ingreſs and egreſs, with-

" out that any one ſhall ſtop or hinder them
" therein."

" VI. Agreeable to the privileges granted
" by *firmans* to the Engliſh Company, they
" ſhall, together with the merchants under
" their protection, be permitted to proſe-
" cute their trade, according to cuſtom,
" without being at all obſtructed by the
" government therein."

" VII. The other European merchants
" ſhall alſo freely proſecute their trade,
" agreeable to the tenor of the grants they
" have obtained from the emperor, without
" being obſtructed by any one therein."

" VIII. FARIS CHAN ſhall continue to
" pay to the Marattas one-third part of the
" revenues of *Surat*, in the ſame manner as
" they have, for ſeveral years, received that
" allotment."

(underneath)

The Seal of the Engliſh Company.

(and ſigned)

" RICHARD BOURCHIER,

" FARIS CHAN."

" This tranſlation is made from a copy
" of the aforeſaid contract, delivered by the
" ſaid

" ſaid FARIS CHAN himſelf, to the brokers
" of the honourable Company, MANTCHER-
" GI, and GOVENRAM."
(underneath)
" Tranſlated as dictated by the Com-
" pany's brokers.
(ſigned) " W. SMIT."

This agreement with FARIS CHAN being thus made, the preſidency of *Bombay* ſent orders to Mr. SPENCER, their chief at *Surat*, to leave no means untried in order to ſecure the friendſhip of thoſe who might be able to oppoſe their enterprizes. As this gentleman was perfectly well adapted for ſuch a commiſſion, he ſoon effected the neceſſary arrangements, and he had the addreſs not only to corrupt one of the principal officers of the SIDDEE, who commanded in the caſtle, for twenty thouſand rupees (of which only five thouſand were afterwards paid), but he engaged Mr. TAILLEFORT, the then director of our Company at *Surat*, to remain perfectly inactive, and not to intermeddle at all in the affair; and as the oppoſition of the Dutch was the greateſt obſtacle which he had to apprehend, he did not

not find much difficulty, after this bar was removed, the SIDDEE betrayed, and the governor of the city deſtitute of authority, to get poſſeſſion of a town very ill provided with the means of defence.

This narrative, which appears to me to bear more marks of veracity than that of the Engliſh, might afford ſufficient matter for odious reflections, which will naturally preſent themſelves to the mind of every impartial reader.

CHAP-

CHAPTER V.

Great Power of the Engliſh at SURAT.—*Their Abuſe of it.—Particular Inſtance of their Oppreſſion.—Wretched Condition of the Natives.—War between the Engliſh and the Marattas.—Occaſion of it, &c.—The Expence of the Engliſh Eſtabliſhment at* SURAT *exceeds their Income from it.—Some Particulars reſpecting their Factory.—The French Factory and Garden.—Humiliations they ſuffer from the Engliſh.—The Portugueſe.—Their Trade.—When the Dutch were firſt eſtabliſhed here.*

THE Engliſh have now ſo firmly eſtabliſhed themſelves here, that they give laws to all others; and neither Europeans nor Indians can do any thing without their ſpecial approbation.

The governor of the city, or nabob, does not, in this reſpect, differ from the loweſt inhabitant; he muſt obey their commands, although they ſhew him externally ſome honour, and will not, in public, allow that he is ſubſervient to them.

To give but one inſtance of their tyranny, as likewiſe of the implicit obedience which the

the nabob pays to their mandates, I will relate the following occurrence, which took place during the time I was at *Surat*.

A large number of horſes having been brought to *Surat*, from the interior parts of the country, for ſale, two of them were purchaſed by the warehouſekeeper of our company, Mr. VAN C——, for ſeven hundred rupees, and the money was immediately paid to the ſeller; after which the purchaſer had the horſes carried to his ſtable. It chanced that the lady of the French conſul * * * had juſt before cauſed an offer to be made for them; but as the price could not be agreed upon, the horſes were ſold to Mr. VAN C——. The lady was a high-minded woman, and conceived that ſhe ought to have the preference above others; ſhe accordingly intimidated the ſeller, who was an Indian, by means of the Engliſh chief, Mr. GAMBIER, to ſuch a degree, that he came to Mr. VAN C——, entreating him to take back the purchaſe-money, and to give up the horſes; but Mr. VAN C—— not liſtening to his requeſt, Mr. GAMBIER ſent to aſk, in his own name, for the horſes, threatening that, in caſe of refuſal, he would make his

his own people fetch them out of the ſtable or would take them away from before the carriage, whenever they came over the Engliſh garden; upon which the owner returned for anſwer, that he ſhould wait the iſſue of Mr. GAMBIER's menaces.

GAMBIER and the French conſul, but eſpecially the former, who made it a point of honour to gain poſſeſſion of the horſes, got the nabob to interfere in the buſineſs. Accordingly, a few days afterwards, the nabob ſent to Mr. VAN C——, requeſting that he might have a ſight of the horſes, which were the occaſion of ſo much diſſention; he deſired that they might be ſent to his court, or *durbar*; and he ſent aſſurances to Mr. VAN C——, with the moſt ſolemn affirmation, upon his word of honour, that it was only to ſatisfy his curioſity, and that as ſoon as he had viewed the horſes, he would ſend them back again.

Mr. VAN C——, relying upon the ſolemn aſſurance, and the word of honour of the nabob, ſent the horſes to him. They were, however, no ſooner in his power, than he ſent word to Mr. VAN C—— that it was impoſſible for him to fulfil his promiſes, as Mr. GAMBIER poſitively inſiſted upon having the

the horſes; but he offered to give two of his own horſes inſtead of them, which Mr. VAN C—— might chooſe from among the beſt in his ſtables, or that he would pay to Mr. VAN C—— the money which he had diſburſed for the horſes: but this offer was rejected; and Mr. VAN C—— returned for anſwer, that he expected to have his horſes back again.

But he obtained no redreſs, the horſes were carried from the *durbar* to the French factory; Mrs. * * * and Mr. GAMBIER obtained their wiſhes, and Mr. VAN C—— loſt his beautiful horſes.

I believe that complaints were made by the Company on this ſubject, but no more regard was paid to theſe than to the repreſentations of private perſons.

Hence it may eaſily be conceived, that, as the Engliſh act in ſo arbitrary and cavalier a manner towards the nabob, and the governors of the place, the poor natives are in a much worſe condition, having neither courage, money, power, nor protectors, to procure juſtice to be done to them.

Trade, too, has been declining from day to day ever ſince the Engliſh have played the maſters here, as has been more than once

once teſtified to me by the company's brokers, and by many principal Banian merchants.

They preſs the labourers and manufacturers into their own ſervice, and pay them no more than they think fit, and ſometimes nothing at all.

The common people are compelled by them to ſerve as ſoldiers, and their lawful governors do not oppoſe it. They cover the whole by the plauſible allegation that they bear arms in the ſervice of the mogul, and not in that of the Company.

Nothing remains, therefore, for the unfortunate inhabitants of *Surat*, but to offer up their prayers to the ſupreme Being whom they adore, for deliverance from the tyranny of a nation, that know no bounds in proſperity, and offer up, without ſcruple, the welfare of all others at the ſhrine of their own intereſt, regardleſs of the happineſs or miſery of their fellow-creatures.

They thus not long ago involved their company in a war with the Marattas, the proſpects whereof are not now at all favourable to them.

The prince of the Marattas, who, from his capital city, ſituated in the interior parts of

of the *Deckan*, was called king of *Poonah*, having been made away with a few years before, by his brother, RAGA BOUWA *, the murderer made himſelf maſter of that city and of the empire, to the prejudice of his nephew, the ſon of the former king, without any apparent oppoſition from any one.

Having, as he conceived, nothing more to fear, he left *Poonah*, to viſit an old princeſs who reſided a few days' journey off, and to whom, as ſeems, from the accounts of this tranſaction, to be the caſe, the Maratta princes perform ſome act of homage, upon their acceſſion to the throne, in order to be confirmed by her in the government.

The widow of the late king, and mother of the injured young prince, who had, by the powerful agency of corruption, brought moſt of the head-men to favour her attempt, all which, by her dexterous management, remained a profound ſecret to the uſurper, took this opportunity to ſeize upon the capital city, *Poonah*, in behalf of her ſon, and to

* Otherwiſe ROGANAUT-ROW. The wars carried on by the Britiſh in India, during and ſubſequent to this period, have been recorded in ſo many narratives given to the public, that it is needleſs to add any thing here on the ſubject. *T.*

purſue

purſue RAGA BOUWA with a conſiderable body of forces. Unable to withſtand her troops, the uſurper fled to *Surat*, and threw himſelf into the arms of the Engliſh, to whom he made an offer to pay them eighteen lacks of rupees, if they would join their forces to his, and reinſtate him in the poſſeſſion of his kingdom.

This propoſal was accepted by the preſidency of *Bombay*; and reaſons of ſufficient plauſibility were adduced, to make it appear a meaſure well adapted to promote the intereſts of their company. It was ſettled, that a certain part of the eighteen lacks of rupees, promiſed by RAGA BOUWA (which, however, was not a very large portion) ſhould be allotted to the company, in reimburſement of the expences of the war, whilſt the greateſt part of that ſum was appropriated to their own uſe by the governor and council of *Bombay*, as a ſmall recompence, forſooth, for the trouble which the proſecution of this war would put them to.

The event, however, by no means anſwered their expectations. The army of the queen, inceſſantly active to haraſs the troops of RAGA BOUWA, and his Engliſh allies, at

laſt defeated them entirely in the year 1774; and they had even got poſſeſſion of the artillery of the Engliſh, when their thirſt of plunder loſt them that advantage: the remainder of the united army was, however, forced to fly, with the tyrant, to *Baroche*, whilſt the *Poonah* army laid waſte the countryr ound *Surat*, and pillaged all the villages, even burning down to the ground the country-ſeat of the Engliſh broker at *Poule-parre*, which is no more than one Dutch mile from *Surat*, which city was in conſequence thrown into the greateſt conſternation, as the enemy were expected to inveſt it every moment; but they retreated, without making any attempt upon the city.

RAGA BOUWA remained, in the mean while, in the *Baroche* country, where he did the ſame thing as the army of *Poonah* did in the parts which they viſited. He deſolated the ſurrounding country, and extorted as much money as he poſſibly could from the inhabitants, without which it would have been impoſſible for him to ſatisfy the hungry bellies and empty purſes of his Engliſh friends, whoſe officers fared well by this campaign, eſpecially thoſe belonging to the artillery.

In the mean time a new governor * had arrived in *Bengal* from Europe, who, when informed of this war, ſent immediate orders to the preſidency of *Bombay*, to ſuſpend all operations, for the ſpace of ſix months, or till further orders were given.

RAGA BOUWA and his confederates, thus diſappointed in their views, remained encamped with their army, between *Baroche* and *Surat*, till the month of October, 1775, when he came down, by degrees, as far as *Naſſary*, ſituate a few Dutch miles below *Surat*, without, however, being able to refrain from leaving behind him, wherever he paſſed, traces of his luſt of rapine and deſtruction.

At laſt the long-hoped-for permiſſion to continue the war arrived from *Bengal*, in the month of December; and it was aſſerted that a large number of troops were arrived at *Bombay* from Europe; and, if the accounts received ſhortly before my departure were true, of which there was no reaſon to doubt, this reinforcement came at a very critical period, for the queen was ſaid to be marching with a very large army to attack RAGA

* Mr. HASTINGS. T.

BOUWA, and that ſhe had encamped wit her forces, at no greater diſtance from him than forty *cos*, or twenty-two Dutch miles; whilſt one of the native princes, who had declared himſelf in favour of the young prince, followed her footſteps with an auxiliary army of fifty thouſand men: againſt this formidable force, RAGA BOUWA had no more than twenty-eight thouſand men, and the Engliſh army amounted only to fourteen thouſand; and they were the leſs likely to make an effectual reſiſtance, as a violent diſſention had juſt before taken place between the two armies, in which even blood was ſpilt, ariſing from the circumſtance that the Engliſh had killed ſome oxen, which are eſteemed holy by the Marattas.

From theſe accounts it appears that *Surat*, with reſpect to the Engliſh, is not a head-factory, but ſubordinate to the preſidency of *Bombay*, who ſend one of their members to *Surat*, under the denomination of chief, to whom a council is given, in conjunction with whom he ſettles all matters occurring at his factory, ſubject, however, to the approbation of the governor and council of *Bombay*.

It is eaſily to be conceived, that they drive the

the moſt profitable trade here; and yet, their gains, added to one third of the revenues of the city, are not ſufficient to indemnify their company, for the heavy expence they muſt incur here, eſpecially for the maintenance of the military force they are obliged to keep up; and it is ſaid, that they would not retain this object of expence, were not *Bombay* their chief ſettlement in the weſtern parts of *Hindoſtan*, ſituated upon a barren iſland, which muſt draw all its articles of proviſion from this place; and likewiſe if this eſtabliſhment did not ſerve them as a poſt to maintain themſelves, in this part of *Hindoſtan*.

Beſides the caſtle, of which they are the keepers in the name of the great mogul, they have a lodge, or factory, in the inner town, where, equally as we, their merchants muſt reſide; as alſo a garden, or wharf, which lies next to ours, but below it, towards the mouth of the river.

Moſt of the members of their council dwell diſperſed in different parts of the inner and outer town.

One of the members of the council, either the chief, or the next in rank to him, muſt paſs the night in the city; and the keys of

the gates, which are ceded to them, are brought to him in the evening, and taken away again in the morning.

The French have likewiſe their lodge, or factory, in the inner town, and a garden, ſituate out of the *Mocha*, or *Attua*-gate, to which they have given the name of *Bel Air*. Before the abolition of their company, they had, like other nations, a chief; but he is now called the French conſul, and is appointed as ſuch by the king of France.

They are not allowed, as the other European nations are, to hoiſt a flag at their factory, or garden, though this privilege is not denied them at *Chandernagore*, in *Bengal*. The Engliſh will not permit them to do it here; and they will be deprived of this ſatisfaction as long as that people retain any authority at *Surat*. Their conſul was forced by the Engliſh, not long ago, to deſtroy a flight of ſteps behind his garden, deſcending towards the river. The trade of the French here is likewiſe of very little importance.

The Portugueſe were the firſt Europeans who eſtabliſhed themſelves here: they are, at preſent, the leaſt in power and reſpect. Their chief, who, it is ſaid, is a Jew, was put

put under a guard of ſepoys by the mogul, or nabob, in his lodge, or factory, a ſhort time before my departure; and he was guarded ſo ſtrictly, that ſome ſepoys were ſtationed night and day in his chamber: this was occaſioned by an affray which had taken place between his ſlaves and thoſe of the nabob, and reſpecting which he refuſed to give proper ſatisfaction.

Their trade is but trifling; yet it is not diſadvantageous to the manufacturers of cloth, for they buy up thoſe pieces which are rejected by us, becauſe they do not agree with the pattern, and ſend them to *Goa*, and thence to their ſettlements on the coaſt of *Africa*.

The ſhortneſs of the time I was at *Surat*, did not permit me to procure any further information reſpecting the foreign nations that reſort to *Surat*.

The Dutch did not eſtabliſh themſelves here till ſeveral years after the Engliſh; and, if we calculate from the arrival of our firſt director, PETER VAN DEN BROECKE, it was not before the year 1616, that we had any eſtabliſhed trade here; he left the ſenior merchant, PETER GILLISSEN, and three

others, here, to diſpoſe of the goods they had brought, with the proviſional approbation of the magiſtrates of the city, till further orders ſhould come from the king, or great mogul, to whom letters were written, craving protection and ſupport: but the firſt *firman* was not received till the year 1618.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VI.

The Firmans granted to the Dutch Eaſt-India Company by the Moguls.—Enumeration and Particulars of them.—Reflections upon them.—They are of little comparative Importance now that the Mogul Empire is, in a Manner, ſubjected to the Engliſh.

THE *firmans*, or letters-patent, ſigned by the great mogul himſelf, by which his will is made known to his viceroys and lieutenants *, are the foundations upon which all foreign nations build their privilege of trading in the empire of *Hindoſtan*.

Thoſe which the Dutch Company have obtained from time to time, not without great trouble, and valuable preſents, are twenty-nine in number; of which are preſerved in the Company's archives in *Surat* twenty-two originals, written in the Perſian language, and ſeven copies, the originals

* A grant given by the mogul, is called a *firman*, or *phirmaund*; by the mogul's ſon, a *nuſhawn*; by the nabob, a *perwanna*; and by the vizier, a *houſhul-hookum*. T.

whereof

whereof are kept at our factories in *Bengal*, and on the coaſt of *Coromandel*.

I will enumerate the privileges granted to the Dutch by them, one by one, in order to give a better idea of the grounds upon which our commerce in the empire of *Hindoſtan* reſts:

I. The firſt *firman* granted to the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, is that of the year 1618 of our era, or 1027 of the *Hegira*, by JEHAAR GIER ABSUL CHAN, prime miniſter, or vizier, of SHAH SELIM, addreſſed to the regents of *Surat*, in favour of the ſenior merchant, and *pro interim* chief, PETER GILLISSEN, and contains the following articles:

1. That all help and friendſhip ſhall be ſhewn to the Dutch, and no more ſhall be exacted from them for cuſtoms than is uſual in *Surat*.

2. That the merchants who ſell and buy their goods, ſhall not be ſuffered to be moleſted therein.

3. That the preſents which they intend for the king, ſhall be examined at the cuſtomhouſe, ſealed there, and ſent thence to his majeſty.

4. That no one ſhall be allowed to make any

any claim upon the effects of the Dutch who may die, but that they ſhall be left untouched to the diſpoſition of his lawful heirs.

5. That no one ſhall interfere in any diſputes that may ariſe amongſt them, but that the ſame ſhall be left to the deciſion of their own chief, who is put over them.

6. That no one of them ſhall be compelled to embrace the mahomedan religion by force.

7. That, according to ancient cuſtom, no duties ſhall be exacted upon the proviſions which they may want for their ſhips.

8. That no injuſtice ſhall be done to them, under any pretence whatever; and care ſhall likewiſe be taken that none be committed on their part.

II. The ſecond was granted by SHAH JEHAAN, to PETER VAN DEN BROECKE, director of *Surat*, in the firſt year of his majeſty's reign, being, according to our era, the year 1627, and containing the following articles:

1. That the Company ſhall be allowed to make uſe of ſuch brokers, as they may chooſe to employ, in their operations of trade.

2. That

2. That they ſhall be allowed to purchaſe all goods, as indigo, cotton, cloths, ſilk, ſaltpetre, alcativas, and what they may further ſtand in need of, at the market-price, without being hindered, or moleſted therein, by any one.

3. That they ſhall have liberty to diſpoſe of their merchandize at whatever place, to whomſoever, and at whatever prices, they may chooſe, without being prohibited from ſo doing by any one.

4. That no one ſhall impoſe a price upon their goods but themſelves.

5. That no one ſhall exact from them any thing more than the cuſtom and port-duties, and theſe only to the cuſtomary amount.

6. That each governor, or chief, of a diſtrict, ſhall be obliged to give their goods, imported or exported, ſafe paſſage, in and out of his diſtrict.

7. And laſtly, that they ſhall be allowed to hire a lodge, or factory, in *Agra* and *Amedabad*.

III. The third, granted by the ſame SHAH JEHAAN, to the director, JOHN VAN HASSELT, in the fourth year of his majeſty's reign,

reign, being the year 1040 of the *Hegira*, and 1631 of the chriſtian era, is to the following effect:

1. That no one ſhall be permitted to exact any other cuſtom-duty upon the wares, merchandize, &c. of the Dutch, than ſuch as they cuſtomarily pay to the government of *Surat*.

2. That, therefore, nothing ſhall be required or exacted from them at other places.

3. That they may in conſequence ſend off their goods, for the maintenance of friendſhip, in the lands of the king, with perfect tranquillity.

IV. The fourth, granted equally by SHAH JEHAAN, to the director, JOHN VAN HASSELT, in the ſixth year of his majeſty's reign, or 1042 of the *Hegira*, in the month *Rebuel Sanee*, being the year 1632, ſtates:

1. That the Company may hire camels, carts, and whatever they may further ſtand in need of, without being moleſted therein by any one.

2. That all governors, rulers, guards, and others, in places where the Dutch may arrive, ſhall obey this order.

3. That

3. That it is their cuſtom to hire carts in *Agra*.

The fourth article of the firſt *firman* is alſo confirmed by this.

V. The fifth, granted by the ſame prince to the director of *Surat*, PETER VAN DER GRAAF, in the ſeventh year of his majeſty's reign, the 1043d of the *Hegira*, contains the following articles:

1. The fifth article of the ſecond, and the firſt and ſecond articles of the third, *firman*, are hereby confirmed.

2. That they, namely, the Dutch, are exempt from all other charges; and that, therefore, the governors ſhall prohibit all rajahs, polygars *, &c. from taking any thing elſe from the Dutch, and from moleſting them in any caſe.

3. That their brokers who traffic in indigo, ſaltpetre, piecegoods, and other articles, at *Agra*, *Surat*, *Cambaya*, *Baroche*, *Brodera*, *Amedabad*, or any where elſe, ſhall not, upon the allegations of others, ſuffer any harm, be put into priſon, or any pecuniary exactions levied upon them.

* *Rajah*, a Gentoo prince; *polygar*, lord of a ſmall territory. *T.*

4. That

4. That the governors ſhall in no wiſe moleſt them, if they be not guilty of any crime.

VI. The ſixth, given by the ſame prince, to the ſaid director, VAN DER GRAAF, in the ſeventh year of his majeſty's reign, the 1043d of the *Hegira*, or 1634th of the chriſtian era, grants:

1. That thenceforward no one ſhall carry on any trade in indigo, on account of the king; but that article ſhall, according to ancient cuſtom, be left free, for all merchants who chooſe to purchaſe it of the inhabitants of the country.

2. That the governors ſhall therefore have to take care that their inferior officers, *duans* *, regents, and others throughout the king's extenſive dominions, and thoſe who are attached to the intereſts of his majeſty, ſhall not interdict the Dutch from making purchaſes of this article; but, according to ancient cuſtom, they ſhall allow them freely to make purchaſe of it, wherever they chooſe.

* *Duan* is a prime miniſter, but here ſeems to mean a deputy. T.

3. That

3. That no *rabadarees* *, or expences of roads, ſhall be demanded of them, nor ſhall any one be allowed to extort money from them, in order that they may not be hindered in the proſecution of their trade.

VII. The ſeventh, given by the ſame prince, to the director of *Surat*, BERNARD PIETERSZOON, in the eighth year of his majeſty's reign, being the year 1044 of the *Hegira*, and 1634 of our era, is to the following effect:

That SEIF CHAN is hereby ordered, that no more indigo ſhall be purchaſed for the king; and that neither he ſhall purchaſe any for himſelf; that this order ſhall not be contravened by the other regents who ſtand under him, but that the trade in indigo ſhall be left entirely to the merchants.

VIII. The eighth, granted, as before, by the ſame prince, to the ſaid director, PIETERSZOON, in the eleventh year of his majeſty's reign, on the 24th of the month *Jamadius Sanee*, the year 1047 of the *Hegira*, or 1638 of our era, contains orders:

* *Rabadar* is the title of an officer, who has charge of the highways, the examination of paſſengers, and the collection of cuſtoms, where any are there collected. T.

1. That

1. That nothing ſhall be required, at any place, upon the merchandize imported by the Dutch into his majeſty's dominions, by the governors of *Amedabad*, or by any others, nor any covetous extortions be practiſed towards them.

2. That a free paſſage ſhall always be allowed for their goods, by the *Montaſabad*, or other rivers or roads, to paſt the river *Zoer*, by *Debly*.

IX. The ninth was granted by the ſame prince to the Surat director, PAUL KROOK, in the ſixteenth year of his majeſty's reign, on the 15th of the month *Sabaar*, the year 1052 of the *Hegira*, or 1643 of our era, and contains—

The confirmation of the firſt, fifth, and ſixth articles of the ſecond *firman*.

X. The tenth, granted by the ſame prince, to the ſaid director, KROOK, in the ſame year, the ſixteenth of his majeſty's reign, on the 14th of the month *Ramazan*, the year 1052 of the *Hegira*, or 1643 of our era, ordains:

1. That of the goods purchaſed by the Dutch in *Agra*, the ten rupees ſhall be taken as twelve, and thoſe purchaſed at *Amedabad*,

or imported there, the ten rupees as ten and a half, according to which the calculations of the duties ſhall be made.

2. That upon the merchandize which they purchaſe at *Brodera*, *Surat*, or the places adjacent, no more ſhall be required than the invoice or real purchaſe prices ſhew to be due to the king's treaſury, into which the cuſtoms ſhall be paid.

3. That no one ſhall take or exact any thing more from them.

XI. The eleventh was granted by the ſame prince, to the ſaid director, KROOK, in the ſame year, being the ſixteenth of his majeſty's reign, 1052 of the *Hegira*, or 1643 of our era, on the 14th of the month *Sabaan*, enacting:

1. That thenceforward no one ſhall be allowed to require any thing from the Dutch for *rahadarees*, for charges, or for duties on proviſions, but ſhall permit them to paſs and repaſs without reſtraint throughout the king's dominions, and ſhall not moleſt them, or form any claim upon them, as they are declared to be exempt from all impoſitions.

2. That they may take ſuch roads, and make uſe of ſuch baiting or reſting places,

as

as they may themſelves judge fit, without being moleſted therein by any one.

3. The firſt article of the ſecond *firman* is repeatedly confirmed, with the addition,

4. That all who infringe this command, ſhall anſwer for their violation of it to the king.

XII. The twelfth, being granted by the ſame prince, SHAH JEHAAN, to the Surat director, ARNOLD BERNARD MUISKENS, in the eighteenth year of his majeſty's reign, on the 2d of the month *Jamadius Sanee*, in the year 1054 of the *Hegira*, or 1645 of our era, orders:

1. That a certain *Baguan* ſhall not intrude himſelf into the employment of the Dutch, but ſhall leave to them to make uſe of whatever perſon they chooſe, as broker.

2. That no more duty, or brokerage, ſhall be taken from them, than is legally claimable, agreeable to the king's former orders.

3. That no one ſhall carry their goods coming from *Surat*, *Periab*, and other places, into the cuſtom-houſe, but they ſhall be permitted to carry them home to their own houſes.

4. That the governors of *Surat* and *Ba-*

roche ſhall receive the duties from them, agreeable to the tenor of the *firmans* formerly granted.

XIII. The thirteenth, granted by the ſame prince, in the time of the Surat director, JOHN VAN TEYLINGEN, in the twenty-third year of his majeſty's reign, on the 21ſt of the month *Rebbi-ul-auwel*, the year 1060 of the *Hegira*, or 1650 of our era, contains in ſubſtance;

That, upon complaints being made by the Dutch, the governor of *Bengal* is commanded, that no one ſhall exact more from them than is authoriſed by ancient cuſtom, and ſhall not introduce any new laws or cuſtoms on that head.

XIV. The fourteenth was granted by the ſame prince, in the time of the Surat director, GERARD PELGROM, in the twenty-ſeventh year of his majeſty's reign, on the 21ſt of the month *Jamadius Sanee*, in the year 1063 of the *Hegira*, or 1654 of our era; and by it—

Every one throughout the empire of *Hindoſtan* is prohibited, after this *firman*, to extort any money from the Dutch, upon any pretence

pretence whatever, or for any reaſons before detailed, to moleſt them in any ſhape, or to oppreſs them by avaricious requiſitions.

XV. The fifteenth, granted by the emperor MORAD BAX, in the time of the proviſional chief at *Surat*, ISAAC KOEDYCK, on the 2d of the month *Jamadius Sanee*, in the year 1066 of the *Hegira*, or 1657 of the chriſtian era, contains the following articles:

1. The firſt article of the ſecond, and the third of the ſixth, *firman*, are hereby confirmed.

2. The Dutch may keep their *mokams*, or laydays, at whatever place they pleaſe, without being hindered or moleſted therein by any one.

XVI. The ſixteenth was granted by the emperor AURENGZEBE, to the Surat director, and ambaſſador from the Dutch Eaſt-India Company to the court of the great mogul, THEODORE VAN ADRICHEM, in the fifth year of his majeſty's reign, on the 5th of the month *Rebbi-ul-auwel*, in the year of the *Hegira* 1071, or of the chriſtian era 1662, and contains the following articles:

1. That the Dutch ſhall be freed from the payment of the one per cent brokerage,

which was included in the 3½ per cent duty; and that therefore the duty to be paid by them ſhall thenceforward be no more than 2½ per cent, according to ancient cuſtom.

2. That upon the cloths and other goods, which they import into *Hindoſtan* from any place, and for which they purchaſe cottons, indigo, ſaltpetre, ſilks, and other merchandize, at *Agra* and other places, and carry them to *Surat* and *Baroche*, after the payment of two and a half per cent duty, according to ancient cuſtom, no one ſhall take from them more, either in *Surat* or in *Baroche*, or ſhall moleſt them in any thing.

3. The third article of the ſecond, and the third article of the third, *firmans*, are hereby confirmed.

4. That they may purchaſe goods from whomſoever they pleaſe.

5. The firſt article of the ſecond, and the firſt article of the twelfth, *firmans*, are hereby confirmed.

6. That no one ſhall require of them that they ſhall carry the copper which they import to the mint; but, upon payment of the cuſtomary duty, they ſhall have full liberty to convey that article to every part of *Hindoſtan*,

Hindoſtan, and to diſpoſe of it to whom they pleaſe; and the purchaſer of the ſame ſhall equally not be moleſted on that account; in order that they may with confidence and ſafety bring much copper into the country, according to their promiſes, and that there may always be a plentiful ſtock of that metal on hand.

7. That the merchants and others who owe them money, ſhall not delay the payment thereof; but that the governors ſhall take care that they recover their money, and that no one ſhall aſſiſt their debtors to evade the payment.

8. That, if among the horſes which they import, there ſhall be any fit for the king, and he ſhall take them, that they ſhall be paid for at the market-price; and that with reſpect to the others, the proprietors ſhall be at liberty to diſpoſe of them wherever they may judge moſt proper, without being compelled to ſell them at *Surat*.

9. That in any caſe when the prices to be paid for ſuch horſes as may be ſelected for the king cannot be agreed upon, thoſe horſes ſhall be ſent to the court, with a ſeal about their necks, under the care of confiden-

tial perſons, in order that the king's ſervants may determine upon the price, and remit the money.

10. That no one ſhall interdict them, if any merchants chooſe to go by their ſhips to *Baſſora*, or other places, paying their paſſage to take them on board; but they ſhall freely be allowed to go; and they ſhall equally have liberty to take on board goods, and to carry them over.

11. The firſt article of the fourth *firman* is hereby confirmed.

XVII. The ſeventeenth, granted by the ſame emperor, AURENGZEBE, to the above-mentioned ambaſſador, VAN ADRICHEM, in the fifth year of his majeſty's reign, on the 5th of the month *Rebbi-ul-auwel*, in the year 1071 of the *Hegira*, or 1662 of our era, orders:

1. That the governor of *Agra* ſhall not trouble the Dutch on account of the duties and other charges which are taken in *Montaaſabad*, nor on account of brokerage on purchaſes, nor claim the brokerage of the ſeller, otherwiſe than according to ancient cuſtom.

2. That the firſt, ſecond, and ſixth articles of the third; the firſt article of the fourth; the

the firſt and third articles of the twelfth; and the fourth and ſeventh articles of the ſixteenth, *firmans*, are hereby confirmed. As likewiſe the third article of the ſixth *firman*, with this addition, that no one ſhall trouble them for any *rahadarees*, or charges of the road, except upon what is forbidden at the court of the king, namely, wine and ſpirituous liquors.

XVIII. The eighteenth, granted by the ſame prince to the ſaid ambaſſador, at the ſame time, comprizes—

A repetition and confirmation of the laſt article of the preceding, and of the third article of the ſixth, *firmans*; and ordains, that no obſtacles ſhall be raiſed to the Dutch in the importation and exportation of their merchandize.

XIX. The nineteenth, given by the ſame prince to the ſaid ambaſſador, on the 15th of the month *Rebbi-ul-auwel*, in the ſame year, grants:

1. That the Dutch arriving with their ſhips before *Hougly*, *Pipley*, and *Ballaſore*, ſhall have liberty to anchor in ſuch places as they may chooſe.

2. That after payment of the fixed duty of

of two and a half per cent upon their goods, they may convey them to ſuch places as they pleaſe; ſell them to whatever merchant they chooſe; purchaſe again goods from the ſame, in the manner they may like beſt, and employ brokers in their buſineſs, according to their own choice, without that any one ſhall be permitted to intrude himſelf into their ſervice, contrary to their liking.

3. That with reſpect to the piecegoods, ſaltpetre, ſugar, ſilk, wax, and other articles, for which they trade in the places ſituated in the provinces of *Babar*, *Bengal*, and *Orixa*, and which they convey for exportation to the ports of *Hougly*, *Pipley*, and *Ballaſore*, they ſhall not in any wiſe be moleſted.

4. That no one ſhall trouble them, on paſſing and repaſſing, for any charges of the road, except upon what is prohibited at the court of the King, namely, wine and ſpirituous liquors; but that, on the contrary, every one ſhall be aiding and aſſiſting them therein, and ſhall ſhew them all friendſhip, in order that they may be enabled to diſpatch their ſhips with eaſe and ſafety.

5. That

5. That their veſſels ſhall not be liable to be preſſed into the imperial ſervice.

6. That all merchants and others ſhall not ſeek for delays in ſatisfying their debts; but that, on the other hand, the governors ſhall aſſiſt the Dutch in recovering their claims, and ſhall not ſuffer any one to afford protection or concealment to their debtors.

7. That thoſe Dutch who may have occaſion to travel through the king's dominions, for the tranſaction of their buſineſs, ſhall be allowed to travel as much, and no more, than they think fit per day, and to halt or reſt whenever, and wherever, they chooſe, without any one being allowed to moleſt them herein.

XX. The twentieth, iſſued by the ſame emperor, AURENGZEBE, during the time of MOBITCHAR, governor of *Surat*, in the ſeventh year of his majeſty's reign, in the year 1073 of the *Hegira*, or 1664 of our era, contains:

1. An order to the governor of *Surat*, that the Dutch ſhall be exempt during one year from paying of cuſtom duty, on account

count of the courageous repulſe of the troops of *Seva Gi* *.

2. That one half per cent, out of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ duty due to the king, ſhall be taken off from the ſaid duty, in favour of the Dutch and Engliſh; and the government of *Surat* is in conſequence ordered to take no more than two per cent upon their merchandize from that time forwards.

XXI. The twenty-firſt was granted by the ſame emperor, at the time that JOHN BACHERUS was our ambaſſador at the mogul's court, in the thirty-third year of his majeſty's reign, on the 12th of the month *Moherm*, in the year 1099 of the *Hegira*, or 1690 of the Chriſtian era, and contains—

The grant to the Company of *Eerjam*, with the five villages belonging to it, comprized under *Palliacatta*, in the province of *Hyderabad*.

XXII. The twenty-ſecond, granted by the emperor SHAH ALEM, at the time of

* A noted rebel during the reign of AURENGZEBE, who, however, by VALENTYN's account, plundered and burnt the city of *Sura*, in the year 1664. He died in the year 1680, but it was not till 1692 that AURENGZEBE ſubdued his ſons, who had ſucceeded him, both in his rebellion, and in his deeds of rapine. *T.*

the

the Surat director, JOHN GROTENHUIS, and at the requeſt of the governor of *Surat*, AMANET CHAN, in the ſecond year of his majeſty's reign, on the 19th of the month *Sikaard*, in the year 1120 of the *Hegira*, or 1709 of the Chriſtian era, determines:

1. That of the twenty lacks of rupees taken by force, by the merchants of *Surat*, from the Dutch, eight lacks and eleven thouſand rupees ſhall be repaid to them.

2. That thenceforward no more than two and a half per cent duty ſhall be charged to them.

3. That the one and a half per cent additional duty charged to them at *Baroche* ſhall ceaſe.

4. That all who travel through *Hindoſtan*, belonging to, and in behalf of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, as alſo brokers and others travelling on buſineſs, ſhall not be importuned for any *rahadarees*, or other charges.

5. That all the governors and other officers belonging to the diſtrict of *Hougly* are ordered not to exact double duty; but that they, according to cuſtom, ſhall continue, as at *Surat*, to take 2½ per cent duty.

6. That, according to ancient cuſtom, a place

place in the city ſhall be granted to the Dutch Eaſt-India Company for their uſe in carrying on their trade, and likewiſe another for a reſidence for their chief, within the city, or in the garden.

XXIII. The twenty-third was granted by the emperor JEHAAN DAAR SHAH, to the *Surat* director and ambaſſador, in behalf of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, to the mogul court, JOHN JOSIAH KETELAAR, in the firſt year of his majeſty's reign, on the 14th of the month *Redje-bul-moredjab*, in the year 1123 of the *Hegira*, or 1712 of our era, by which

All the privileges granted by the eight firſt articles of the ſixteenth *firman*, are confirmed and granted anew; and further—

1. That no one ſhall claim any duty of the Dutch, upon the importation, or exportation, either by water or by land, of any goods intended for their own uſe, as clothes, conſumables, neceſſaries, wrought gold and ſilver, manufactured copper, jewels, all kinds of victuals and proviſions, &c.

2. That if there are any of the Dutch who abſent or conceal themſelves, or deſert, from the Company's ſervice, the governors ſhall be bound to ſeize and arreſt them

them, and to reſtore them to the Company.

3. That they ſhall not be liable to the demands of the collectors of the *jieſia*, or head-money.

4. That the houſe of the deceaſed ETTABAAR CHAN ſhall be given to the Company's ſervants for their reſidence for ever, upon the condition, however, that no angles or embraſures ſhall be made to it, nor any great or ſmall guns conveyed into it, and that no other additions ſhall be made to it than that of chambers wanted for dwelling-places, or of warehouſes for houſing of merchandize, or any other neceſſary repairs.

5. That no one ſhall moleſt them on account of the ten or twelve horſes which they annually import, and which are not worthy of the king's notice.

XXIV. The twenty-fourth, granted by the ſame prince to the ſaid ambaſſador, at the ſame time, orders;

1. That the governors of *Ecbar-abad* ſhall not moleſt the Dutch on account of any *rahadarees*, charges, or any thing elſe, which may be taken in *Montaas-abad*; nor ſhall they claim the dues of brokerage from the

the ſeller, but ſhall continue to claim them, according to cuſtom, from the purchaſer.

2. That their goods ſhall not be carried into the cuſtom-houſe, nor ſhall any thing be claimed from them, according to ancient uſage.

And further, the firſt, ſecond, third, and ſixth articles of the ſecond; the firſt article of the fourth; the ſeventh article of the ſixteenth; the laſt article of the ſeventeenth; and the third article of the twenty-third, *firmans*, are hereby confirmed, and granted anew.

XXV. The twenty-fifth, granted by the ſame prince to the ſaid ambaſſador, in the ſame year, on the 15th of the month *Redjebul-moredjab*, contains merely—

The confirmation and renewal of the ſecond article of the ſecond; the laſt article of the ſeventeenth; and the firſt article of the twenty-third, *firmans*.

XXVI. The twenty-ſixth, granted by the ſame prince to the ſaid ambaſſador, in the ſame year, on the 17th of the month *Sabaan*, orders;

1. That, according to cuſtom, no duty ſhall be paid upon the merchandize and other goods, which the Dutch diſpoſe of in

in *Agra*, *Dehly*, and other places, being brought through the province of *Amedabad*; neither on the cotton-cloths, and other goods, which they may purchaſe at *Cambaya*, *Patan*, *Dolthabad*, *Brodera*, *Baroche*, and other places, and which they carry to *Surat*; as the duty upon the ſame is paid upon their entry at *Surat*, being two and a half per cent.

2. The firſt and third articles of the ſecond; the firſt article of the fourth; the fourth and ſeventh articles of the ſixteenth; the laſt article of the ſeventeenth; and the ſecond article of the twenty-third, *firmans*, are hereby confirmed.

3. That the imperial officers, governors, jaqueerdars *, and others, belonging to the government of *Amedabad*, ſhall not be allowed to moleſt them (the Dutch) upon the conveyance of their goods, through their province.

4. That nothing ſhall be taken upon the goods, intended by the Dutch for their own

* *Jaqueerdar* is the holder of a *jaqueer*, or territory granted for a particular uſe, either to maintain a number of troops, or keep a fort in repair, and ſometimes as a penſion. *T.*

conſumption, or clothing, whether imported by water or by land.

5. The ſixth article of the ſecond; the ſeventh article of the nineteenth; and the third article of the twenty-third, *firmans*, are hereby confirmed.

XXVII. The twenty-ſeventh was granted by the ſame prince to the aforeſaid ambaſſador, KETELAAR, in the ſame year, on the 14th of the month *Redje bul mored jab*, and contains;

1. Not only the renewal and confirmation of all that was granted by the ſeven firſt articles of the nineteenth *firman*, but likewiſe,

2. That the governors of *Patna*, *Moorſhedabad*, and ſuch places as are ſituated upon the river *Ganges* down to *Hougly*, ſhall not claim of the Dutch any duty on the goods which they may purchaſe in *Bahar*, and convey, either by water or by land, to *Hougly*, as the ſame ſhall be taken at *Hougly*, at the rate of two and a half per cent.

3. The confirmation of the ſecond article of the twenty-third *firman*.

4. That upon the purchaſes of ſaltpetre, opium,

opium, piecegoods, ſugar, and other wares, the appointed duty of two and a half per cent ſhall be paid at *Hougly*, and nothing more claimed of the Company, nor ſhall they be at all moleſted on that head.

5. That the governors, and guards upon the roads, ſhall not claim any *rahadarees*, or charges of the roads, from the Dutch, in paſſing and repaſſing, nor hinder them at all therein.

6. That the veſſels, and authorized ſervants of the Company, provided with paſſes from the director in *Bengal*, and loaden with goods for ſale or barter, ſhall not by any means be liable to be preſſed in the territories of the king: neither ſhall they be detained or ſuffer any exactions, either upon arrival or departure, on the part of any fauſdars *, collectors of the revenue, governors, or officers of the ſea-coaſt.

7. That the governors ſhall lend their aſſiſtance to the Company, for the obtaining of what may be due to them by the

* *Fauſdar*, an officer in all great cities, appointed by the emperor, who has charge of the police, and takes cognizance of all criminal matters. Sometimes it is one who receives the rents from the *zemindars*, or landholders, and accounts to the government for them. T.

weavers, dyers, or others; and ſhall not prevent them from employing ſuch ſervants, brokers, &c. in their ſervice and trade, as they themſelves chooſe.

8. That the governors and magiſtrates ſhall in all places ſhew amity to the authorized ſervants of the Company, and ſhall attend to their complaints, and ſee that juſtice be done to them.

9. That the houſe of the deceaſed NOUR ALLA CHAN, ſituated in the city of *Patna*, ſhall be given to the Company's ſervants, for their reſidence for ever; upon condition, nevertheleſs, that no angles or embraſures ſhall be made to it, nor any great or ſmall guns conveyed into it, and that no additions ſhall be made to it, unleſs of chambers wanted for dwelling-places, or of warehouſes for houſing of merchandize, or other neceſſary repairs.

XXVIII. The twenty-eighth, granted by the ſame prince to the aforementioned ambaſſador, KETELAAR, in the ſame year, on the 12th of the month *Redje bul mored jab*, contains;

A con firmion of the third article of the ſixth; of the ſecond and third articles of the

the twenty-third; of the fifth and ſeventh articles of the twenty-ſeventh; and of the ceſſion mentioned in the twenty-firſt, *firmans*; likewiſe, that no one ſhall prohibit them (the Dutch) from taking into their employ ſuch perſons as they chooſe to make uſe of for their trade.

XXIX. The twenty-ninth, given by the emperor, MOHAMMED SHAH, during the time of the *Surat* director, PETER LAWRENCE RHOON, in the ninth year of his majeſty's reign, being the year 1140 of the *Hegira*, or 1729 of our era, grants;

1. That all *firmans* iſſued from time to time, by former emperors, with reſpect to the duties to be paid upon the goods of the Dutch, or otherwiſe, ſhall remain in force, and that no one ſhall claim of them more than is thereby fixed.

2. That the director of *Surat* ſhall be permitted to purchaſe, for his own money, ground in the *Jenhi bander*, within the outer city-walls of *Surat*, by the riverſide, and to erect buildings upon it for houſing of merchandize, and that no one ſhall prevent him from ſo doing, or moleſt him therein.

The above contains the ſubſtance of all the *firmans* granted to our Company, which were all accurately tranſlated out of the Perſian into the Dutch language, by the order, and during the adminiſtration, of Mr. JOHN SCHREUDER, director of *Surat*, and afterwards councellor of *India*.

From them it appears that the trade of the Dutch Company in the empire of *Hindoſtan*, has, from time to time, been encouraged with ſuch extraordinary privileges, as if they were, and even more than as if they were, natives of the country, and the prince's own ſubjects, who has taken them under his ſpecial protection, againſt the oppreſſions and extortions of his lieutenants, governors, &c.

He deſiſts, in favour of the Company, from a kind of *droit d'aubaine*, which equally exiſts here as in France; he withdraws the deciſion of any diſputes that may ariſe amongſt themſelves from the local judges, and veſts it in themſelves; and he abſolves them from all conſtraint in matters of religion.

It is, however, certain, that ſeveral of theſe privileges have now and then been infringed;

infringed; and hence ariſe the frequent repetitions and confirmations of particular articles in the ſeveral *firmans*, by which may be evidently ſeen, the inſtability of the authority of the Mogul emperors over their ſubjects.

And as none of theſe monarchs, during the ſpace of one hundred and eleven years, in which theſe charters, or letters patent were iſſued, aſcended the throne by hereditary or legal right, but only by the law of the ſtrongeſt, it appears that, in conſequence, the reigning prince did not look upon the *firmans* granted by his predeceſſor as obligatory upon himſelf, and that the Company did not think themſelves ſecure till they had obtained the confirmation of them from him, by a new *firman:* and as at the courts of all the oriental monarchs, and eſpecially at that of the great mogul, nothing can be obtained without conſiderable preſents, the expence of procuring theſe *firmans* would have been inſupportable to the Company, had not fortune ſo directed it, that the monarchs they had to apply to enjoyed very long reigns, of whom SHAH JEHAAN, and his ſon AURENGZEBE, to-

gether, held the reins of government for full eighty-one years.

However valuable, and of whatever importance, Mr. SHREUDER conſidered theſe *firmans* to be in his time, they are, however, at preſent, of little value, as the mogul emperor poſſeſſes no more power, even over his own perſon, than the tyranny of the Engliſh will allow to him; yet they have ſolemnly engaged to guarantee thoſe privileges to us; on which ſubject I ſhall be more explicit hereafter.

CHAPTER VII.

The principal Factories formerly belonging to the Direction of SURAT — *viz. in* PERSIA — *at* MOCHA — *at* WINGURLA — *at* AGRA — *at* AMEDABAD — *at* BAROCHE — *at* CHIRCEES *and* BRODERA — *at* CAMBAYA. — *Short Account of ſome of thoſe Places.—Reaſons of the Decline of the Dutch Trade at* SURAT.—*Great Profits formerly made.— Preſent Profits, &c.—Plans for the Improvement of the Dutch Trade in this Country.— Blameable Inactivity of Mr.* TAILLEFERT *during the Revolution of* 1759. — *Injuries and vexatious Proceedings of the Engliſh towards the Dutch.*

THE principal factories which formerly belonged to the direction of *Surat*, were thoſe of *Perſia* *, *Mocha*, *Wingurla*, *Agra*, *Amedabad*, *Cambaya*, *Baroche*, *Brodera*, *Chircees*, &c. "And it appears to me," ſays Mr. SCHREUDER, in his memorial addreſſed to

* The Dutch had formerly factories at *Gombroon*, *Baſſora*, *Laar*, *Schiras*, and *Iſpahan* in *Perſia*, but their trade to that country has been for ſeveral years entirely abandoned. *T.*

Mr.

Mr. PECOCK, his ſucceſſor in the direction at *Surat*, "that before the Company had any "ſettled eſtabliſhment at *Ceylon*, or on the "coaſt of *Malabar*, *Surat* was the chief place "and ſtaple of their whole trade carried on "throughout this part of the Indian ſea; "but it did not long remain ſo; our factory "at *Surat* very ſoon decreaſed in importance, "and this will appear moſt evident if we "take a nearer view of the ſituation of each "ſubordinate factory."

"Thoſe of *Perſia*, or *Gombroon*, as this de-"partment was called in the books of the "Company, from the principal factory they "had in that country, eſtabliſhed in the year "1622, were conſtituted into an independent "ſettlement in 1633, and put immediately "under *Batavia*. The expences of the navi-"gation between *Baſſora* and *Batavia*, uſed "to be charged to the account of *Surat*, but "no longer than the year 1670, when that "place was put entirely under *Gombroon*."

"The factory at *Mocha* was eſtabliſhed in "the year 1620, after two tranſitory expe-"ditions of trade had been made thither: it "has frequently been abandoned, and as

"often

" often re-eſtabliſhed; but in the year 1686, " it was equally put under the immediate " ſuperintendence of *Batavia*."

" The factory at *Wingurla*, may have been " eſtabliſhed about the year 1655 *; but, in " the year 1677, it was taken away from " the direction of *Surat*, and added to the " commandery of *Malabar*."

" The factory at *Agra*, was eſtabliſhed " in the year 1620, but was abandoned in " the year 1716, in ſo far, that all the " European ſervants, the effects of the Com- " pany, &c. were removed from it, and only " three or four natives left there, to keep " the lodge, and in order that we might " always be entitled to re-enter into the poſ- " ſeſſion of it, if that be ever again thought " neceſſary."

" The factory at *Amedabad* † was eſta- " bliſhed

* There is a letter extant from the king of *Viſiapour*, in whoſe dominions *Wingurla*, a place on the *Malabar* coaſt, not far north of *Goa*, lay, by which it appears that the Dutch Company had reſident merchants there as early as 1641; and in a letter from their factors there, written in 1653, they ſay they had been ſeventeen or eighteen years ſettled there in the ſervice of the Company. *T.*

† *Amedabad*, the mahomedan capital of *Guzurat*, is ſaid to have received its name from AHMED, one of the firſt kings of the

" bliſhed in the year 1618, but was aban-
" doned in the year 1744, and left on the
" ſame footing as that at *Agra*."

" The factory at *Baroche* * was eſtabliſhed
" in

the country; but it is not improbable that it is the *Amadaviſtis* of ARRIAN. It is ſituated in $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north latitude, on the eaſt bank of the *Sabrematty*, a ſmall, yet pleaſant, wholeſome, and conſtant ſtream. The walls, which ſtill remain, are about ſix miles in circumference, and there is a very wide and deep ditch carried all round them. Beſides this ditch, new works have been ſince conſtructed, where the original defences, either from decay, or ſituation, were judged inſufficient. There are twelve gateways to paſs in and out of the city. Theſe gateways, and other parts of the wall, appear to have been fortified and adorned, at regular diſtances, with towers and cupolas, which, in the days of its ſplendour, muſt have equally contributed to ſtrength and magnificent appearance. Within the city, and upon the banks of the river, there is an extenſive incloſure, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Bunder*, which was formerly the royal reſidence; it was ſtrongly fortified in former times, and when VALENTYN wrote, it was thought by the Moors to be the ſecureſt fortreſs in all *Hindoſtan*, next to thoſe of *Cabul* and *Candahar*. THEVENOT and VALENTYN give copious accounts of the magnificence of the moſques, and other public buildings, which in their time adorned the city of *Amedabad*. Without the walls, the ſuburbs, as is evident from their veſtiges, muſt have extended to the diſtance of three miles round. But *Amedabad* has ſo greatly declined from its original ſplendour, that at this day not more than a quarter of the ſpace, within the walls, is inhabited. *T.*

* *Baroche*, or *Barokia*, lies upon the river *Nerbedab*, about twenty-five miles from its mouth; halfway between the

town

" in the year 1617, and is ſtill continued,
" yet with very little circumſtance, for there
" is but one junior merchant, and one book-
" keeper, who reſide there as factors, and
" who have a few native ſervants under
" them."

" Our factories at *Chircees* * and *Brodera* †
" were eſtabliſhed in the year 1620, as was
" that

town and the ſea, the river divides itſelf into two branches, and forms a long and narrow iſland, on each ſide of which they run into the gulph of *Cambaya*, in the directions of s.s.s. and w.s.w. where there is an open road for ſhips in ſeven fathoms, moſtly ſandy bottom. The fortreſs of *Baroche* is large and ſquare, ſtanding upon a hill, which is the only eminence for many miles around, and might be made very ſtrong. Very fine bafts and other cottons are manufactured here; and the water of the river *Nerbedah* is ſaid to have a peculiar property for bleaching of cloth to a perfect whiteneſs. Agates are likewiſe an article of trade at *Baroche*, which are brought from the mountains near *Brampour*, and are moſtly diſpoſed of at *Cambaya*. *T.*

* *Chircees*, or *Chirchees*, is a ſmall town, about a league and a half from *Amedabad*. It has a great number of tombs of the kings and princes of *Guzurat*, whence the Indians believe that it was, in ancient times, the capital of that kingdom; but it is more probable that it was only the burying-place of their kings, and that *Amedabad* was always their capital. The factory which the Dutch had here was eſtabliſhed for the ſake of purchaſing indigo. *T.*

† *Brodera*, ſituate upon the little river *Dader*, is a modern town, in compariſon with the others, having been built by the

" that at *Cambaya* *, though the laſt may
" be ſaid to have been begun in the year
" 1617: but theſe three were all entirely
" abandoned before the year 1670, although,
" for want of the neceſſary papers, the exact

the ſon of the laſt king of *Guzurat*, near the ſcite of an ancient town, formerly called *Radipore*, but now *Old Brodera*, which is now entirely gone to decay. It ſtands in a very fertile, though ſandy, country. It has pretty good walls and towers, and is full of artizans, who make the fineſt ſtuffs of all *Guzurat*, bafts, nicanees, cannaquins, cheloes, &c.; the cottons of *Brodera* are even finer than thoſe of *Barocbe*; but they are narrower and ſhorter. Indigo is alſo an article of trade here. *T.*

* *Cambaya* is a large city, lying at the bottom of the gulph of the ſame name, upon the north bank of the river *Canavi*, which by ſome is called the *Mabi*. The tides are ſo ſwift at the north end of the gulph, that a horſe, at full ſpeed, cannot keep pace with the firſt waves; in the river they riſe with great rapidity ſeven fathoms in ordinary tides, and at high water, ſhips can anchor near the town, but at low water, the river runs entirely dry, except three or four narrow channels, in which there remains about three feet water, ſo that the veſſels in the river muſt lie quite aground, though they do not ſuffer much in that ſituation, from the bottom not being hard or ſandy. The city is twice as large as *Surat*, but not near ſo populous. The ſtreets are large, and have all gates at the ends, which are ſhut in the night-time, and there are twelve gates to the city, beſides thoſe of the ſtreets, which are innumerable. There is a great trade carried on at *Cambaya*, by the Mooriſh, Armenian, and Arabian merchants, with *Perſia*, *Mocha*, *Diu*, *Achcen*, *Coromandel*, and other places. *T.*

" year

" year of their abandonment cannot be de-
" terminately pointed out."

" Thus, out of all theſe factories, the chief,
" ſuch as thoſe at *Gombroon*, *Baſſora*, *Mocha*,
" and *Wingurla*, have been taken away from
" the direction of *Surat*, and either rendered
" independent, or put under ſome other head-
" ſettlement: the others have, indeed, been
" left to *Surat*, and are ſtill reckoned to be
" under its juriſdiction, but their number and
" conſequence are ſo diminiſhed, that that of
" *Baroche* alone may be looked upon as really
" in exiſtence; while thoſe of *Agra* and
" *Amedabad* are merely nominal in the books
" of the Company, and the charges which
" are annually paid for them, would be
" wholly ſuperfluous, were they not incurred
" to retain poſſeſſion of the lodges or factory-
" houſes there, in order that our right to
" them may be kept alive." So far goes the memorial of Mr. SCHREUDER before alluded to.

The factory of *Surat* has always been, with juſtice, conſidered as one of the moſt advantageous eſtabliſhments of the Company in India. The goods which they brought to market there, having become, by the luxury of

of the Moors, articles of the firſt neceſſity, always met a ready vent; and as the Company were the excluſive importers of them, they made whatever prices they choſe to require, or could command, according to the more or leſs quantity they might pleaſe to import.

In the ſtatement of the profits made by the Company's trade to *Surat*, during a period of about eighty years, commencing in the years 1662-1663, and terminating in the years 1749-1750, annexed to the before-mentioned memorial of Mr. SCHREUDER, addreſſed to his ſucceſſor, Mr. PECOCK, I find, that in the firſt ten years, from 1662-1663, to 1673-1674, of which the profits for the years 1671-1672, and 1673-1674, could not be computed, as the books of thoſe years were wanting; they amounted upon an average annually to 520$\frac{11}{12}$ per cent upon the finer ſpices, being in money a yearly ſum gained upon them alone, of *f.*334,560. 9. 8. *

And for the ten years, from 1688-1689, to 1697-1698, they yielded every year, upon an average, 850$\frac{5}{6}$ per cent gain, or in money the ſum of *f.*509,464. 1. 2. †, while

* Or about £.30,415 ſterling. *T.*

† About £.46,315 ſterling. *T.*

in

in thoſe ten years a further annual average profit of *f.*255,929. 3. 5.* was made upon the other goods, although only in the proportion of 59$\frac{3}{4}$ per cent upon their prime coſt.

But theſe profits gradually decreaſed after that period. Thoſe upon the ſpices have, indeed, rendered a higher proportion per cent, and in the year 1731-1732, they were even 2400 per cent upon the prime coſt; but the conſumption was, on the other hand, ſo ſmall, that in the ten years, in which that extraordinary proportion of gain appeared, namely, from 1730-1731, to 1739-1740, the real annual average profit, in money, ſcarcely amounted to one-fifth part of the ſums before made with a leſſer advance upon the prime coſt †.

The

* About £.23,266 ſterling. T.

† By VALENTYN's account, the Dutch formerly gained at *Surat*,

upon cloves,	665$\frac{133}{140}$	per cent,
upon nutmegs,	1453$\frac{1}{8}$	per cent,
upon mace,	718$\frac{152}{140}$	per cent,
upon copper in bars,	128$\frac{1}{8}$	per cent,
upon ditto in plates,	31$\frac{141}{140}$	per cent,
upon benzoin,	42	per cent,
upon gumlack,	34$\frac{73}{160}$	per cent,
upon quickſilver,	27$\frac{7}{8}$	per cent,
upon vermillion,	19$\frac{7}{32}$	per cent,

The great decreaſe in the profits, under the laſt adminiſtration, which are not b one-

The other articles imported were, cinnamon, pepper, camphor, cardemom, aloes, ſuccotrine, areca, ſapanwood, elephant's teeth, ſandalwood, woollen cloths, tin, lead in ſheets, cowries, tea, china, ſugar, coral in branches, radix china, ebony, &c.; and in return they purchaſed various kinds of piece-goods, as gold and ſilver allegars, and common ditto, 120 ps. per bale; chintzes cheron; broad and narrow chintzes; blue bafts of *Amedabad*, half ditto, ditto, 200 ps. per bale; narrow white bafts of *Barocbe*, 160 ps. per bale; black fine ditto, 1200 ps. per bale; broad white ditto, 100 ps. per bale; ſilk chindoes, 160 ps. per bale; black cannequins, per pack of 4 ps.; white ditto, 400 ps. per bale; quilted cottons, per pack of 4 ps.; nicanees, 120 ps. per bale; petolas, or painted ſilks; choutarees deriabadys of *Agra*, 70 ps. per bale; mammoodies of *Talalpour*, 60 and 55 ps. per bale, &c. likewiſe indigo from *Agra* by packs of 4 maunds of 53 *lb.* each; indigo chircees per 4 maunds of *Amedabad*, at 34½ *lb.* per maund; candied mirabolans, 69 *lb.* or 2 maunds, in a bladder; hing, or aſſa fœtida, per maund of 40 *lb.*; raſmala, or borax; opium of *Malva*, per pack of 99½ *lb.*; ſoap of *Surat*, 225 *lb.* per cheſt; red ealing wax of *Surat*, 51¼ *lb.* per box; cotton-yarn, wheat, &c. And the clear profits of the head-factory amounted yearly to ſix or ſeven tons of gold (£.55,000 to £.64,000 ſterling). Governor Mossel recommended the proſecution of the trade from *Batavia* to *Surat*, and that two large ſhips ſhould be annually diſpatched with 80,000 *lb.* of cloves, 30,000 *lb.* of nutmegs, 3,000 *lb.* of mace, 2,000 *lb.* of cinnamon, 200,000 *lb.* of Japan copper, 100,000 *lb.* of tin, and 2,000,000 *lb.* of ſugar, both raw and candied, which he calculated as the yearly conſumption of *Surat*, and whereupon he reckoned that about *f.*800,000 (£ 73,000 ſterling), might be gained; but matters

have

one-half, as much as thoſe under Mr. SENF, againſt which the charges have only diminiſhed about ſeven thouſand gilders, may principally be attributed to the civil commotions, and diſtracted ſtate of the country, whereby the expedition of goods has been greatly obſtructed, and is ſtill very difficult; one cauſe muſt likewiſe be ſought in the decay of the city of *Surat* itſelf; and another in the ſmall number of ſhips and ſcanty ſupplies that are ſent thither from *Batavia*, and which are, ſometimes, even confined to a ſolitary cargo *.

This

have much altered ſince his time here, as well as in every part of India. *T.*

* From theſe untoward circumſtances, it has more than once been in the contemplation of the Dutch Company to remove their *Surat* trade entirely to the coaſt of *Malabar*, and particularly to *Cochin*, where, being the territorial ſovereigns, they might have neither the rapacious exactions of a Mooriſh government, nor the ſucceſsful rivalry of enterpriſing competitors, to fear; but HUYSERS attributes the decline of their *Surat* trade more to the laſt circumſtance mentioned in the text, namely, the little activity of the trade from *Batavia*, than to any of the others, and conceives, that if a more abundant ſupply of ſpices, Japan copper, and Jaccatra ſugar, were ſent forward, the quantity of which had of late years been remarkably deficient, the profits of the *Surat* trade would again become very conſiderable; as upon every cargo of thoſe arti-

This decline of *Surat* itſelf is, in the firſt place, a conſequence of the almoſt total annihilation of the power and authority of the mogul emperors, by which many of the native rajahs and nations have riſen into conſideration, particularly the Marattas, and having ſhaken off the mogul yoke, have aſſumed the ſovereign authority themſelves. Hence they have either ſeized upon every thing that paſſed through their dominions, or if they did not do this, they at leaſt have exacted heavy contributions from the merchants, under the denomination of duties, and have even, as we have before ſeen, laid the city of *Surat* under contribution.

Secondly, the proximity of *Bombay*, has

cles a clear gain of at leaſt 40 per cent, may be rationally calculated upon. In 1779, the books of the factory at *Surat* were cloſed with an advance of *f.*283,207 (about £.25,746 ſterling), being after deduction of all the charges, with exception of thoſe of one or two ſhips ſent thither from *Batavia*, which may amount to about *f.*100,000.—ſo that the clear gains may ſcarcely be ſaid to amount to two tons of gold, (about £.18,000 ſterling). In that year the goods ſent to *Surat* were no more than 1,715,718 *lb.* of ſugar, 20,002 lb. of cloves, and a ſmall quantity of nutmegs and mace. The only articles ſent to Europe out of the returns from *Surat*, are gamboge, cotton-yarn, and cotton-cloths, of which laſt the value of *f.*260,000 (about £.23,636 ſterling) was ſold in Holland in the year 1778. T.

been

been of great prejudice to *Surat*; that ſettlement, on the other hand, flouriſhes more and more, from day to day, owing to the entire liberty of exportation which is there allowed. Foreign merchants do not ſuffer oppreſſion there, but are favoured and encouraged: protection and ſecurity are afforded them both by water and by land. *Bombay* is likewiſe ſituated nearer to the *Deckan* than *Surat*, and to this it muſt chiefly be attributed, that the entire commerce of that wealthy country has been diverted to the Engliſh ſettlement, from *Surat*, which formerly enjoyed all the advantages of it.

In the third place, the decay of *Surat* is not a little owing to the ſuperiority which the Engliſh have attained there ſince the laſt revolution. The arrogant and arbitrary conduct of that nation, makes the merchants averſe to engage in extenſive enterprizes of trade, and the capitaliſts are afraid of putting out their money to intereſt, or of riſking it in the operation of commerce.

Exiſting facts are ſufficient to prove, that if they cannot turn the current of trade according to their own choice, and to the advantage of their own pockets, they will en-

deavour to impede it by all the obſtacles, which a deſpotic authority puts in their power. I have myſelf experienced their ſelfiſh conduct in this reſpect; the Engliſh chief, their councellor SITTON, and the nabob, cauſed an interdiction to be laid upon all the native merchants, that they ſhould not purchaſe of me any of the articles I had brought with me in private trade, and eſpecially not any ſugar, in order that I might be compelled to ſell them at the rates which they might chooſe to give for them; and they even engaged the concurrence, in this reſpect, of the chief perſons in our direction, that they might equally prohibit the Company's brokers, who are otherwiſe the chief merchants, from purchaſing of me.

By theſe, and many other unjuſt, or let me rather ſay, iniquitous methods, the trade of this formerly ſo flouriſhing emporium, which was juſtly eſteemed the moſt conſiderable commercial place of India, runs to decay from day to day; and this, to all appearances, quadrates exactly with the ſecret views which may be ſuppoſed to actuate the members of the government at *Bombay*; namely, to compel the merchants, by means of the oppreſſions

oppreſſions and difficulties to which they are ſubjected here, to have recourſe to *Bombay*: for it cannot otherwiſe be reconciled to the maxims of prudence or policy, that ſuch unexampled extortions ſhould be ſuffered to prevail in a ſubordinate factory, of which they cannot pretend ignorance, by reaſon of its proximity, and the notoriety of them, if there were no latent motives to encourage or tolerate ſuch proceedings.

Our director, Mr. SENF, taking theſe circumſtances into conſideration, was of opinion, that it might be more advantageous for the intereſts of the Company, to uſe endeavours to get poſſeſſion of ſome place, ſomewhere in the neighbourhood of *Bombay*, where we might ourſelves be at hand to deal with the merchants of the *Deckan*, and thereby draw them again from their habits of reſorting to the Engliſh for their ſupplies of our commodities.

That gentleman did not let the matter reſt merely as an opinion, but he alſo was examining into the feaſibility of putting his ideas in practice, when a very fit opportunity preſented itſelf for that purpoſe, which was as follows:

One RANASSOIR SINAY, who had, for a long time, reſided at *Bombay*, as the repreſentative of the Maratta chief MADUROW, met with ſome ill treatment there, about the year 1767, and being, on that account, incenſed againſt the Engliſh, he wrote a a letter to Mr. SENF, in which he not only complained bitterly of their inſupportable arrogance, but likewiſe intimated that there might now be an opportunity for the Dutch Compamy to attain what he knew they had long wiſhed for, namely, the eſtabliſhment of a factory at *Bazaim*, or thereabouts, and this gave occaſion to a treaty between them: all which may be better underſtood from the extract of Mr. SENF's memorial on that head, from ſection XV to ſection XVIII incluſive, and the documents referred to thereby.

Mr. SENF had before caſt his thoughts towards ſome places in the gulph of *Cambaya*, and particularly upon *Goga* *, whither he had ſent a committee in the year 1765, who, under the appearance of a party of pleaſure,

* *Goga* is a little town on the weſtern ſide of the gulph of *Cambaya*, about twenty-eight or thirty leagues from *Cambaya*, and which THEVENOT ſays abounds with banians and ſeamen. *T.*

ſurveyed

ſurveyed the places in that neighbourhood, and the iſland *Peram*. But nothing reſulted herefrom, as a ſafe anchoring-place for ſhips had no where been found: and there were other circumſtances, on account of which this project could not be ſtrongly inſiſted upon *.

But before I depart from this ſubject, I muſt remark, that, how great ſoever the influence and power of the Engliſh may have been, at the time of the revolution of 1759, yet they would never have been able to obtain poſſeſſion of the caſtle, or to have got the authority ſo much in their own hands as they have done, had they not perſuaded Mr. TAILLEFERT, our director at that time, to remain entirely inactive, and to let them do as they liked, without interruption.

It muſt, however, appear ſurpriſing to every one, that a man of a ſound underſtanding, as that gentleman was ſaid to poſſeſs, did not make any uſe of the reſpectable force which he had, at that time, at his diſpoſal, both in ſhips and in troops, which was at leaſt ſufficient to enable him to fruſtrate the deſigns

* See the report on that ſubject, delivered in the 19th of November, 1765. *S.*

of

of the Engliſh, if he did not chooſe to take poſſeſſion himſelf of the caſtle for his maſters, which was offered to him, without the leaſt fear of the effuſion of blood; for it would have been effected in the following manner:

The Company's brokers, MANTCHERGI, and GOVENRAM, who were both living, and who both related the affair to me, when I was at *Surat*, were to have been ſeized, and put under arreſt, under ſome pretext or other, in the caſtle, and Mr. TAILLEFERT was then to have ſent a ſtrong detachment of troops to the caſtle, to require their releaſe as perſons in the ſervice of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company; and this detachment were, by agreement, being let into the caſtle for that purpoſe, to make themſelves inſtantly maſters of it.

Nevertheleſs, the Engliſh chief, Mr. SPENCER, had the addreſs to perſuade Mr. TAILLEFERT to remain inactive, either by great promiſes, or by other means.

The truth of theſe circumſtances appears ſo evident, even from the public papers of the time, that it is not neceſſary to inſiſt upon the private teſtimony of the Company's brokers, or of all the individuals of conſideration

ſideration among the natives, who bear witneſs to them; for what could otherwiſe have induced Mr. SPENCER, before the commencement of the attack, and when he was at the head of the troops, to write, of his own accord, his letter of the 18th of February, 1759, by which he guaranteed, in the ſtrongeſt manner, all the privileges as well of the Company as of individuals, provided they obſerved a ſtrict neutrality? and what could otherwiſe have induced Mr. TAILLEFERT to give, by his anſwer of the 20th of the ſame month, not only aſſurances of friendſhip and neutrality, but likewiſe to declare, expreſsly, that for ſome time paſt he had given orders that none of his people ſhould give any offence to the Engliſh, and much leſs act inimically towards them; and alſo that he had, for ſome days, been preſent in perſon with moſt of the Company's ſervants at their garden, or wharf, in order to be the better able to prevent, either the governor of the caſtle, or any one elſe, from making any uſe of the Company's territory and artillery? It would equally be matter of ſurpriſe, if it were not with the utmoſt ſatisfaction that Mr. TAILLEFERT agreed to this neutrality, why he refuſed the repeated

lulling a too credulous governor into ſecurity and inactivity. They even, on the contrary, ſoon began to manifeſt their deſires, if not to nullify, at leaſt to curtail thoſe very privileges they had engaged to maintain; for Mr. SPENCER, the hero of the piece, whom I have ſo often mentioned, was no ſooner in the ſafe poſſeſſion of the caſtle, than he gave many grounds of complaint to our people, as appears from ſome letters written ſoon after by Mr. TAILLEFERT himſelf.

One HODGES too, an Engliſh chief, ventured far beyond the bounds of juſtice and equity towards us. Availing of the inability of our director, Mr. DRABBE, he ſought to overthrow at once the honour, the eſteem, and the proſperity of our Company; for it was ſolely through his influence, and at his inſtigation, that the nabob compelled our ſervants, in the year 1762, after a long inveſtment, or ſiege, of their factory, not only to pay a heavy contribution in ready money, but alſo to ſubmit to the moſt humiliating conditions that can well be imagined.

To enumerate all the injuries which our nation have ſuſtained from them here, ſince that time, and to enter into a particular detail

detail of our ſubjects of complaint; of the difficulties which we experienced, before we could obtain their conſent to remove the effects of the Company out of the factory in the city, to the garden, or wharf, and to land and houſe the merchandize we imported there, notwithſtanding the ſecond article of the twenty-ninth *firman*, which, together with all the other privileges granted to us, they had in ſo ſolemn a manner guaranteed to us, and promiſed to maintain; particularly empowered us ſo to do of their illiberal conduct with reſpect to the repairs we wanted to make at the powder-magazine on the wharf, although the perſons they had themſelves deputed to inſpect into it, had teſtified the neceſſity of the repairs intended; of the obligation under which they attempted to bring the Company, to let the goods which were to be exported be *chiapped* by an officer appointed by them, in conjunction with the one appointed for that purpoſe by the governor of the city, although the latter had always before been alone authorized to do it, and the governor of the caſtle had never been allowed to interfere in this commercial tranſaction, and which, if our people had not poſitively reſiſted,

reſiſted, would have ſubjected them for ever to the caprices of the Engliſh, in this important matter; of the compulſion which one PRICE exerciſed, in order to obtain all the ſugar brought to *Surat*, in private trade, at a very low rate, and which even prevails at preſent, as I have before related, and inſtanced by what happened to myſelf; of the indecent and outrageous manner in which HODGES claimed the effects of one KLINKAERT, who had been our comptroller of equipment, but had deſerted, and was taken under the protection of the Engliſh chief, and when they were refuſed to be delivered, his violent conduct in ſending an enſign with a ſtrong detachment of military to ſeize them, and carry them away by force, cauſing the Company's ſeals, which had been affixed to thoſe effects, to be torn off by a ſubaltern officer; of the ill treatment which our brokers underwent, in defiance of the rights of the Company, under whoſe protection, and in whoſe ſervice they were, and conſequently ſubject to no juriſdiction but that of our director and council; of the exceſſes and outrages committed by the Engliſh, in the year 1772, at our factory at *Baroche*, when they

they made no ſcruple of inveſting the Company's lodge with an armed force, keeping the perſons of their ſervants in confinement, and breaking open the warehouſes, cheſts, boxes, &c.: to give a particular detail, I ſay, of all theſe injurious tranſactions, as they are recorded at length in the papers of the Company, and of which, other accompanying and aggravating circumſtances have been related to me, would entirely take up the little remaining time I have appropriated for the purpoſe of noting down only what is moſt remarkable at *Surat*, and in the Company's affairs there. The inſtances that I have thus ſlightly touched upon, are enough to ſhew the arrogant and arbitrary diſpoſition and conduct of a nation whoſe inveterate hatred of the Dutch is too notorious to admit of diſpute; and likewiſe the unpleaſant and cruel ſituation in which our Company are placed, both here and in *Bengal*.

It would be a moſt deſirable circumſtance, if the Engliſh were ſhut out, from trading to other places, where we are poſſeſſed of the territorial power; or, at leaſt, that their trade were not preferably encouraged both by the Company and by individuals.

CHAPTER VIII.

Account of the Marattas.—Their Wars with the Moguls.—Government.—Predatory Diſpoſition.—Military Eſtabliſhment.—Conduct when in the Field.—Account of their Camps, &c.—Tributes paid to them.—Their Territories.—Revenues.—Account of the Patans, or Afghans.—Their Origin.—Their warlike Genius, &c.

I HAVE ſeveral times before made mention of the Marattas, and the influence which this people have at preſent in the affairs of *Hindoſtan*, render them deſerving of being better known; and it is requiſite to give as many particulars of this extenſive people as can be aſcertained: the following account of them, which I met with in an Engliſh work, will therefore not be improper in this place:

"As the Marattas have no written hiſ-
"tory, and ſcarcely any tradition, that we
"know, of their former ſtate, it is im-
"poſſible

" poſſible to procure a full and ſatisfactory
" account of ſo numerous a nation, once ſet-
" tled, then diſperſed, and now re-eſtabliſh-
" ing themſelves throughout all parts of the
" mogul empire: a people who have had,
" from time immemorial, ſettlements to the
" north of *Debly*, great part of which they
" ſtill poſſeſs; though ſo great were the num-
" bers that were driven out from thence,
" by AURENGZEBE, that he employed above
" twenty years in fruitleſs endeavours to re-
" duce them in their new ſettlements in the
" mountainous parts of the *Deckan* *.

" They have had continued wars ever

* The Maratta ſtates in the *Deckan* are the only people of *Hindoſtan*, who were never effectually ſubdued, and who never unanimouſly acknowledged themſelves fiefs to the throne of *Debly*. AURENGZEBE himſelf, unable to conquer them, found it prudent, for the ſake of peace, to yield to them the ſovereignty of part of the *Deckan*. They even carried the terror of their arms into the heart of *Debly*, whence they carried off vaſt treaſures; and they continued their depredations, firſt in the country around that ſeat of empire, and then in the kingdoms of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Orixa*: until, in conſideration of the ceſſion to them of the province of *Catac*, and an annual tribute of twelve lacks of rupees, they concluded a treaty of peace with ALLAVERDI CHAN, who was poſſeſſed of the ſoubahſhip of *Bengal*, in the year 1750. T.

" ſince with all the moguls, ſubahs, and
" governors, and made innumerable treaties
" of peace with them, which they never
" obſerve any longer than they think it
" their intereſt. They have themſelves had
" ſtrange internal revolutions, and what is
" moſt ſtrange, the preſent governing men
" among them are brahmins, or prieſts,
" hated by the true Marattas, but followed
" by them for pay."

" Their *rajah*, or prince, is ſacred; and
" they hold that he ought to be a kind of
" idol, ſhut up, and fed at the public ex-
" pence, and the executive power lodged in
" ſome other branch of his family; at leaſt,
" ſuch has been the eſtabliſhment on the
" *Malabar* coaſt: but this was ſubverted by
" the uſurpation of the two brahmins, the
" one called PEELAGEE, and the other
" BUDGEROW. PEELAGEE governed *Gu-*
" *zurat*, and BUDGEROW the country to the
" ſouthward."

" His ſon, who ſucceeded him, is known
" by his name BALAZEROW, on the *Coro-*
" *mandel* coaſt: on the *Malabar* he is call-
" ed the NANNA, for that is the title by
" which the acting head of the govern-
" ment,

" ment, and general of the forces, is dif-
" tinguiſhed."

" The nominal prince, or the idol, as he
" has been deſcribed, is ſtyled RAM RAJAH,
" and SAHA RAJAH *."

" All theſe names, indiſcriminately uſed,
" and ſtrangely ſpelt, occaſion no ſmall dif-
" ficulty to the reader of the writings con-
" cerning theſe people, who is alſo deſired
" to take notice, that though all authors
" ſpeak of *Sattaarah* as the capital of the
" Maratta country, the reſidence of the
" brahmin their ſovereign, is *Poonah*, about
" a hundred miles eaſt-ſouth-eaſt of *Bom-*
" *bay* †, where all the buſineſs of the go-
" vernment is carried on."

" What proves that they have formerly
" been powerful over all the mogul em-
" pire, though now diſunited, is the uni-
" verſal acknowledgment of the *chout*, or
" tribute, paid to them, of a fourth of the
" revenues of every *rajah*, or governor.

* Likewiſe the SAHOO, or SOU, from the laſt king who actually reigned. *T.*

† " D'ANVILLE ſays, the ſituation of *Sattaarah* is not " aſcertained, and therefore he has not put it in his " map." *T.*

" This they ſtill collect in all parts, taking
" what they can get of it in ready money,
" and leaving the balance in arrear, which
" will ſerve them at leaſt as a pretence for
" another incurſion, whenever they want
" employment for their troops *."

" It may ſeem ſtrange that theſe Ma-
" rattas, who are brahmins, and ſo ſtrict
" obſervers of the Gentoo religion, and the
" tenets of the tranſmigration of ſouls, that
" they will never kill the moſt offenſive
" animals that crawl about them, ſhould,
" without any ſcruple, eagerly employ their

* Their natural faſtneſſes and inacceſſible mountains, which conſpired with their native bravery to preſerve the Marattas from the mogul yoke, account for their predatory habits, their neglect of agriculture, and invincible love of arms. Among this race of warriors, that generous hoſpitality, both towards ſtrangers and each other, which in former times ſo eminently characterized the manners of the eaſt, is ſtill obſerved with ſacred, and even ſuperſtitious exactneſs. Their military eſtabliſhment, which is chiefly compoſed of cavalry, is about three hundred thouſand; but theſe are not to be conſidered as regulars, or permanent troops, but as an eſtabliſhed militia. In judging of the Maratta force, we are alſo to obſerve, that it is an invariable cuſtom among their troops, when an expedition is concluded, to retire with what plunder they may have collected, to their reſpective abodes; leaving with the chiefs only what may be called their body-guards. *T.*

" ſabres

" ſabres to the deſtruction of their fellow-
" creatures. The ſalvo for this extraor-
" dinary contradiction, is a device of their
" prieſts, who, by the ſacrifice of a buf-
" falo, with many myſterious and enthuſi-
" aſtic ceremonies, abſolve their warriors
" from the reſtrictions which bind the vul-
" gar."

" It ſhould be here obſerved, that the
" Marattas, mentioned ſo often in the nar-
" rative *, were only a body of horſe, free-
" booters, who alternately took the pay
" of the higheſt bidder. They were ſuch
" as MORAROW † had picked up to follow
" his fortunes; and, till he attempted to
" make himſelf independent, they had no

* Of the war on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, in the year 1750. *T.*

† MORAROW, who is often mentioned in CAMBRIDGE's account of the war in India, was a Maratta, who, by ſupporting the diviſions in the country, had made himſelf conſiderable from a ſmall beginning; he ſided with no party, but as he found his advantage in it, and as eaſily changed ſides; he commanded about 3000 very good horſe. When not employed or paid by any prince, he ſcoured the country for himſelf, and raiſed contributions where he could get moſt, and with the leaſt riſk. His real maſter was the NANNA SAHA RAJAH, but he obeyed his orders only in proportion as they coincided with his own views. *T.*

" ſettled habitation, and no profeſſion but
" war, if it may be called a profeſſion,
" where they have neither art nor diſ-
" cipline: and yet they are formidable to
" the Moors, who, carrying ſuch numerous
" and encumbered armies to the field, are
" the eaſier haraſſed, and even ſtarved by
" them; for theſe pillagers, continually gal-
" loping round the country, cut off the con-
" voys; and as moſt of the parties carry
" with them neither baggage nor proviſions,
" they eaſily elude all purſuit, and, in an
" inſtant, retire to their faſtneſſes, or even,
" if occaſion require, to their own country.
" They ride a hardy horſe, inured to fa-
" tigue, and for the moſt part fed with
" ſtanding corn. The common men have
" no clothing but a turband on their head,
" and a ſaſh round their waiſt: inſtead of a
" ſaddle they uſe ſuch a kind of pad as is
" recommended by Marſhal SAXE. Truly
" formidable with their ſabres, they are fa-
" tal to troops that are once broke.

" They are a deſtructive foe, and an un-
" ſerviceable friend. They ruin their ene-
" mies by burning their country, and their
" allies by their avaricious demands for
" money.

" money. Inſtead of meriting their pay, " which they might eaſily do after a defeat; " by cutting off all the broken troops, they " fly to the camp, where every one procures " a good burden for his horſe, and walking " on foot drives him away loaded with the " ſpoil *."

" The

* With the above, it may not be unintereſting to compare and contraſt the following picture of the more regular armies of the Marattas, from DIROM's *Narrative of the Campaign againſt* TIPPOO SAIB, *in* 1792.—" The chiefs themſelves, " and all the Marattas in their ſuite, and, indeed, all their people, were remarkably plain, but neat, in their appearance. " Mild in their aſpect, humane in their diſpoſition, polite and " unaffected in their addreſs, they are diſtinguiſhed by obe- " dience to their chiefs, and attachment to their country. " There were not to be ſeen among them thoſe fantaſtic figures " in armour, ſo common among the mahomedans, in the " nizam's, or, as they ſtyled themſelves, the mogul's army; ad- " venturers collected from every quarter of the eaſt, who, prid- " ing themſelves on individual valour, think it beneath them " to be uſeful but on the day of battle, and, when that comes, " prove only the inefficiency of numbers, unconnected by any " general principle of union or of diſcipline. The Maratta " camp was at the diſtance of about ſix miles from our's, and, " on approaching it, had the appearance of a large irregular " town, for the chiefs pitch their ſtandards around their gene- " ral without order; and their tents being of all ſizes, and of " many different colours, at a diſtance, reſemble houſes, rather " than canvas. The ſtreets, too, of their camp, croſſing and " winding in every direction, diſplay a variety of merchandize, " as in a great fair. There are ſhroffs, or money-changers,

" jewellers,

" The Marattas, though not without " trade and manufactures, have principally " enriched

" jewellers, ſmiths, mechanics, and people of every trade and " deſcription, as buſily employed in their occupations, and at- " tending as minutely to their intereſt, as if they were in " *Poonab*, and at peace. The park of artillery, where all their " guns are collected, made an extraordinary appearance. The " gun-carriages, in which they truſt to the ſolidity of the tim- " ber, and uſe but little iron in their conſtruction, are clumſy " beyond belief, particularly the wheels, which are low, and " formed of large ſolid pieces of wood united. The guns are " of all ſorts and dimenſions; and, having the names of their " gods given to them, are painted in the moſt fantaſtic man- " ner; and many of them, held in eſteem for the ſervices they " are ſaid to have already performed for the ſtate, cannot now " be diſpenſed with, although, in every reſpect, unfit for uſe. " Were the guns even ſerviceable, the ſmall ſupply of ammu- " nition with which they are provided, has always effectually " prevented the Maratta artillery from being formidable to " their enemies. The Maratta infantry is compoſed of black " chriſtians, and deſpicable poor wretches of the loweſt caſte, " uniform in nothing but the bad ſtate of their muſquets, none " of which are either clean or complete; and few are provided " with either ammunition or accoutrements: they are com- " manded by half-caſte people of Portugueſe and French ex- " traction, who draw off the attention of ſpectators from the " bad clothing of their men, by the profuſion of antiquated lace " beſtowed on their own; and if there happen to be a few Eu- " ropeans among the officers and men, which is ſometimes the " caſe, they execrate the ſervice, and deplore their fate. The " Marattas do not appear to treat their infantry with more re- " ſpect than they deſerve, as they ride through them without " any ceremony on the march, and on all occaſions evidently " conſider

" enriched themſelves, by obliging the more " wealthy and reſpectable powers, their " neighbours, to be tributary to them."

" It

" conſider them as foreigners, and a very inferior claſs of people " and troops. Indeed the attention of the Marattas is directed " entirely to their horſes and bazars, thoſe being the only " objects which immediately affect their intereſt. On a " marching-day, the guns and the infantry move off ſoon " after day-light; the bazars and baggage move nearly about " the ſame time, as ſoon as they can be packed up and got " ready. The guns and tumbrels, ſufficiently unwieldy " without further burden, are ſo heaped with ſtores and bag- " gage, that there does not ſeem to be any idea of its ever " being neceſſary to unlimber, and prepare for action on the " march. As there are no pioneers attached to the Maratta " artillery to repair the roads, this deficiency is compenſated " by an additional number of cattle, there being ſometimes a " hundred, or a hundred and fifty bullocks, in a ſtring of " pairs, to one gun: the drivers, who are very expert, ſit on " the yokes, and paſs over every impediment, commonly on " a trot. The chiefs remain upon the ground, without tents, " ſmoking their hookers, till the artillery and baggage have " got on ſome miles; they then follow, each purſuing his own " route, attended by his principal people; while the inferiors " diſperſe, to forage and plunder over the country."

" A few days after the junction of the Maratta armies, an " irregular fire of cannon and muſquetry was heard in their " camp, between nine and ten at night. The troops imme- " diately turned out in our camp, and ſtood to their arms, " thinking that TIPPOO had certainly attacked the Marattas; " but it proved to be only the celebration of one of their " ceremonies, in which they ſalute the new moon on its firſt

" appearance

" It will naturally be aſked, why do the " opulent ſtates ſubmit to be tributary? and

" appearance. Another circumſtance occurred ſoon after, alſo " characteriſtic of their cuſtoms and diſcipline. The ground " on which our army had encamped at the junction being " bare of graſs, and extremely dirty, Lord CORNWALLIS was " deſirous of marching; and ſent to the Maratta chiefs to re- " queſt they would move next morning, as their camp lay " directly in our route. They returned for anſwer, 'that " they ſhould be happy to obey his lordſhip's commands; but " as they had halted eight days it was not lucky, nor could " they, according to the cuſtom of their religion, march on " the ninth day. His lordſhip gave way to their ſuperſtitious " prejudice, and deferred his march."

" The armies of the allies, having ſometimes to paſs beyond " our camp to their ground, it was highly entertaining to ſee " them in motion the whole day; the chiefs in different " groups, moguls and Marattas alternately, themſelves and " their principal attendants mounted on elephants, diſtin- " guiſhed by their ſtate-flags and nagars alſo borne on ele- " phants. They were ſurrounded by cavalry, with their " various ſtandards, and preceded by their bards, and bands " of muſic, who ſung the praiſes of their maſters, and the " heroes of their nation. Group ſucceeding group; ele- " phants, camels, pikemen, ſtandard-bearers; horſemen in- " numerable, armed with ſword and ſhield, with lances, bows " and arrows, and every variety of ancient and modern arms " and armour; tilts and tournaments for exerciſe; and a con- " tinual diſcharge of piſtols and carbines, diſplayed the jubi- " lee of their march. A ſpectacle ſo wild and irregular, yet " ſo grand and intereſting, reſembled more the viſions of ro- " mance, than any aſſemblage that can be ſuppoſed to have " exiſtence in real life." Pages 8-13, 23 and 24. T.

" what

" what ſecurity have they that theſe licentious
" plunderers will abide by their agreements,
" and not continually encroach upon them,
" and raiſe their demands? The reaſon is
" plain: it is leſs expenſive, and a lighter
" tax upon trade, to agree to ſome certain
" payment, than to engage in the unknown
" expence of armies, to free themſelves
" from ſo irregular a foe: and as to greater
" exactions, if the chief have once ſettled
" the *chout*, he will hardly venture to ſtrug-
" gle for more, as the money agreed on
" goes into his own pocket; and were he
" to proceed to the more violent method of
" compulſion, by invading the country, the
" ſpoil would all become the property of
" his troops, under the article of plunder,
" and his own ſhare would come very ſhort
" of the ſum ſtipulated; beſides, they have
" the prudence to conſider, that a country
" ravaged by their troops, will produce nei-
" ther tribute nor plunder again for ſome
" time."

" Such has been, in a great meaſure, the
" ſtate of the Maratta people; but about this
" time (1755) it appears, that they enter-
" tained various deſigns of extending their

" territories

" territories in ſeveral parts of the country,
" and alſo on the ſea-coaſt. They took
" large diſtricts from the viceroy of the
" *Deckan*, marched to *Debly*, and made a
" mogul, and after driving out ANGRIA by
" our ſtrength, beat the Portugueſe by their
" own. They had generals who ſet up for
" themſelves in the remote countries that
" they had conquered, and were giving
" ſome other indications of their return
" from a vagabond life of rapine and diſ-
" order, to a more ſettled ſyſtem of policy *.

" The

* The territories of the Marattas, extend from the neighbourhood of *Goa*, on the coaſt of *Malabar*, to the river *Paddar*, which diſcharges itſelf into the gulph of *Scindy*, and which divides *Guzurat* from the dominions of *Perſia*. On the eaſt they are bounded by the *Carnatic*, by the Engliſh Company's northern circars, and by the dominions of the ſoubah of the *Deckan*: but the province of *Catac* ſtretches in a winding courſe to the bay of *Bengal*. Their revenues were originally very great. Before the uſurpations of HYDER ALI CHAN, in the kingdom of *Myſore*, and around it, they amounted to about ſeventeen millions of pounds ſterling. Afterwards their annual revenue was computed to be ſtill equal to twelve millions; and by the conditions of peace impoſed upon TIPPOO SAIB, by Lord CORNWALLIS, at the concluſion of the campaign of 1792, he ceded to the Marattas a tract of country, yielding a yearly revenue of 13,16,666.6 Canteray pagodas, which are worth three rupees each, making therefore 493,750*l.* ſterling.

The

" The Marattas have been a great check " upon the Mooriſh government, and it is " owing to their arms alone that the ma- " homedans have been prevented from the " uſurpation of the whole peninſula."

" As the Moors are a luxurious people, " in a few years of peace they grow ener- " vated by their debaucheries, and ſoon de- " generate into ſloth and effeminacy. It " may alſo be added, that a general cor- " ruption of manners, and treachery to one " another, would greatly conduce to ren- " der them an eaſy prey to the Marattas, " whenever they ſhould take the reſolution " to expel them the country. And though " there is not a governor, in the higheſt " rank of power and independency, but " who ſtyles himſelf, a thouſand times, in " the ordinary tranſactions of the day, *the* " *ſlave of the Mogul*, there is not one of

The total of the annual revenues of all the diſtricts ceded on that occaſion by TIPPOO amounted to pagodas 39,50,098. 9. 8; thirty-nine and a half lacks of rupees additional revenues to each of the three confederate powers, the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company the Nizam, or Subah, of the *Deckan*, and the Marattas, or one hundred and eighteen and a half lacks of rupees for the whole; being one-half of TIPPOO's annual revenue before the war. *T.*

" them

" them in the whole empire that pays the " leaſt regard to the moſt ſolemn orders of " that monarch, or that will march his " troops to quell any dangerous commotion, " or ſtir for the preſervation of the life or " throne of his maſter."

" The only balance to the power of the " Marattas, is a race of northern people, " inhabiting the mountains of *Candahar*, " commonly known in India by the name " of Patans, though they are more gene- " rally called Agwans, or Afghans, on the " other ſide of the country; and under that " name they conquered *Iſpahan* in the year " 1722."

" They are mahomedans, yet no leſs " enemies to the Mooriſh government than " the Marattas or other Indians. They " are ſaid to have been deſcended from an " ancient colony of Arabians, who entered " the country four hundred years before " TAMERLANE, and built the city of *Ma-* " *ſulipatam*; thence extending their con- " queſts northward, they founded *Patna* in " *Bengal* (or rather *Bahar*), and at laſt " overran the whole country to the weſt,

" and

" and were maſters of *Dehly* when TAMER-
" LANE firſt appeared in India *."

" As they were always reckoned good
" ſoldiers, they are now conſidered as the
" very beſt infantry in the whole empire;
" and it is natural to ſuppoſe they ſhould be
" ſuch, ſince they have been inhabitants of
" the northern mountains."

" This warlike nation made themſelves
" formidable to NADIR SHAH, in his
" march †; and after that conqueror had
" left

* Mr. HANWAY gives a different account of the origin of the Afghans; and for a particular detail of their cuſtoms, hiſtory, diſpoſition, &c. and of their invaſion and conqueſt of *Perſia* in 1722, the reader is referred to his *Revolutions of Perſia*, vol. I.

† On NADIR SHAH's return from India with his army, laden with immenſe treaſures, he was ſtopped at the river *Indus*, for want of a ſufficient number of boats to form a bridge. This delay afforded time to the Afghans and the Indians, who inhabited the weſtern ſide of the river, to take up arms. The vaſt booty which the Perſians had amaſſed, was a temptation not to be reſiſted; and they ſeemed reſolved to try their fortune, if, by uniting their forces, they could not ſeize ſome part of the plunder. They attained their object, though without trying their ſtrength; for the Perſian king thought himſelf in danger, and choſe rather to negociate for a free paſſage, than run a hazard where there was nothing to gain. The conſideration of a vaſt treaſure, rendered the fierce and intrepid NADIR,

" left the mogul empire in the weak and
" indefenſible ſtate to which he had re-
" duced it, the Patans invaded it, on a ſup-
" poſition that it was in too low a condition
" to be able to reſiſt the force which they,
" at that time, thought was ſufficient to
" bring againſt it: they were, however,
" obliged to quit the country by a precipi-
" tate flight. But it was not long before
" the peace of *Debly* was more fatally diſ-
" turbed; for the Patan chief retiring to
" *Lahore*, in a little time aſſembled a much
" more formidable army, and entering
" *Debly*, gave up the town to be plundered
" three days by his ſoldiers. In the mean
" time he took to himſelf all that was to
" be found in the royal treaſury, and re-
" quired of the collectors of the public re-
" venues, that they ſhould be accountable
" to him for all they had received. He

cautious and circumſpect. He offered, and they accepted, ten lacks of rupees for a free paſſage; and, however large this ſum might appear upon another occaſion, it was an object of very little conſideration compared with the bulk of NADIR's treaſure. The jewels, money, and valuables, carried out of India by NADIR and his army, have been computed to amount to no leſs than from ſeventy to eighty millions of pounds ſterling. T.

" then

" then marched home, being ſuppoſed to
" have taken away more riches, except
" jewels, than NADIR SHAH carried out of
" the country. He made no revolution,
" and, it is ſaid, no alteration in the go-
" vernment of *Hindoſtan*, and yet he aſ-
" ſumed a kind of ſovereignty over it; but
" when he returned to *Lahore*, he drew a
" line from ſouth to north, aſſuming to
" himſelf a vaſt extent of country, to the
" weſt of that line, which was before, at
" leaſt nominally, dependent on the empire
" of *Hindoſtan*; there he left his ſon TIMUR,
" as governor of his new dominions, and
" gave no further diſturbance to *Hindoſtan*
" till the year 1757 *."

* CAMBRIDGE's *Account of the War in India*, pages 79-82, 119-122. The expedition of ACHMET ABDALLAH, the Patan chief here alluded to, in 1757, has been mentioned in chap. x. of the ſecond book, vol. II. *T.*

CHAPTER IX.

The Company's Direction at SURAT.—*Pomp in which the Director formerly appeared.—Military and Marines.—Council.—Bookkeepers and other Officers of the Company.—Their Brokers.—Money-changer.—Contractors.—Incomes of the Company's Servants.—Further Particulars respecting their Trade.—Description of their Wharf in the Jenghibander.*

THE administration of the affairs and trade of the Company is at *Surat*, as in *Bengal*, entrusted to a director; these two places are the only ones where the Company have directors.

Formerly our director here lived in great pomp, on account of the ideas entertained by the Moors and Indians, who are accustomed to calculate the wealth of every one, and to hold them in respect, in proportion as they excel in grandeur and ostentation. For this reason the Company have not only allowed

allowed their director to appear with magnificence, but have alſo been at the expence of the various ornaments and ſervices of gold and ſilver plate, which it was neceſſary to keep for the purpoſes of parade, and which would have fallen too heavy upon the director himſelf. A certain number of horſes, and, as I believe, one or two elephants, chariots of ceremony, and palankeens, with trappings of gold and ſilver, were kept at the charge of the Company, to furniſh a ſplendid appearance whenever the director went out in ſtate.

But this is now all ſet aſide; and the ornaments of gold and ſilver, the ſervice of ſilver plate, &c. to the value of thirty thouſand rupees, were all carried on board of my ſhip to *Batavia*, and very little or no appearance of pomp is at preſent kept up at *Surat*.

The military, of whom there uſed to be before one hundred men and upwards, are now reduced to one enſign, and fifteen or ſixteen privates; and the marine eſtabliſhment conſiſts in two commanders of the Company's ſmall veſſels in the river, and a

boatſwain under the comptroller of equipment *.

This decreaſe plainly indicates the decay of the trade of the Company, and perhaps alſo an intention of gradually withdrawing from this place, without giving any offence to the government of the country, in order that they might not oppoſe the removal of our trade, on account of the advantages which they ſtill derive from it.

Yet it is alleged that this is merely done in order to bring this factory upon another footing, and to place it immediately under the direction of the adminiſtration in *Holland*, as at preſent is the caſe with reſpect to *Ceylon* and *Bengal*; to which effect, the orders for ſupplies, which were before executed from *Batavia*, were henceforward to be fulfilled by a veſſel to be ſent hither direct from *Holland* for that purpoſe; and thoſe for the year 1778 were accordingly made up for *Europe*.

* In 1776-1777, the eſtabliſhment of the Dutch at *Surat*, conſiſted of thirty perſons in the civil ſervice of the Company, one clergyman, two ſurgeons, four mariners, and twenty-five ſoldiers; in all ſixty-two Europeans. *T.*

To

To the director is adjoined, as in all other places, a council, conſiſting at preſent, of the director as preſident, the ſenior merchant and ſecond, the merchant fiſcal, and ſix junior merchants, who, but without the director, and having the ſecond as preſident, compoſe the council of juſtice.

Beſides theſe there are ſeveral bookkeepers and aſſiſtants, who perform the writing buſineſs; a comptroller of equipment, who has the rank of firſt lieutenant; a chief ſurgeon to the hoſpital; and a *diſpencier*, or purveyor, who is, at the ſame time, bookkeeper.

There are likewiſe two factors in the Company's lodge at *Baroche*, one of whom is a junior merchant, and the other a bookkeeper.

The Company have alſo ſeveral natives in their ſervice. Of theſe, the chief are the two brokers, one of whom is a Perſee, and the other a Banian, who have already been between thirty and forty years in that employment.

All ſales and purchaſes relative to the trade of the Company are made by them, and they receive for brokerage one and a

half per cent on the former, and three and a quarter per cent on the latter. They frequently purchaſe for their own account all the goods which the Company import. They formerly even carried their influence in the direction to ſuch a pitch, that no other native merchant durſt ever make an offer for any goods; but the director SENF, ſeeing the evil conſequences ariſing from their aſſumed excluſive privileges, invited himſelf other merchants to come and treat for the goods, againſt which the brokers naturally endeavoured to do all they could; but that gentleman found means to pacify them, and make them know their duty.

Nevertheleſs he beſtows much praiſe upon them in ſection 107, of his memorial, where he ſays, that the Company never had more zealous, or more intelligent ſervants, nor ever will procure better merchants as brokers, than thoſe who are at preſent in that employment. I will quote his own words: "This appears from the "large cargoes which I have annually diſ-"poſed of through their management, and "from the great profits which I made upon "them; this appears more evident from "their

" their integrity, in punctually fulfilling " their engagements entered into by the " yearly contracts which I made with them, " and by which I ſtipulated, eſpecially with " reſpect to the purchaſes to be made for " the Company, the moſt favourable terms " that could ever be obtained. To theſe " circumſtances, therefore, I refer, as con- " cluſive proofs of the neceſſity there is " duly to appreciate the merits of our " brokers and contractors, and to keep " them attached to our intereſt. They " likewiſe afford proofs of the reality of the " amelioration of the trade of the Company " which has thereby taken place, during my " adminiſtration."

It were to be wiſhed that they were ſtill held in the ſame eſtimation; but I have ſeveral times heard complaints of the contrary, imparted to me in confidence; and that they meet with much vexation and difficulty, by the machinations of the Engliſh, and eſpecially of their broker, who, it ſeems, had much influence with the perſon who has at preſent taken a great part of the direction upon himſelf.

In former times, it appears, that the brokers

brokers employed by the Company, were both banians: and it ſeems to have become hereditary in the family of one of them, for the preſent banian broker is the fifth of his family, who has filled this office, during the ſpace of upwards of one hundred years.

But Mr. SCHREUDER, in his beforementioned memorial, addreſſed to Mr. PECOCK, is of opinion, that it is better for the intereſts of the Company that their brokers be of different religions, in order to have them more under controul, and that the leſs mutual good underſtanding prevail between them. Yet I never obſerved otherwiſe than that they were as confidentially connected together, as if they were not alone of the ſame religion, but alſo own brothers.

Beſides acting as brokers in the ſales and purchaſes of goods, one part of their office is to attend at the *durbar*, or upon the city-magiſtrates, when there is any thing to do there in behalf of the Company, either to prefer petitions, preſent remonſtrances, or make propoſals, all which is done through them.

The Company's money-changer is alſo one

one of their principal native ſervants. The purchaſe-money of the goods ſold is depoſited in his hands, before they are delivered out of the warehouſes. He puts the rupees into bags, each containing one thouſand, which he ſeals with his *chiap*, and he is obliged to ſtand to the number, for which he receives one-ſixteenth per cent; yet the bag muſt be opened in his preſence, or elſe he is not reſponſible, if leſs than the right ſum be found in it. Theſe bags, ſealed in this manner, paſs through ſeveral hands, and are currently taken for the value marked upon them, without being opened, or the money counted out, as long as the ſeal remains uninjured.

The Company have further their furniſhers, or contractors, being thoſe perſons with whom they contract for the delivery of cotton cloths. They have the cottons manufactured according to patterns given to them, and as ſoon as they are ready, they are carried into the lodge in the city, where they are examined and compared with the patterns, and ſuch as do not agree, or are faulty, are rejected, and returned to the

the contractors; this is called to *bazar* the cottons, and it may not be done in any other place than in the lodge.

The director has, beſides, two natives in his ſervice called *hircarrahs*, who carry ſuch meſſages to the nabob, and the city-magiſtrates, as are of too little importance to trouble the brokers with.

All the European ſervants of the Company, from the director down to the aſſiſtants, enjoy a certain income, ariſing from two per cent upon the amount of the ſales of ſpices, and of the purchaſes of ſilks, cotton cloths, raw ſilk, and cotton yarn, for Europe, and from five per cent upon the ſales and purchaſes of all other goods, allowed them by the Company, of which a repartition was made by Mr. SCHREUDER, and approved of by the government at *Batavia*, in the year 1746.

Thoſe who are employed in the warehouſes, in the purveyor's office, at the wharf, &c. have ſeveral other emoluments, which are particularly detailed in the *Regulations iſſued by the Company, containing the Means of a better ſubſiſtence* for their ſervants,

of

of which I may, perhaps, add copies in an appendix *.

The chief articles of merchandize which the Company diſpoſe of to advantage here, at preſent, are, ſpices, Japan copper in bars, and ſugar; the other articles, ſuch as tortoiſeſhell, benzoin, tin, quickſilver, &c. which appear to have produced ſome profit in former years, are now either not ſent at all, or in ſmall quantities, as the greater ſupplies of them, now brought to *Surat*, by other nations, render the gains upon them both precarious and of little conſequence.

Yet the Company have ſometimes been obliged to put up with a profit of no more than twenty-five per cent upon ſome of the firſt mentioned articles: as for inſtance; when in one year, a certain favourite being ſent as chief to *Surat*, and it being foreſeen that his adminiſtration would not be of long duration, it was alleged that the Company's

* The regulations intended to have been added by Mr. STAVORINUS in an appendix, were not publiſhed with his voyages, but copies of them have been procured from Holland, and tranſlations of them are added at the end of this volume, in an appendix, which, it is preſumed, will be found uſeful to explain much of the domeſtic economy of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company. *T.*

warehouſes

warehouſes at *Batavia* were ſo glutted with ſugar, that it was neceſſary to find ſome means of diſpoſing of the large quantities on hand; it was therefore determined that all ſhould be ſhipped to *Surat*, with orders to put off the whole, were even no more obtainable than an advance of twenty-five per cent on the invoice-value; theſe inſtructions were faithfully attended to; and after an adminiſtration of two-and-twenty months, the favourite returned well pleaſed to *Batavia*, plentifully loaded with rupees.

In the rainy ſeaſon, ſays Mr. SCHREUDER, trade is at a ſtand, as the country-roads are then impracticable; but moſt of the cotton cloths are woven during that ſeaſon. The beſt time for trade is ſhortly afterwards, in the latter end of September, or the beginning of October, as moſt of the ſupplies of the preceding ſeaſon are then exhauſted, and the merchants can then ſend their goods up the country, and ſell them to advantage.

Excepting what relates to the purchaſed cottons, all the Company's effects and concerns are at preſent upon their wharf, which is a piece of ground lying in the ſouth-weſtern ſuburb, called *Jenghi-bander*, by the riverſide.

riverſide. It was ceded to the Company, partly as a purchaſe, and partly as a donation, in the time of the embaſſy of Mr. KETELAAR, in the year 1712; but the abovementioned uſe was not made of it, till under the direction of Mr. SENF, who contrived to convey thither all that was neceſſary for that purpoſe, and who obliged the Company's ſervants to reſide upon it. I compute it to be about ſeven or eight acres in extent; it is covered with buildings and warehouſes, except for about the length of fifty or ſixty roods (two hundred, or two hundred and forty yards), along the river, where a ſtone wall has been erected from the riverſide, to the height of four feet above the level ground, which has two gates, before each of which a pierhead juts out into the river, where the goods are diſcharged and ſhipped, and the veſſels lie always afloat.

The building and repairing of this wall have already coſt the Company a large ſum of money, as well in what was paid to the Mooriſh government, in order to obtain permiſſion to erect it, as in the expences of the conſtruction itſelf. Mr. DE ROTH, who ſeemed

bamboo poles riſe, with little white flags, with red ſpots upon them.

On approaching nearer to the point of *Omrah*, we got ſight of the city of *Surat*, the Dutch and Engliſh wharfs, the Company's garden, and, in particular, the Mooriſh caſtle, all which together make a lively and variegated appearance, from the numerous and different flags that are diſplayed upon them.

The whole lies on the ſouth bank of the river, which is here about one hundred and ſixty, or two hundred yards in breadth. On the oppoſite bank are extenſive plains, the view over which is bounded by woods.

After I had informed Mr. BOSMAN of my arrival, and had ſtayed a ſhort time with him, I left him, and went, by the ſame boat which brought me, to the Dutch wharf. I took up my quarters in a houſe which ſtood juſt without the wharf, and which had been hired for me at the rate of twenty-five rupees per month: this manſion was more like a ſtable than a houſe; yet I was told, what I afterwards found to be the fact, that it was one of the beſt that could be procured here.

I took

I took a walk, early in the morning, on the next day, to *Attua*, in order to ſpeak with Mr. BOSMAN on various matters concerning my ſhip, &c. The road thither is very pleaſant and ſhady. On the right hand there were people employed by the orders of the Engliſh chief, to dig up the foundations of a ſtrong wall, that had ſurrounded a piece of ground ſituated by the ſide of the river, within which a kind of town had been built by a native merchant, named FAKKOORDEER, who had nineteen ſhips of his own at ſea, and of whom it was related, that he never could bring the number to twenty, for the twentieth was no ſooner equipped, than he received advice of the loſs of one of the others. The wealth of this man was ſo immenſe, that he intended to have covered this wall with plates of copper; and he had actually begun to do ſo, when the nabob, having inticed him into the city with profeſſions of friendſhip and regard, and after having in vain attempted to poiſon him, as he always ſecretly carried an antidote with him, incloſed in a ring, put him at laſt to death by violent means, in his garden of *Mahmoudi Bagh*.

In the afternoon I went on an excurſion out of the city, through the *Briauw*-gate, to a garden of the nabob, which, from that gate, is called the *Briauw*-garden. The building, which is erected in this garden, conſiſts of a large *divan*, or ſaloon, open before and behind, and having a kind of pavillion on each ſide, with ſmall receſſes, or retiring rooms. Before the building, an oblong ſquare piece of ground, one hundred and ſixty, or one hundred and eighty yards in length, is ſunk lower than the ground ſurrounding it, the edges of which are ſupported from falling down by a brick wall of two feet in height: this plot of ground is divided into beds, in which all ſorts of flowers are ſown, or planted. The reſt of the garden is planted with various fruit-trees, and among them many vines; the watering of the garden is effected by means of brick channels, which convey the water wherever it is wanted; this water is got out of brick ciſterns, brought up in leathern bags by oxen, and poured out into large ſtone reſervoirs.

All the other gardens of the nabob, which I went to ſee, at different times, are laid out nearly in the ſame manner.

On

On the 15th of November, I rode out with Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN, the fiſcal of this direction, who had the goodneſs to accompany me to the places where there was any thing remarkable, to ſee a faquir, who had impoſed a ſilence of twelve years, as a penance, upon himſelf; ten years had already elapſed ſince he had not ſpoken: we found him in a large hut, which had been made for him upon his coming hither a few months before, for theſe penitentiary devotees ſeldom remain long in the ſame place: he was ſitting by a little fire, although it was very hot weather on that day.

He appeared to me to be about thirty years of age, was well made, and more inclined to corpulency than ſpareneſs: he was covered with a white duſt, which was made of aſhes of burnt cowdung, and is ſaid to be very cooling; his hair and beard were, in particular, filled with this duſt, which made a moſt diſguſting appearance: his food conſiſted of confectionary, or ſweatmeats, and his drink of milk, which the byſtanders ſaid, for there were ſeveral people who viſited and attended him in this hut, was brought to him every day out of heaven: they like-

wiſe informed me that the place of his birth was ſomewhere in or near *Bengal:* he was able, as I was told, to convey his meaning very plainly by ſigns. Oppoſite to where he ſat, was the image of the idol to whom he paid his devotions, placed in a ſemicircular niche: it was carved of one piece of a black ſhining ſtone, and repreſented a man in armour, with four arms: it was about three feet in height.

The Gentoos paid great reſpect to this faquir, on account of the ſingularity of his penance.

When I was at the ſame place, about a fortnight afterwards, he was gone, and no one knew whither; his hut was demoliſhed, and there remained no veſtige of his temporary abode on that ſpot, but the niche in which the image of his idol had been placed.

On the 16th of the ſame month, proclamation was made throughout the city, by order of the nabob, that the day of the enſuing new moon would equally be the firſt day of the new year: this proclamation was made amidſt the beating of drums, and the ſounding of a ſort of trumpets, or clarions.

The day after, I went, early in the morning,

ing, to ſee the Engliſh ſepoys perform their exerciſe; they had been raiſed a ſhort time before to ſerve in the war againſt the Marattas: this was done upon the *Meidan*. They formed a body of about two hundred. Their ſubaltern officers were of their own nation: they all wore a ſhort ſcarlet coat, laced with gold; pantaloons, and half boots, in the Mooriſh faſhion; and a white turban wrapped round the head. Their commanding officers were Engliſhmen.

They fired tolerably well; but the evolutions, and the cloſing of the ranks and files, were but indifferently performed. I likewiſe obſerved that moſt of them turned their heads aſide when they fired.

In the afternoon, I went on an excurſion, out of the *Mocha*-gate, on the road to *Omrah*, to a Gentoo pagoda, which was at the diſtance of about half a mile from the river. It was very ſmall, being ſcarcely ten feet ſquare, covered at top with a cupola. In the middle of the floor was a round hole, in which there lay a rough unhewn ſtone, ſtrewed with flowers. In a niche in the wall, lay a large red brick, with ſome figures delineated upon it; but they were ſo worn

out

out by length of time, that little of them could be diſcerned. In a corner, on the ſide of the entrance, there was a repreſentation of ſome animal lying down, made, as it were, of one brick, but in ſuch a clumſy manner, that it was impoſſible to ſay what particular animal it was intended for. Upon the wall, oppoſite to the entrance, were painted the figures of the ſun and moon.

Not far from the pagoda was the faquir's tomb, which I mentioned before. The grave was covered by a ſtone, about two feet above the ground. About twenty-five paces off, was the abode of two others faquirs, in a little hut, under ſome trees, and encircled by a paling of bamboo: they were keepers of the tomb, to which ſervice they had devoted themſelves; and when theſe die, they are buried as the others, and other faquirs again perform the ſame ſervice of guarding their graves.

On the 18th, I received a viſit from the brokers of the Company, of whom I have before made ſome mention. One of them, the chief of the Perſees, MANTCHERGI by name, was formerly an immenſely rich man, and one of the moſt capital merchants of

Surat,

Subaw, but, by many misfortunes, to which the Engliſh did not contribute a little, he has loſt much of his wealth; the other, called GOVENRAM, is a Banian, who is equally eſteemed a man of large property, and who could ſpeak a good deal of Dutch, ſo as almoſt to carry on a converſation without interruption. According to the cuſtom of the country, I had betel preſented to them when they were about to depart, and roſe-water poured over their hands, with which they likewiſe moiſtened their faces.

The next day, early in the morning, I paid a viſit, in my palankeen, to the Banian hoſpital for ſick and maimed animals, of which I have before given an account.

In the afternoon, I rode with Mr. SLUISKENS to *Poele Parra*, not far from which place a Gentoo ſaint, or faquir, reſided, who was held in the greateſt veneration by them, and was addreſſed by the title of BABBA SAHEB, or *Lord and Father:* the Europeans called him by the ſame name.

This faquir was ſo highly venerated by all who are of the heathen, or Gentoo, religion, that even the Marattas at *Poonah*, when they were at *Poele Parra*, in the year before, and had

had burnt to the ground and deſtroyed the houſe and garden of the Engliſh broker, not only abſtained from doing the leaſt damage to the manſion of the holy man, but their chiefs went in perſon to pay their reſpects to him; and, at his entreaties, ceaſed from ravaging that neighbourhood any more.

He reſided in a pretty large houſe, of a ſquare form, built of ſtone, with balconies all around it. Within it there was an open ſquare ſpace, in the middle of which ſtood a little pagoda, in which there was nothing to be ſeen but ſome frightful idols: in one of the upper balconies was the image, being the repreſentation of a woman, with four arms, to whom the faquir and his attendants paid their religious adorations, and who had ſtrewed it plentifully with flowers.

We found this reputed ſaint in another gallery, whence there was a beautiful proſpect of the river and its eaſtern ſhore. He was ſitting on a large round mattreſs. His whole body, face, and head, were covered with the ſame ſort of aſhes of which I have before made mention, and of which he gave ſome to me, to ſatisfy my curioſity.

He received us in a very friendly manner; but

but he did not riſe from his ſeat. He had ſeveral young brahmins round him, as well to attend upon him, as to liſten to the leſſons which he gave them concerning their religion. The converſation was carried on by means of our ſervants, who were, however, but very wretched interpreters. I wanted much, by their means, to have entered into ſome diſcourſe with him, in order to obtain a better inſight into his religion; but Mr. SLUISKENS deſired me not to do ſo, as there were too many byſtanders of his people, in whoſe preſence he would not like to expreſs his ſentiments with freedom and preciſion; but he ſaid, that he had more than once been in private with him, and had then converſed with him, without diſguiſe, reſpecting his religion, undisfigured by the ſuperſtitious notions of the common people.

I went afterwards three ſeveral times to ſee him, in the hope that I might meet with him alone, and be equally fortunate with Mr. SLUISKENS in hearing his real ideas on that ſubject; but it was in vain, for he had always ſome of his people with him, whom he did not appear deſirous of ſending away.

One time that I was with him, in com-

pany

pany with Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN, I cauſed the queſtion to be put to him, how old he was? to which he at firſt anſwered: "One "day and one night;" but afterwards he ſaid, "that after his birth, he had firſt been "an infant; that when he grew older, he "got a beard, and encreaſed in ſtrength, as "he encreaſed in age; and that he was now "ſo far advanced in years, that his teeth "began to be looſe; but that, as near as "he could remember, his period of life had "hitherto been full ſeventy years."

He will, doubtleſs, have expreſſed his meaning, in anſwer to the ſimple queſtion propoſed to him, in a better manner than is here put down; but the broken language of our interpreters, rendered the tranſlation of his words neither very clear, nor very intereſting.

This may ſerve in confirmation of what I have before remarked, on ſpeaking of the religions of the eaſt, namely, that we ſhall not, in Europe, in all probability, ever obtain a true notion of the religion of the Gentoos, which is enveloped in ſo many ſuperſtitious myſteries, on account of the ignorance in their language, of thoſe who

may

may otherwiſe be able and inclined to make the enquiries neceſſary for that purpoſe.

Our interpreter told us further, "that he "compared Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN and "me to good and ſpirited horſes, who were "every day duly provided with proper food, "and were taken care of by careful grooms, "who did their beſt to keep up and improve "the ſtrength and beauty of their horſes; "and himſelf to a little good-for-nothing "poney, lame, and of little uſe, but which "was equally valuable in the eyes of the "owner, with either of the others."

While we were with him, a Gentoo woman came to let him know that ſhe had performed the penance which he had impoſed upon her; whereupon he ſeemed to give her his bleſſing, and a little cut areca-nut, with which ſhe departed highly ſatisfied.

He wanted very much, that we ſhould ſtay with him that night, ſaying, that he would provide us with victuals, drink, and beds; but as we were both obliged to return to the city, we politely declined his hoſpitable offer.

On the 20th of November, I rode, with Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN, to what is called

the

the *Mango-grove*, being on the road to *Omrah*, near which there was a pagoda, where the brahmins were to perform ſome of the ceremonies of their religion on that day.

We found ſixteen or eighteen of theſe Indian prieſts, who are diſtinguiſhable by little cords, to which a bead is attached in the middle, and which hang down their body over their left ſhoulder. One, who ſeemed to be the principal among them, ſat before a ſmall octagon hole, which appeared, by the eye, to be about a foot and a half in depth, and wherein there lay one of their holy ſtones, which they ornamented with flowers, heaped up upon it, like a pyramid, during a continued ſinging, and clapping of hands, in a regular cadence: the chief ſang firſt, and the others anſwered him in chorus: when the pyramid of flowers was completed, a large noſegay was placed at the top: at ſoon as this was done, they redoubled their ſinging and clapping, and appeared to congratulate each other on the completion of their work. Then one of the brahmins ſtood up, and ſtepped to the place where the principal brahmin ſat, who wetted his forehead with a reddiſh liquid, and afterwards placed

placed in his hands the ſhell containing that liquid, when he went round to the others, and wetted their foreheads in the ſame manner.

On the 21ſt, in the afternoon, I went to ſee the garden which had been laid out by BEGUM SAHEB, ſiſter to the celebrated AURENGZEBE. I walked over it with THEVENOT's travels in my hand, and found every thing perfectly agreeing with his account, making allowance for the circumſtance that that traveller ſaw it in its greateſt ſplendour, and I, more than a century afterwards, in a deplorable ſtate of decay.

On the 23d, in the afternoon, I went to ſee the *Bora*-garden, which alſo lies in the outer town, between the *Naſſary* and *Debly* gates; but I did not obſerve any thing particularly remarkable about it.

On the 24th, in the evening, five guns were fired from the Mooriſh caſtle, which is cuſtomary, whenever their new moon, with which their months begin, makes her firſt appearance; but that which now took place, was of the more conſideration, as the commencement of their new year was likewiſe to be taken from it, and the next day

was to be the firſt of the year 1190 of the *Hegira*, or of the flight of MAHOMED from *Mecca* to *Medina*.

I went, on the enſuing morning, with Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN to the Meidan, where we took our ſtand upon a piece of higher ground, that we might have a view of the proceſſion in which the nabob was to ride in ſtate, to one of the *maſſieds* or moſques, in order to put up his prayers, in public, on the occaſion of the new year, according to annual cuſtom.

The proceſſion began to move from the court, or *durbar*, about half paſt ſeven o'clock. Firſt rode the *catoual*, or ſheriff, who is the officer appointed to watch over the tranquillity of the city, accompanied by his officers and people, and followed by one ſounding a large clarion. Next came a large elephant, marching with great gravity, with a large ſquare turret upon his back, ſurrounded with lattice-work, in which there were ſome people, one of whom carried the ſtandard of MAHOMED in his hand: this was of a triangular ſhape, and made of green ſilk, embroidered with flowers of gold. Behind came ten or twelve ſimilar, but ſmaller, ſtandards, which

which were carried by men on foot. Then followed another large, and a ſmaller elephant, carrying, in a kind of large ſquare troughs, upon their backs, the offerings which the nabob was to diſtribute to the poor. Next came two camels, with a kettledrum. Then ſeveral Moors, both on foot and on horſeback, with drums, flutes, French horns, and other ſonorous inſtruments of muſic. Immediately after them followed the nabob, ſitting upon an elephant of an enormous ſize, under a pavillion of ſcarlet cloth, with two circular canopies, which were ſupported by ſmall pilaſters; behind him ſtood a ſervant, who drove away the flies from him, with a fan, or bruſh, of cow-hair *: the elephant

* The cowhair of which theſe bruſhes are made, is one of the ſtaple commodities of *Thibet*, and is produced by a ſpecies of cattle different from what is found in any other country. This ſpecies is of a larger ſize than the common Thibet breed, has ſhort horns, and no hump on the back. The ſkin is covered with whitiſh hair of a ſilky appearance; but the chief ſingularity of the breed is in the tail, which ſpreads out, broad and long, with flowing hairs, like that of a beautiful mare, but much finer, and far more gloſſy. Theſe tails ſell very high, and are uſed, mounted on ſilver handles, for *chowras*, or bruſhes, to chace away the flies; and no man of conſequence in India, goes out, or ſits in form at home, without one or two *chowrawbadars*, or bruſhers, attending him, with ſuch inſtruments in their hands. *T.*

was richly capariſoned, having a covering of ſcarlet cloth, hanging half way down to the ground, richly laced and embroidered with gold, and with a long gold fringe hanging down from the edges; its ears were painted with a variety of figures, and the whole made a moſt ſplendid appearance. A green ſilk flag was carried before the nabob, having, as it appeared to me, a golden dagger in the center of it. The proceſſion was cloſed by a company of Patan ſoldiers, or ſepoys.

When, at about half paſt nine o'clock, the train returned again paſt the caſtle, a ſalute of fifteen guns was fired from it, which was anſwered by the ſame number of diſcharges from five pieces of artillery, placed expreſsly for that purpoſe upon the Meidan.

In the afternoon, I went up the river in a boat, with the comptroller of equipment, BOELE, and Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN, to the town of *Old Surat*, which lies about half a Dutch mile higher up, on the oppoſite ſide of the river.

This is ſtill a town of a pretty large ſize, built along the ſide of the river; part of the walls and ditches, which formerly ſurrounded it on the landſide, are ſtill in exiſtence; but it has much run to decay within the walls.

Paſſing

Paſſing by a *maſſied*, or moſque, we had the curioſity to ſtep into it, in order to take a view of the inſide, which we were allowed to do, upon pulling off our ſhoes on entering it. I did not ſee any thing in this moſque more particularly worthy of remark, than in that I had before ſeen at *Surat:* to the weſt, there was a little cloſet made in the wall, in which they ſaid that the Koran lay; it ſerved likewiſe, at the ſame time, for the KEBLA, or place towards which thoſe that pray in the moſque muſt turn their faces, becauſe *Mecca* lay in that direction from that place: by the ſide of it was a ſemicircular place in the wall, about ſix feet high, in which the officiating *imam* places himſelf when he addreſſes a diſcourſe to the people. At the end of the *maſſied* we found, ſtanding in a corner, a large, oblong, ſquare ſtone, upon which was inſcribed, in Arabic characters, the cuſtomary ejaculation of mahomedaniſm: "There is but one God, and MAHOMED is "his prophet." It had been engraven on the ſtone, in the year 150 of the *Hegira*; and the ſtone itſelf had been brought ſeveral centuries ago from *Jedda* to where it now is, at leaſt, according to the relation of two of

their religious officiants, who pointed it out to us.

I made a tour, on the 26th, in the afternoon, to *Briauw*, a village on the other ſide of the river, through which you paſs on going to *Baroche*, *Amedabad*, and other places inland. On paſſing the *Tapi* here, it is very ſhallow, having ſcarcely three feet water, ſo that moſt of the natives paſs it on foot; but carriages are ferried over in a boat. The village itſelf has nothing remarkable in it.

On the 1ſt of December, I rode the ſame way, but higher up: on the riverſide, a a little below *Poele Parra*, there is a large and broad flight of ſtone ſteps, for the purpoſe of going down to bathe in the river.

Here I ſaw the preparation of a ſort of hemp, which bears much reſemblance to flax. The plant that produces it is called *ſanne* by the natives; it ſhoots forth a thin ſtalk, to the height of a man, and about the thickneſs of a little finger; it has no leaves, except a few, of a graſs-green colour, at the top, from between which grows a little yellow flower. After being cut, it is tied in bundles, and laid in the river, with clay or earth upon it, to keep it under water, where it is ſuffered to rot,

rot, and where it continues till the ſtalks ſeparate into filaments. It is then hung up, dried, and afterwards beaten and heckelled. The threads, though ſomewhat coarſe, are long and ſtrong; and, although the people here think it cannot be made any other uſe of, than to be ſpun into ſail-yarn, I am confident that good and ſubſtantial cordage might be made from it, and that they could, in conſequence, do without European cordage, which is very dear here, and renders the outfit of veſſels very expenſive; for the *coir* cannot be employed in all purpoſes of naval equipment. When the ſame plant is not laid in water, but only dried, very good matches are made of it.

On other days I went to ſee various other curioſities in and near *Surat*; the royal mint, the caravanſeras, the burying-places of the banian or gentoo ſaints, &c.

About the time when the Company's cotton cloths were to be ſhipped, the Engliſh began to renew their former demands, namely, that the bales ſhould be chiapped by an officer appointed by them, as well as by the one appointed for that purpoſe by the nabob,

being the ſame innovation which they had attempted to introduce the preceding year, threatening that they would not otherwiſe ſuffer one bale to go from the ſhore; but our people ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this unjuſt demand, and declared that, if it were perſiſted in, the Company's ſhips ſhould go away empty, for they would never agree to ſubmit to it; proteſting, at the ſame time, that all the damage and loſs accruing therefrom, ſhould remain for the reſponſability of the Engliſh. Upon this, they deſiſted from their demand, and the bales were, according to ancient cuſtom, chiapped by the officers of the nabob alone.

The 18th of December was a great holiday, or feſtival, for the banians, and gentoos, being the laſt Monday of the moon, which had fallen in on the 24th of November.

Their brahmins determine at the time of each new moon, how many, and what holidays, or feſtivals, ſhall be obſerved during that lunation, and which days they ſhall count lucky, and which unlucky.

Their religious ceremonies, on this occaſion, conſiſted chiefly in viſiting a pagoda, ſituated near

near the village of *Oedanam*; and, in order to ſee them, I went thither, in the afternoon, in my palankeen.

The road ſwarmed with banians and gentoos, who were going to, or returning from, the pagoda; they were almoſt all men; the women, as I was told, had gone thither early in the morning. When I came near the place, the croud was ſo great, that I had no little trouble to get through it, although I had taken eight ſepoys with me, on purpoſe to clear the way.

The environs of the village were filled with faquirs and beggars, ſoliciting for alms; there were alſo a number of little tents, or booths, pitched in the neighbourhood, where flowers, fruits, &c. were ſold.

The pagoda, towards which the greateſt croud preſſed, ſtood a little on one ſide, upon an eminence. It was but ſmall; in the center of the floor, was a little octagonal pit, half full of water, in the middle of which lay a rough, unhewn ſtone, which was the object of their adoration. The preſſure of the people who caſt flowers upon the ſtone was ſo great, that I could ſcarcely ſee what was going

going forward, though the brahmins took great pains to make ſufficient room for me.

Two images, which appeared to me to be made of clay, and one of which was the repreſentation of a human body, with the head of a ſwine, ſtood againſt the wall. Every one who came here, made their *ſalammas*, in token of reſpect, both to theſe images, and to the ſtone which lay in the hole, giving money, according to their reſpective abilities, to the brahmins, who, in return, wetted their hands, or faces, with the water in which the ſtone lay; whilſt there were but a few who had the good fortune to be thus wetted by a brahmin, after he had ſtroked his moiſtened hand over the abovementioned images of clay. They then muttered their prayers, and making ſome more *ſalammas* to the objects of their devotion, they departed highly pleaſed, and made place for others.

I ſtaid about half an hour to ſee this ſcene going on; but I was then obliged to return again into the open air, becauſe of the ſtifling cloſeneſs of the place, occaſioned by the reſpiration of the croud within the little temple, and the ſmoke of the lamps, which it was neceſſary

neceſſary to burn in it; for no other light could come to it from without, than through the entrance, which was now nearly choaked up, by the great multitude of people going in and out.

The remainder of the time during which I ſtaid at *Surat*, was devoted to the ſettling of my own concerns, to the receiving a return-cargo for *Batavia*, on board of my ſhip, and to parting entertainments, which ſeveral of the members of this direction were pleaſed to give on my account, ſo that I had no further opportunity of going to ſee any thing more of importance.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XI.

Departure from SURAT.—*The Zodiacal Light.*—*View of Cape* COMORIN.—*Paſſage of the Line.*—*An Eclipſe of the Moon.*—*View of the Iſland* ENGANO.—*Account of it, and of its Inhabitants.*—*View of the Iſland* SUMATRA—KRAKETAU, *&c.*—*Intelligence of the Death of the Governor General,* VAN DER PARRA.—*Anchorage at* BATAVIA.—*Remarks on the Signs of Land obſerved at a great Diſtance from the Shore.*—*The* OUWERKERK *again appointed to go to* SURAT.—*Repaired at the Iſland* ONRUST.—*Loaded and ready for ſailing.*

ON the 30th of September, having ſettled all my concerns at *Surat*, I went down to the road, and found every thing on board of my ſhip, *Ouwerkerk*, in readineſs for ſailing, ſave ſome bales of cotton cloth, which were to make part of the cargo, and had not yet come down, but which came on board early the next morning.

In the afternoon, the fiſcal, VAN DER SLEYDEN, with the deputies from the council of juſtice, came on board, to muſter my crew,

crew, which was found to amount to one hundred and ſeventy-two ſouls, Europeans, Moors, Bougineſe, and paſſengers. In the night, the director of *Surat*, Mr. BOSMAN, on board of the Company's ſchooner, *the Young Peter*, dropped anchor cloſe to us. I received from him the Company's papers, and my final diſpatches, and directly, when the tide of flood had ſubſided, I weighed anchor, and got under ſail; but finding that the ſhip *Overhoud* did not follow me, I caſt anchor again at half paſt three o'clock, P.M. abreaſt of the point of *Naſſary*, and juſt in ſight of the road.

On the following morning, at four o'clock, we again got under ſail, with the tide of ebb, and we ſucceeded in getting abreaſt of Cape *St. John* the ſame evening, and thus out of the banks; whence we ſteered our courſe, according to the Company's ſailing-orders, S.W. in order to keep clear of the land, and of the Maratta fleet, which is generally on or near the coaſt. We ſaw, on that evening, at ſunſet, a fleet of veſſels, at leaſt fifty in number, amongſt which there were three large grabs, lying at anchor, ſouth of us; and being uncertain whether this was the Ma-

ratta

ratta fleet or not, we got all ready for an engagement; we paſſed, at ſeven o'clock, P.M. half a league to the weſtward of them, without their ſhewing any ſigns of an intention of attacking us, whence we concluded that it was an Engliſh convoy, coming from *Bombay*.

On the 6th of January, 1776, being, by eſtimation, thirty leagues from the land, we changed our courſe to S.S.E. and, on the 8th, to S.E.; but being on the next day, at ſunriſe, within ſight of the land, that lies a little to the ſouthward of the Portugueſe capital, *Goa*, we again ſteered in a ſoutherly direction, ſo that, at ſunſet, we could diſtinguiſh very little of the land.

On the 9th of January, and for ſeveral following days, we ſaw every evening, from ſeven to eight o'clock, the zodiacal light in the weſt, in the ſame manner as we had before ſeen it, in the month of October, in the eaſt; but it was then more bright, and nearer approaching to twilight, alſo more viſible, and terminating in a point: the time when I ſaw this appearance at the ſtrongeſt, was on the 21ſt of January, at half paſt ſeven o'clock in the evening, in north latitude

latitude 8° 30′, abreaſt of *Coylang*, on the coaſt of *Malabar*, three leagues off: it then appeared as light and clear as the breaking of the day, about a quarter of an hour before ſunriſe; its baſe ſtood upon a dark cloud, ſuch as the ſeamen call a fog-bank, which roſe about three degrees above the horizon; the breadth of the light was, at the bottom, nearly 10°, and it was viſible to the height of 40°, where it terminated in a pyramidal form. It was ſtill viſible at nine o'clock, but not half ſo bright as before; it darkened the luſtre of moſt of the ſtars that were within its range; but I never ſaw the zodiacal light, without a cloud, or fog-bank, upon which its baſis reſted.

We continued to ſail along, keeping juſt out of ſight of the land, without meeting with any thing remarkable, till the 20th of January, when we again got ſight of the land; it was near *Cali Coylang*; whereupon the ſhip *Overhoud* parted from us the next day, and purſued her voyage for *Punto Galla*, in *Ceylon*. In the evening, we ſaw the flag of *Coylang*, and, on the next day, at ſunſet, the Engliſh fort of *Anſjengo*, and the high land of Cape *Comorin*, the ſouthernmoſt point of

of India within the *Ganges*, whence we ſteered for the offing, in order to purſue our voyage for *Batavia*; yet we were not able to double the Cape till the 25th, by reaſon of the calms, and a contrary current, which we met with; on that day, however, we got into the current of the ſtrong northeaſt winds which ſweep down along the high mountains of the *Ghauts*, and which make the bad monſoon on the coaſt of *Coromandel*.

On the 26th of January, we thought that we had a glimpſe of the iſland *Ceylon*, bearing N.E. by N.

We had now a ſettled N.E. and E.N.E. wind, which carried us, on the 2d of February, at noon, under the line, in the longitude, by eſtimation, of 99° eaſt of *Teneriffe*. On the ſame day the wind veered through the north to weſt, but with light airs.

On the evening of the 4th enſuing, we ſaw a total eclipſe of the moon: we could not obſerve the commencement of it, as the moon roſe during the eclipſe: the entire obſcuration was at fifty-three minutes paſt ſix o'clock; the time when the planet began to recover its light, thirty-nine minutes paſt eight; and the termination of the eclipſe, at forty-

forty-four minutes paſt nine, ſo that the duration of the total obſcuration was one hour and five minutes.

We had continual calms, or variable winds, which, from the middle of February to the 12th of March, blew moſtly from the ſoutheaſt: and as, from what is generally the caſe, we had to expect weſterly winds in this part of the navigation, our voyage was greatly retarded, ſo that we did not come in ſight of the iſland *Engano* * till the 18th of March.

* The iſland of *Engano*, although frequently ſeen and mentioned by navigators, as moſt veſſels that paſs the ſtraits of *Sunda*, during the weſterly monſoon, run in ſight of it, ſeems not to have been viſited by any Europeans, but once, of which an account is given in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* of 1778; the rocks and breakers, with which it is ſurrounded, having always diſcouraged the attempt. The notice taken of it by Mr. Stavorinus, vol. I. page 48, except the ſhort mention of its inhabitants, is merely what a paſſing ſeaman might collect from its appearance. In the firſt voyage of the Dutch to the Eaſt-Indies, performed in 1596, coming in ſight of "the "iſland of *Pugniatan*, which the Portugueſe have named *En-* "*gano*, they ſaw ſix or ſeven canoes under the land: a boat "was manned for the purpoſe of ſpeaking to them; but on "ſeeing the Europeans advance, the Indians went back, and "drew their canoes upon the beach: theſe canoes were pretty "long, but ſcarcely one foot in breadth, and had two out-"riggers: the people that were in them made ſigns for the "Dutch to come on ſhore, which they did not do, not being "ſufficiently

March. Four days before we had ſeen a ſail under Dutch colours.

We

" ſufficiently armed: theſe iſlanders were about twenty-three " in number, and well armed with bows and arrows; they " were tall and well made, and of a yellowiſh hue, like the " Braſilians; they wore very long hair, perfectly ſtraight, " hanging down over their ſhoulders; they were entirely " naked, and had not the leaſt covering on any part of the " body." From that time, till the abovementioned voyage made to it from *Bencoolen*, for the purpoſe of exploring it, we do not know that any perſon either touched at, or has deſcribed it. The relation of this attempt not being acceſſible to all, we add an abſtract of it.—" With great difficulty and danger " we beat up the whole weſt ſide of it, without finding any " place where we could attempt to land; and we loſt two " anchors, and had very nearly ſuffered ſhipwreck, before we " found a ſecure place into which we could run the veſſel. At " laſt, however, we diſcovered a ſpacious harbour at the ſouth- " eaſt end of the iſland, and I immediately went into it in the " boat, and ordered the veſſel to follow me as ſoon as poſſible, " for it was then a dead calm. We rowed directly into this " bay; and as ſoon as we had got round the points of an " iſland which lay off the harbour, we diſcovered all the beach " covered with naked ſavages, armed with lances and clubs; " and twelve canoes full of them, who, till we had paſſed " them, had lain concealed, ruſhed out upon me, making a " horrid noiſe. As I had only one European, and four black " ſoldiers, beſides the four laſcars that rowed the boat, I " thought it beſt to return, if poſſible, under the guns of the " veſſel, before I ventured to ſpeak with them. The canoes, " after having purſued us for a mile, ſtopped a little to con- " ſult together, which gave us an opportunity to eſcape, as " they did not care to follow us out to ſea. The ſame after-

" noon,

We found here that we were fifty-eight and a half leagues more to the weſtward, than

" noon, the veſſel came to an anchor in the bay, and we were " preſently viſited by fifty or ſixty canoes, full of people. " They paddled round the veſſel, and called to us in a language " which nobody on board underſtood, though I had people " with me who underſtood the languages ſpoken on all the other " iſlands. They looked at every thing about the veſſel very " attentively, but more for the ſake of pilfering, than from " curioſity; for they watched an opportunity, and unſhipped " the rudder of the boat, and paddled away with it. I fired " a muſket over their heads, the noiſe of which frightened " them ſo, that all of them leaped into the ſea, but ſoon re- " covered themſelves, and paddled off. I went on ſhore the " the day after; I ſaw a few houſes near the beach, and went " towards them; but the natives flocked do vn, to the number " of ſixty or ſeventy men, well armed with lances, &c. and put " themſelves in our way; yet, when we approached them, " they retreated ſlowly, making a few threatening geſtures. " I then ordered my companions to halt, and went alone " towards them; they permitted me to come amongſt them, " and I gave them ſome knives, pieces of cloth, and look- " ing-glaſſes, with which they ſeemed well pleaſed, and al- " lowed me to take their lances, &c. and give them to my " ſervant, whom I had called to take them. Finding them " behave civilly, I made ſigns that I wanted to go to their " houſes and eat with them; they immediately ſent people, " who brought me cocoa-nuts, but did not ſeem to approve " of my going to their houſes: however, I determined to " venture, and ſeeing a path leading towards them, I went " forward, attended by about twenty of the natives, who, " as ſoon as we had got behind ſome trees, which prevented " my people from ſeeing us, began to lay violent hands on

than by our reckoning, ſince our obſervation of, and departure from, Cape *Comorin*, on the

" my clothes, and endeavour to pull them off; but having " a ſmall hanger, I drew it, and making a ſtroke at one of " them, retreated as faſt as poſſible to the beach. Soon after " we heard the ſound of a conchſhell, and a party of about " two hundred, aſſembled at about a mile diſtance. It was " now near ſunſet, and we were near a mile from our boat, " I therefore returned on board, but firſt went to the houſes " which the natives had abandoned, and found them ſtrip- " ped of every thing. I intended to have attempted an- " other day, to have penetrated into the country, and had " prepared my people for it: but the inconſiderate re- " ſentment of an officer, rendered my ſcheme abortive. He " had been in the boat to ſome of the natives, who had " waded out on a reef of rocks, and called to us; they had " brought ſome cocoanuts, for which he gave them pieces of " cloth: one of them, ſeeing his hanger lying beſide him in " the boat, ſnatched it and ran away; upon which he fired " upon them, and purſued them to ſome of their houſes, " which, finding empty, he burnt. This ſet the whole " country in alarm; conchſhells were ſounded all over the " bay, and in the morning we ſaw great multitudes of peo- " ple aſſembled in different places, making threatening ges- " tures: ſo that, finding it would be unſafe to venture among " them again, as, for want of underſtanding their language, " we could not come to any explanation with them, I or- " dered the anchor to be weighed, and ſailed out of the bay, " bringing away two of the natives with me. They are a " tall wellmade people; the men, in general, about five feet " eight or ten inches high; the women ſhorter, and more " clumſy. They are of a red colour, and have ſtraight black " hair,

the 24th of January; this was probably occaſioned by the currents, which we had frequently obſerved ſetting to the weſtward.

On the 21ſt, in the forenoon, we came in ſight of the land of *Sumatra*, and the hill of

" hair, which the men cut ſhort, but the women let grow " long, and roll up in a circle on the top of their heads. " The men go entirely naked, and the women wear nothing " more than a very narrow ſlip of plaintain-leaf. The men " always go armed with ſix or eight lances, made of the wood " of the cabbage-tree, which is extremely hard; they are about " ſix feet long, and topped with the large bones of fiſh, ſharp- " ened and barbed, or with a piece of bamboo, hardened in " the fire, very ſharp pointed, and its concave part armed " with the jawbones and teeth of fiſh. They have no iron, " or other metal, that I could ſee, yet they build very neat " canoes; they are formed of two thin boards ſewed to- " gether, and the ſeam filled with a reſinous ſubſtance. They " are about ten feet long, and about a foot broad, and have " an outrigger on each ſide. They ſplit trees into boards " with ſtone wedges. Their houſes are circular, ſupported " on ten or twelve ironwood ſticks, about ſix feet long; they " are neatly floored with plank, and the roof riſes imme- " diately from the floor in a conical form, ſo as to reſem- " ble a ſtraw beehive; their diameter is not above eight " feet. Theſe people have no rice, fowls, or cattle of any " kind; they ſeem to live upon cocoanuts, ſweet potatoes, " and ſugarcanes. They catch fiſh, and dry them in the " ſmoke; theſe fiſh they either ſtrike with their lances, or " catch in a drawing net, of which they make very neat " ones. They do not chew betel, a cuſtom which prevails " univerſally among the eaſtern nations." *T.*

Paſſanger, bearing N.E. by E.; but at ſunſet we could not ſee any appearance of land; but as we had not been able to take an obſervation of the latitude at noon, on account of the hazineſs of the weather, I judged it more prudent to ply to and fro with little ſail during the night, than, by ſtanding on at an uncertainty, to bring ourſelves into danger: we had very rough weather that night, with violent flaws of wind, and a thick cloudy ſky, with rain, thunder, and lightning.

At daybreak, on the following morning, when the rough weather began to blow over a little, and the ſky cleared up to the northward, we ſaw the *Keizers*, or *Emperors*-iſland, bearing N.E. by N. and the ſummit of the high hill of *Kraketau*, juſt riſing above the horizon, in the E.N.E.; but the ſky being very thick and hazy to the eaſt and ſouth, we could not ſee any thing elſe, and the wind veering continually about, we were obliged to tack every minute: this continued till nine o'clock, A.M. when the wind ſettling in the W.N.W. we ſteered large N.N.E. In a ſhort time the wind encreaſed to a violent ſtorm, with dreadful guſts of wind,

wind, by which we were three times obliged to take in our topſails; but getting a glimpſe of *Prince*'s-iſland at half paſt ten o'clock, bearing eaſt and E. by S. from us, and a violent current, ſetting to the ſoutheaſt, carrying us forcibly towards the land, we were forced to ſet our topſails again, in order to haul off from the leeſhore, in which we ſucceeded, the high hill of that iſland bearing S.E. at half paſt three o'clock, P.M. and we then ſteered for *Kraketau*, and dropped anchor, at ſeven o'clock, P.M. on the eaſt ſide of it, in forty-five fathoms water, ſoft mud bottom.

The next day, the wind being favourable, we got under ſail again, at eight o'clock, A.M. We paſſed a Dutch ſhip that lay at anchor in the bay of *Jeritte*, and let drop our anchors, at ſeven o'clock, P.M. under the high land of *Bantam*, in twenty-four fathoms, mud bottom.

We continued at anchor the 24th, being occupied in clearing and cleaning the ſhip; and here we received intelligence, that the governor general, PETER ALBERT VAN DER PARRA, had died, on the 28th of December of the preceding year, at his countryſeat

Weltevreeden (well contented), and that the director general, JEREMIAH VAN RIEMSDYCK, had ſucceeded to his dignity.

We ſet ſail again, on the 25th of March, in the morning, before daybreak, and paſſed, at nine o'clock, A.M. the ſhip *Maria Jacoba*, Captain DEKKER, coming from *Padang*, which was the ſame veſſel we had ſeen at anchor in the bay of *Jeritte*, two days before. At four o'clock, P.M. meeting with a contrary wind and current, we anchored under *Menſcheneeters*, or *Cannibal*-iſland.

On the 26th, in the morning, we again got under ſail, and ſhould have reached the road of *Batavia* before the evening, had we not been prevented by a violent flaw of wind and rain, from the S.S.W.; we came to an anchor juſt in time under the iſland *Horn*, but the wind was ſo ſtrong, that our anchor dragged, and we were obliged to let go another.

Sailing again on the 27th, we anchored, a little after twelve o'clock at noon, in the road before *Batavia*.

Going on ſhore, at three o'clock, the boat was in great danger of overſetting, by a ſudden and violent guſt of wind and rain from the weſt; but we got ſafe into the river, and

and reached the city at half paſt four o'clock, when I immediately gave information of my arrival to his excellency, Governor VAN RIEMSDYCK, delivering the Company's papers into his hands.

On the 13th of April, I went with my ſhip to the iſland *Onruſt*, where ſhe was to receive a new bowſprit and mainmaſt, and I returned the ſame evening to *Batavia*.

It is a remarkable circumſtance, that on my voyage back from *Surat*, we met with ſigns of land, when we were yet at a very great diſtance from the ſhore.

Floating red blubber, which is generally conſidered in theſe ſeas as a certain ſign of land, was ſeen when we were full one hundred and forty leagues from the iſland *Engano*; a large turtle, at the diſtance of one hundred and twenty-five leagues; a little landbird, at one hundred leagues; greens, wood, and bamboos, at ſixty leagues; a turtle and two water-ſnakes, at fifty-five leagues; and the trunk of a cocoanut-tree, and ſome bamboos, at thirty leagues diſtance.

We loſt thirty-one men on the voyage from *Surat*; of whom twenty were Moors, one of whom was drowned; nine were native ſoldiers; and two were European ſailors.

On

On the 29th of May, the ſhip *Ouwerkerk* was again appointed to go a voyage to *Surat*, together with the ſhip *Venus*; but it was about the middle of Auguſt before we began to take in our cargo, as there was a great ſcarcity of ſugar, which was to conſtitute the greateſt part of the lading, and the *Venus* was to go firſt, becauſe ſhe was to convey the bales of piecegoods from *Surat* to *Ceylon*; and ſhe accordingly ſailed on the 11th of Auguſt.

My ſhip had, in the mean time, undergone a thorough repair, and had got a new main and foremaſt, bowſprit, and moſt of her yards, which had become unſerviceable; among her repairs were likewiſe a new beam, and knee, in the hold, which had moſt likely been ſprung by the ſtraining of the ſhip, when under a preſs of ſail.

I ſailed with her, in the month of Auguſt, from *Onruſt* to *Batavia*, in order to take on board the reſt of the lading, which was not, however, actually completed till the 28th of September, when the crew were muſtered, and found to conſiſt of eighty European ſeamen, twenty-eight Moors of *Surat*, and twenty-five Malay, or country, ſoldiers.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XII.

Departure from BATAVIA—*From* PRINCE'*s-Iſland*.—*Signs of Land.*—*Paſſage of the Line.*—*Occurrences of the Voyage.*—*View of* CEYLON—*Of Cape* COMORIN.—*Anchorage at* ANSJENGO—*In the Road of* COCHIM.—*The Dutch Company at War with* HYDER ALI *on the Coaſt of* MALABAR.

HAVING received the Company's papers, I went on board on the evening of the 29th of September, and we weighed anchor the next morning, and ſailed from the road of *Batavia* to the iſland *Onruſt*, where we caſt anchor at noon, having to take in there ſome timber for maſts for *Surat*; but not being able to get it on board, by the violence of the ſea-breeze, and our time being too precious to admit of our ſtopping another day for that purpoſe, we reſolved to purſue our voyage without delay.

We, therefore, got under weigh on the enſuing morning, and ſteering firſt between the iſland *Middleburgh* and the reef of *Ontong Java*,

Java, and afterwards between the *Great Combuis* and *Menſcheneeters* iſland, we anchored, in the evening, about two leagues eaſt of the point of *Pontang*.

The day after, ſetting ſail again at four o'clock, A.M. we ſhould have reached the bay of *Anjer* in the evening, if we had not been prevented by calms; and finding that we were driving, by a violent current ſetting to the weſtward, upon the *Verkenſhoek*, or *Hog*-point, of *Sumatra*, we let drop our anchor, in forty fathoms water, not far from the *Topperſhoedje*.

On the 3d of October, we again weighed anchor; but the little wind (and what little there was blew beſides from the S.W.) kept us till four o'clock, P.M. before we got as far as the bay of *Anjer*, where we anchored in twenty-eight fathoms water.

Getting under ſail again on the 5th, we kept plying, with a light air of wind from the weſtward, to weather *Kraketau*: but as it fell calm in the evening, and the current began to ſet to the eaſtward, we were again compelled to come to an anchor in thirty-three fathoms water, in order not to drive in again with the ſtream.

On

On the 6th, getting under ſail again, early in the morning, we worked up againſt a weſterly wind, making but little progreſs till ſunſet, when the wind changed to S.E. and we ſteered weſt towards the mouth of the ſtraits; at nine o'clock, P.M. *Krakatau* bore due north.

The next morning, at ſunriſe, *Prince's* iſland bore S.E.; and taking our departure thence, we ſteered S.W. by W. in order to run into the track of the ſettled ſoutheaſterly tradewind, which we met with the ſame night, blowing in ſuch ſteady gales, that we immediately changed our courſe to weſt, that we might not run needleſsly too far ſouth; the more, as the ſhip, by her violent lee-larches to ſtarboard, had been greatly ſtrained, and let in much water, ſo that we made twenty inches of water at the pump every watch.

On the 11th of October, ſeveral pieces of wood floated by us, that ſeemed to be pieces of a wreck; among others, one that reſembled a yard, or a topmaſt.

On the day after, we ſaw ſeveral bunches of ſeaweed, and patches of filth, together with a little landbird, although we were, at that time, full eighty leagues from the land.

On

On the 14th, we loſt the ſoutheaſterly tradewind, and found the wind veering to the weſt, with violent guſts, and ſhowers of rain.

As this weather continued, we had to conclude that, although it was but about the middle of October, the monſoon was already beginning to break up, and that, therefore, the northeaſt winds would prevail early to the north of the line, for which reaſon we judged it beſt to depart in ſo far from the Company's ſailing inſtructions, that, by the courſe we ſhould ſteer, we ſhould make the iſland of *Ceylon* to the eaſt of it, inſtead of to the weſt, and thus keep our wind; and we accordingly bore away on the 18th, ſteering N.W. and, on the 25th, north.

On the 30th of October, we caught a little landbird, a ſpecies of *motacilla*, which, as we were only forty minutes from under the line, we concluded came from a certain ſmall and low iſland, which is placed in the maps, and which the Indian Pilot ſpeaks of as ſituated hereabouts.

On the 2d of November, we paſſed the equinoctial, at 103° eaſt of *Teneriffe*, according to our dead-reckoning; but by an obſervation of the diſtance of the ſun and moon,

noon, made by a ſextant of fifteen inches range, by which we found ourſelves one degree more to the weſtward, it was in 102° of eaſt longitude that we paſſed the line.

Immediately on entering the northern hemiſphere, we met with nothing but weſterly winds, which blew in ſudden flaws, and with great violence, ſo that we ſometimes could not hang out a ſingle rag of canvas for a whole watch, and the ſhip, even when under her bare poles, rolled ſo much to leeward, that the ports of the upper deck were half under water, to which the diſproportionate narrowneſs of the ſhip, with regard to her length, did not a little contribute.

Heavy ſhowers of rain, and conſtant hazy weather, prevented us, for ſix days, from ſeeing the ſun at noon, by which we could not be certain of our latitude. This continued till the 8th of November, when this ſtormy weather abated, and on the 15th we met with the northeaſterly winds, in the north latitude of 63°, on which day we alſo ſaw a turtle and a little landbird.

On the 22d November, in the afternoon, one of the Javaneſe pilgrims fell overboard, and it was out of our power to ſave him, on account

account of the highrunning ſea, and the rapid headway of the veſſel.

I had let few opportunities paſs of taking obſervations of the diſtances of the fixed ſtars from the moon, with the beforementioned ſextant, and which ſeldom varied more than one degree from our longitude by dead-reckoning. I followed the calculations of Mr. DE BORDA, as given in the *Connoiſſance de Temps* of 1772, and I continued to take obſervations by them till the 20th of November, when I was prevented by indiſpoſition from going on with them, and none of the officers on board had any knowledge how to make thoſe calculations.

My obſervations of the 19th and 20th of November, gave variations with our eſtimation; the firſt of about one degree, and the other of twenty-five minutes, more to the eaſtward; and the laſt variation differed but nine minutes, from the obſervation which we made upon running in ſight of *Ceylon*, on the 24th of November.

We firſt diſcovered that iſland at half paſt one o'clock, P.M.; it appeared with a ſmall round hill, which, upon approaching nearer, we found to be the *Tepelberg*, or *Nipple*-hill,

hill, ſo called, becauſe it has at the top, on each ſide, a round prominence, in the ſame ſituation, and reſembling in form, the nipples upon the breaſts of women.

At ſunſet we computed that we were two leagues abreaſt of the *Little Baixos*, which, with the *Great Baixos*, lying five leagues s.w. by s. from the former, are two dangerous rocky ſhoals, which require much caution, on making *Ceylon* from the eaſtward, properly to avoid, and at the ſame time not to loſe the land, by the violent currents which ſet off from it to the ſouthward; we likewiſe ſaw at that time a large obtuſe hill, or rock, cloſe to the ſeaſhore, which is called the *Elephant*.

At ſunriſe, the following day, being the 25th of November, we again ſaw the land of *Ceylon*, and ſteered for it; we were then abreaſt of *Mature*: at half paſt nine o'clock, A.M. we came in ſight of the city of *Punto Gallo*, the *Hooiberg*, or *Hayſtack*, and the *Pike of Adam*, the former being a round hill like a hayſtack, and the latter the ſpiry, but ſomewhat crooked, ſummit of an elevated mountain inland.

Half an hour afterwards, we ſtruck ſoundings, for the firſt time, off *Ceylon*, in thirty-eight fathoms, and at noon we had paſſed *Punto Gallo*; a ſhort time afterwards, we met with contrary winds, from the N.W. and north, which prevented us from gaining to windward as far as *Colombo*, which had been my intention, in order to make Cape *Comorin* with greater ſpeed and certainty. As it was, we did not get ſight of that promontory till the 30th of November.

On the 3d of December, we caſt anchor before *Ansjengo*, where the Engliſh have a fort and ſettlement. I received from the chief there a preſent of four baſkets of vegetables; which, on account of my continued indiſpoſition, was a moſt gratifying refreſhment.

The enſuing day we paſſed *Coylang*, or *Quilon*, the ſouthernmoſt fortreſs of our Company on the coaſt of *Malabar*, and determined to run into the road of *Cochim*, in order to take in a freſh ſupply of water. We let drop our anchor in that road, on the 6th of December, at eight o'clock, P.M. in ſeven fathoms, ſtiff clay bottom.

We

We found here at anchor two Portugueſe ſhips; the one a king's ſhip, on her voyage to *Liſbon*, and the other a merchant-veſſel: they both came from *Goa*. Farther to the north, lay at anchor the Company's ſhips *Hoolwerf* and *Honcoop*, commanded by Captains VAN DER KUYL and DEUNE.

The next day I ſent my firſt lieutenant on ſhore, to give information to Mr. MOENS, governor of the *Malabar* coaſt, and counſellor of India, of my arrival, and my wants, not being yet in a fit ſtate to go on ſhore myſelf.

On the return of that officer, I learnt from him, that the Company were here in open hoſtility with the nabob of *Myſore*, HYDER ALI CHAN, otherwiſe called HYDER NAIG, and that he had taken poſſeſſion of what is called the *new conqueſt*, or the province of *Paponetty*; that the fort of *Chittua* had ſurrendered to him, and that he now threatened to attack *Cranganore*; on which ſubject I ſhall be more explicit in another place.

On the 11th, being ſomewhat better, I went on ſhore, in a countryboat which Mr.

Moens had ſent to fetch me, as it was more eaſy than my ſhip's boat. That gentleman likewiſe politely offered me the uſe of his houſe, during my ſtay here, which, together with good attendance, and much eaſe, ſoon re-eſtabliſhed me in perfect health.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XIII.

Account of the Poſſeſſions of the Dutch on the Coaſt of MALABAR.—*Road of* COCHIM —*Account of the Coaſt.—Derivation of the Name of* MALABAR.—PAPONETTY. — *Monſoons.* — *The* GHAUTS.—*Fertility of the Country.—Productions.—Articles of Trade.—Inhabitants.—Their Religion.—Chriſtians of* ST. THOMAS.—*The Nairs.—Jews.—Their Town.—Synagogues.—Copy of the Pentateuch.—Cuſtoms, &c.*

THE *Malabar*, or rather the forts of *Coylang*, *Cali Coylang*, *Cranganore*, and *Cananore*, which the Portugueſe eſtabliſhed on that coaſt, together with the city of *Cochim*, is a conqueſt made by the Company in the years 1662 and 1663, and which they ſtill poſſeſs, with the exception of *Cananore*, which, at the earneſt recommendation of Mr. SENF, at that time governor of the *Malabar*, and perhaps by a repreſentation of its utter inutility, was ſold, in the year 1770, to the ſultan of *Anchediva*, for the ſum of one hundred thouſand rupees.

The country in which the above places are ſituated ſtill belongs to its ancient native ſovereigns, who, however, have been in ſuch ſtrict alliance with the Company, that it differed little from actual vaſſalage.

Theſe lands are bounded, on the ſouth, by the kingdom of *Travancore*, which, from time to time, has been ſuffered, by a miſtaken policy of the Company's miniſters, to be extended far to the eaſtward behind the lands of *Cochim*, as far as the river of *Cranganore*, ſo that the king of *Cochim* has but a little ſpace of ground left to him; to the north, they border upon the empire of the *ſamorin*, or king, of *Calicut*, which is, at preſent, under the dominion of HYDER ALI CHAN, who ſome years ago expelled the *ſamorin*, who has now ſought an aſylum with the king of *Travancore*; to the weſt, they are waſhed by the ſea, and in the good monſoon the whole coaſt may be ſaid to be a good road; the road of *Cochim*, however, is the chief, and is the moſt reſorted to, on account of the trade, which is principally carried on there. It is, according to good obſervations, in the north latitude of 9° 58′; the anchorage is in five,

ſix,

ſix, and ſeven fathoms water, muddy bottom, the flag of the city bearing from E. by N. to eaſt.

The coaſt is ſafe and clear, every where along the Company's eſtabliſhment, except at the mouth of the river of *Cranganore*, where there is a reef, at the north ſide, which ſtretches out to ſea, about three quarters of a league; it is called the reef of *Aycotia* by our navigators: before *Coylang* there is a ſimilar one, but which does not extend half ſo far out. South of the abovementioned mouth of the river of *Cranganore*, there is a bay, formed by mudbanks; likewiſe one not far from *Porca*, and another ſouth of *Cochim*; the banks forming which extend full a league out to ſea, and into which veſſels may run with ſafety during the bad monſoon, and may lie in twenty and leſs feet water, almoſt without anchors or cables, in perfect ſecurity againſt the heavy ſeas which then roll in upon this lee-ſhore, as they break their force upon the ſoft mudbanks, and within them nothing but a ſlight motion is perceived.

According to what the Daniſh miſſion-

aries write, in their accounts of the Eaſt-Indies, Continuation the 22d, page 897, the name of *Malabar* is derived from the Malabar word *maleyalem*, denoting *mountainous*: the terminations *ar*, *tar*, and *bar*, ſignify in that language a *people*, or *nation*, conſequently *maleiwar*, or *maleibar*, would denote as much as *mountaineers*, or *inhabitants of the mountains*: the ſyllable *lei*, when uttered with rapidity, takes the ſound of *la*, and the name of *Malabar* was applied to the people, from the hilly country, who deſcended from the mountains, and ſettled upon the coaſt. Preface to WERENDLEY's *Maleidſche Spraakkunſt*, or *Grammar of the Malay Language*, pages 55 and 56.

That tract of country which is properly called the *Malabar*, lies nearly in the direction of N.W. and S.E. from Cape *Comorin* to *Canara*, between the eighth and fourteenth degrees of north latitude; to the eaſt, it is divided from the coaſt of *Coromandel*, by a high range of mountains, called the *Ghauts*, and it is waſhed to the ſouth-weſt by the Arabian ſea. The principal kingdoms which it comprehends are thoſe of

of *Trevancore*, *Cochim*, *Cranganore*, and *Calicut*; the firſt of which is now the chiefeſt and moſt powerful.

The extent of the Company's poſſeſſions, from *Coylang* to *Chittua* (for *Cananore* is no more, as I have before remarked, under their dominion), comprizes, from ſouth-eaſt to northweſt, a diſtance of thirty-two leagues; yet with the ſalvo, that, except the province of *Paponetty*, or what is called the *new conqueſt*, and a few ſmall diſtricts interſperſed along the coaſt, the Company poſſeſs no other actual property in the ſoil, than in that upon which their fortifications are conſtructed.

The land is every where low, and interſected by many rivers, which deſcend from the interior mountains; it abounds in plantations of trees, eſpecially of that uſeful one, the cocoanut-tree, and affords a very pleaſant proſpect.

Paponetty is a diſtrict, or iſland, about ten Dutch miles in length, and one and a half in breadth, within which, however, there are ſtill a few inſignificant villages, ſubject or tributary to the *ſamorin*, but which are mortgaged for a certain ſum to the

the Company; the whole of the remainder of it was conquered by us during the war, and was ceded to the Company by the peace which was made, in the year 1715, with that prince.

As is the caſe in moſt parts of India ſituated between the tropics, ſo here the year is divided into two ſeaſons, namely, the dry ſeaſon, and the rainy ſeaſon; the latter is called the bad, and the former the good monſoon; the bad monſoon is reckoned from October to April, and the other months conſtitute the good ſeaſon.

It is remarkable that this is ſolely occaſioned by the mountains of the *Ghauts*, for upon the coaſt of *Coromandel*, exactly the reverſe takes place with reſpect to the monſoons. As ſoon as the rainy ſeaſon, accompanied by very tempeſtuous weather, ſets in on that coaſt, it clears up on the *Malabar* coaſt, and is fine and dry weather all along the weſtern ſide of the great peninſula within the *Ganges*, as far as *Surat*; and *vice verſa* in the contrary caſe.

The winds, which blow from the north-eaſt throughout the whole of the Indian ocean, north of the line, during the bad monſoon,

monſoon, drive the clouds againſt the ſides of thoſe elevated mountains, where they condenſe, and fall in heavy ſhowers upon the country to the eaſtward of them; and in the like manner, in the other ſeaſon, when the winds blow from the ſouthweſt, that chain of mountains ſerves as a fence by which the ſtorms and tempeſts, raging on one ſide of them, are prevented from interrupting the ſerenity and ſunſhine which prevail at the ſame moment of time on the other. During the bad monſoon, it is only with great danger that veſſels can venture upon theſe coaſts.

The land of *Malabar* is every where interſected with rivers, which run down from the abovementioned mountains, and which render it fertile in the extreme, particularly in rice; the ſea likewiſe furniſhes a copious ſupply of fiſh; and proviſions are, in conſequence, ſo abundant and cheap, that a native inhabitant, with his family, can ſubſiſt with eaſe upon the value of ſix Dutch doits* per day.

* Equal to about three farthings of our money. *T.*

The

The firſt and principal article of trade produced upon the coaſt of *Malabar*, is pepper; of which ſuch abundance is collected in this country, that, according to the memorial of the commandant CUNES, addreſſed to his ſucceſſor in the commandery, GASPARD DE JONG, in the year 1756, no leſs than ten full cargoes (which may amount to between eight and nine millions of pounds weight) might be annually exported: but the half of this quantity is carried over the mountains to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, to the north, to the *Deckan*, and farther on to different parts of *Hindoſtan*.

The pepper from *Malabar* is eſteemed the beſt of all that is produced in *Aſia*, and is the moſt ſought after by all nations.

The areca-nut is the ſecond production of the country; it is conveyed by land to all parts of the peninſula, and likewiſe, by ſea, to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, and to *Bengal*.

A third production is the wild cinnamon *, of which, it it ſaid, that a yearly quantity of one million of pounds, is exported

* *Caſſia lignea.*

to

to the Gulph of *Perſia*, and to the Red Sea. A ſmall proportion is likewiſe ſent to Europe, where it is principally made uſe of to adulterate the genuine, or Ceylon, cinnamon.

The two ſorts are, however, very diſtinct, and eaſily diſtinguiſhable; the genuine cinnamon of *Ceylon*, is of a yellowiſh red colour, and the wild ſort is much darker, and of a dirty red; it is likewiſe coarſer grained, and is worſe barked than the *Ceylon* cinnamon; it has, indeed, a ſimilarity of flavour, but by far not an equality of ſtrength, nor has it that pungent, yet gratifying, effect upon the tongue and palate. It is uſed on this coaſt, both by Europeans and natives, in room of the Ceylon ſort, for which there is not the leaſt demand here.

A production is likewiſe met with here, which might be made uſe of to adulterate mace, and from which it is not eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed, at firſt ſight; it differs, however, in form, from real mace, which appears of a leafy texture, while this is in thinner filaments; the colour is exactly alike; but this has not the leaſt flavour of ſpicineſs,

and

and when chewed has a kind of reſiny taſte.

Coarſe cotton cloths are alſo made in the ſouthern parts, in the *Trevancore* country, but they do not form a conſiderable object of foreign trade. They are moſtly diſpoſed of to the Engliſh at *Ansjengo*.

Coir, or the ſtringy coat of the cocoa-nut, is equally exported in conſiderable quantities; it is partly, however, brought hither from the *Maldive* iſlands, and is uſed for making of cordage, with which both European and country ſhips and veſſels are provided.

Capok, forms alſo an article of trade, and is exported to *Bengal*, to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, and to *China*.

Theſe are, to the beſt of my knowledge, the chief articles which the coaſt of *Malabar* yields, both for the inland and foreign trade.

The native inhabitants of the country are, in general, rather lean than otherwiſe: they are uſually of the ſame ſize and ſtature as the Gentoos at *Surat* and in *Bengal*; they are, however, much blacker, and nearly as black

black as the African negroes, yet their countenances are better formed.

Their religion is that of the Hindoos; but in the neighbourhood of our poſſeſſions they have been, in a great meaſure, converted to the Roman catholic religion, by the miſſionaries of that perſuaſion: there are likewiſe many Roman catholic churches here.

There are alſo here many chriſtians of thoſe called chriſtians of ST. THOMAS *, yet in much leſs numbers than Roman catholics.

Amongſt the Malabars, the *nairs* are the nobles and warriors of the land; they are known by the ſcymeter which they always wear whenever they ſtir abroad, and in the

* The chriſtians of St. Thomas are neſtorians, and follow, for the moſt part, the ceremonies of the Greek church; they perform the ſervices of religion in the Syriac language. The patriarchs of *Alexandria*, and afterwards of *Moſul*, uſed to ſend them their biſhops. They reject tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, and all image-worſhip; ſetting up, however, a croſs in their churches. They do not allow their prieſts to marry a ſecond time; and do not baptiſe their children till they are forty days old. In the time of VALENTYN, there were ſeventy-five churches of this ſect of chriſtians on the coaſt of *Malabar*. *T.*

management

management of which, I was told, they are very dexterous, particularly againſt a flying enemy. They have many privileges above the common people.

Their princes poſſeſs an almoſt abſolute authority over their ſubjects: they are not, however, allowed to enter into engagements, or contract alliances; which, however much to their own advantage, might be injurious to the intereſts of their ſubjects.

Beſides the original Malabars, people of various nations are to be met with here, who have been allured hither by the profits of trade; there are Moors, Arabians, Perſians, and, amongſt others, a colony of Jews, who, as they pretend, are the poſterity of the ten tribes carried away into captivity by SHALMANESER, and who, after being liberated from their Aſſyrian bonds, came hither, where they have, from time immemorial, conſtituted a ſmall, but iſolated, people, who have been greatly favoured by the princes of the country, and have received from them, and enjoyed for a ſeries of ages, a number of valuable privileges; amongſt which, the free permiſſion to exerciſe

erciſe their religion without reſtraint, may not be conſidered as the moſt unimportant.

They dwell in a ſeparate town, the houſes of which are built of ſtone, and are moſtly plaiſtered white on the outſide: in it are three ſynagogues, the chiefeſt and largeſt of which I compute to be thirty-five or forty feet in length, and about one-third leſs in breadth; the floor of it is laid with ſquare tiles, of blue and white Canton china; the caſe, in which their copies of the books of Moses are preſerved, ſtands oppoſite to the entrance, and is made of very beautiful wood; in the middle of this place of worſhip ſtands the pulpit for the reader, or expounder of the law, and above it hangs a large braſs branched candleſtick, by which, and by the lamps which are fixed along the ſides, it is lighted up in the evening.

When the Dutch made their firſt attempt upon *Cochim*, in the year 1662, the Jews ſecretly favoured them; but they paid dear for their interference; for the Portugueſe, who ſoon diſcovered it, plundered them of almoſt all they had, as ſoon as the ſiege was raiſed: they deſtroyed, or attempted to deſtroy, their ſynagogues, and every thing that

belonged to them: and it is worthy of obſervation, that, when the Dutch made themſelves maſters of *Cochim*, the year afterwards, and the Jews were reinſtated by them in their former condition, their Pentateuch was found by accident, or had been preſerved by religious care, uninjured and entire. I was informed, by a perſon well verſed in ſuch matters, that their copy of the Pentateuch, is a very beautiful and authentic one, and the memory of the time when it firſt came into their hands, has been entirely loſt.

Although moſt of them are nearly as black as the native Malabars, they yet retain, both men and women, thoſe characteriſtic features which diſtinguiſh this ſingular people from all the other nations of the earth.

Moſt of them are employed in trade, both in large and in ſmall: here, as well as elſewhere, the Jews are addicted to traffic; and, from the adventuring merchant, to the retailing pedlar, they are the genuine devotees of intereſt and commerce. Some of the Jew merchants of *Cochim*, are not ſhy of purchaſing entire cargoes of goods. One

of

of them, called EZECHIEL, who died ſome years ago, had drawn moſt of the Cochim trade into his own hands; he left three ſons, who are ſtill alive, and who are among the moſt opulent and principal merchants of the place.

When theſe Jews purchaſe a ſlave, they immediately manumit him; they circumciſe him, and receive him as their fellow Iſraelite, and never treat him as a ſlave.

The town, or village, which they inhabit has received the appellation of *Makwan Sieri.*

CHAPTER XIV.

Deſcription of COCHIM.—*Its Fortifications and Means of Defence.—Buildings.—Government.—Retrenchment of the Eſtabliſhment in* 1698.—*The Cu'poſts or Factories.—Hiſtorical Relation of the Concerns of the Dutch on the Coaſt of Malabar.—War with the Samorin.—Sentiments of Mr.* VAN IMHOFF.—*Alliance with the King of* TRAVANCORE.—*Uſurpations of* HYDER ALI CHAN.—*His Diſputes with the Dutch—And open Hoſtilities.*—CHITTUA *taken by him.—Overtures for Accommodation of the Diſputes.—Trade of the Company here.—Charges and Profits.*

IN the laſt chapter I have enumerated the Company's poſſeſſions on the coaſt of *Malabar*. *Cochim* is the capital of them, the ſeat of government, and the reſidence of the governor.

This city ſtands at the northweſt point of an iſland, which is about eighteen Dutch miles in length, and two in breadth: to the ſouth the iſland is formed by the mouth of the river of *Cali Coylang*, and to the north by

by that which runs from *Cranganore*, and ſeparates it from the iſland of *Baypin*. The form of the city is nearly ſemicircular, and it is about a mile and a half in circumference: on the landſide it is fortified by ſix large baſtions and a cavalier, and to the eaſtward it has an irregular outwork; on the waterſide, it is provided with a ſubſtantial wall, in which there are loopholes for ſmall arms, and which terminates at the eaſt end in a ravelin before the cavalier: a wet ditch runs round theſe works, and before it is a covered way and glacis, tolerably well executed. The fortifications have been repaired, and reſtored, by governor MOENS, out of the very ruinous condition into which they had been ſuffered to fall by former governors.

Although it cannot be ſaid that the greateſt part of theſe fortifications are conſtructed according to the exact rules of art, yet the place is ſufficiently fortified to withſtand a *coup de main*, and it would require a regular ſiege to take it. Approaches cannot even be made from any other quarter than the ſouth, where there is a dry and level plain; for to the eaſtward, as far as the rivers, there

are ſeveral moraſſes, which would render an attack on that ſide extremely difficult: beſides, the place is fortified the ſtrongeſt on that ſide, and is the weakeſt by the ſeaſide. In order to remedy this defect in ſome meaſure, a kind of ravelin has been conſtructed between the baſtion *Gelderland* and the beach; but it is not, in my judgment, of ſufficient ſtrength, or importance, to deter an enemy from making an attempt on that ſide.

The city cannot be attacked by veſſels from the river, until the fire of the baſtion *Gelderland*, and of the ravelin *Overyſſel*, be ſilenced, which could only be done by batteries to be erected at the ſouthern extremity of the oppoſite iſland of *Baypin*. The ſecurity of the place would, however, be much augmented, by the deſtruction of the wood which lies about a mile and a half ſoutheaſt from the city, whereby the enemy would be deprived of a very important advantage for the carrying on of their operations, namely, the timber and faſcines neceſſary for conſtructing of batteries, and for filling up the moraſſes, ſtagnant pools, and ditches in their way. The woods, which

cover

cover the ſouthern part of *Baypin*, and which extend down to the beach oppoſite to the city, ought equally to ſhare the ſame fate.

Cochin has three gates; one to the weſtward, called the Bay-gate; one to the eaſtward, called the New-gate; and one to the northward, leading to the river, called the Water-gate.

The principal buildings are, the church, and the government-houſe. The former is a pretty large, oblong, edifice, in which there is a very indifferent organ; the latter is a roomy, commodious, and airy manſion, fronting a large plain, and appropriated for the reſidence of the governor; oppoſite to it ſtands the mainguard, and on the left ſide are the barracks for the body-guards of the governor.

The ſtreets, which are, in general, wide, are neatly kept, but they are not embelliſhed with many handſome houſes. There is a city-hotel, where ſtrangers are accommodated with lodgings; our countrymen pay a rixdollar, and foreigners two rupees, per day, for board and lodging: the keeping

of the hotel is annually farmed out by the government.

The chief of this eſtabliſhment bears, at preſent, the title of governor and director; the gentleman who filled that office when I was here, was Mr. ADRIAN MOENS, of *Middleburgh*, in *Zealand*, who was at the ſame time councellor-extraordinary of India. When the chief is not a member of the ſupreme government at *Batavia*, he has only the title and rank of commandant.

A council is adjoined in the direction, to the governor; conſiſting of the ſecond, who is a ſenior merchant, the fiſcal, the chief of the military, the warehouſekeeper, the *diſpenſier*, or purveyor, and all the junior merchants who may be in the ſettlement, either in, or out of, office; as alſo, I believe, at preſent, the comptroller of equipment, becauſe the rank of ſea-captain has now been given to him: the council have a ſecretary, who is a junior merchant, tranſlator of the Malabar language, and at the ſame time chief of *Coylang*.

The outpoſts, or forts, are managed by bookkeepers, as reſidents: theſe are, with the

the exception of *Coylang*, or *Quilon*, five in number; namely, one at *Cranganore*, one at *Cali Coylang*, or *Quile Quilon*, one at *Porca*, one at *Paponetty*, and one at *Chittua*, which laſt is actually a priſoner in the hands of HYDER ALI CHAN.

The chief of the military poſſeſſes the rank and title of major; and the chief of the artillery that of captain-lieutenant.

I do not know the exact number of troops that are uſually ſtationed here; but I believe that they may amount to about four hundred effective men.

The ſervices of public worſhip are performed by one clergyman in orders, and two *krankbezoekers* *.

Amongſt the ſeveral conqueſts and ſettlements which the Dutch Company have made, or eſtabliſhed, in the Indies, that of the *Malabar* is not one of the moſt advantageous or important to the Dutch. It coſts

* In 1776-1777, the whole eſtabliſhment of the Dutch, on the coaſt of *Malabar*, conſiſted of, 102 perſons in civil, and three in eccleſiaſtical, employments; ten ſurgeons and aſſiſtants; ſixty belonging to the artillery; forty-nine ſeamen and marines; 613 ſoldiers, and thirty mechanics: in all 867 Europeans, beſides 405 natives. *T.*

the

the Company much money, on account of the deſtructive wars in which they have in conſequence engaged, the rivalry in trade of numerous competitors, and, though laſt not leaſt, the infidelity and peculation of their ſervants.

It was but a ſhort time after the firſt capture of theſe poſſeſſions from the Portugueſe, that the direction which had been eſtabliſhed in them was found to be too cumberſome and expenſive, and a reſolution was accordingly taken in October of the year 1686, that the fortifications of *Cochim*, *Cranganore*, *Cananore*, and *Coylang*, ſhould not be kept up, the garriſons be withdrawn or reduced, and the number of the Company's qualified ſervants conſiderably diminiſhed. But the execution of this reſolution was, for various reaſons, delayed till the general reviſion of the affairs of the Company by the ſupreme government at *Batavia*, made on the 19th of Auguſt, 1697; and till after the opinion of Mr. JOHN VAN HOORN, the then director general, was delivered in. The reſult of this reſolution was principally as follows:

I. That

I. That the fortifications of the city of *Cochim*, which, by the large garriſon it required, and the continual reparations to be made, in conſequence of the great extent of the walls, were too expenſive for the Company to maintain, ſhould be reduced by one-half.

II. That of the preſent fortifications of *Cananore*, the Portugueſe tower ſhould only be preſerved, with a garriſon of twenty, or, at the moſt, twenty-five, European ſoldiers, to which number the preſent garriſon ſhould be reduced.

III. That at *Cranganore* *, the ancient interior works ſhould only be preſerved, with a garriſon of twenty Europeans, which is judged a ſufficient number for the purpoſes of the Company here.

IV. That it is likewiſe judged adviſable at *Coylang* no more ſhould be retained than the old Portugueſe tower, or as much of the preſent works as may be thought neceſſary

* *Cranganore* was ſold by the Dutch to the king of *Travancore*, taken from him by HYDER ALI, and retaken by the Engliſh in 1790. *Cochim*, *Quilon*, *Quile Quilon*, and the other ſettlements of the Dutch on the coaſt of *Malabar*, have ſhared the fate of the greater part of their Indian poſſeſſions, and are actually in the hands of the Engliſh. *T.*

for

for the intereſt of the Company, with fifteen or twenty men, to which number the eſtabliſhment there ſhould be reduced; and that the remainder of the fortifications of the three laſt mentioned places ſhould be removed or demoliſhed.

It was further thereby determined that all military outpoſts ſhould be withdrawn, except that *Paponetty*, *Porca*, and *Cali Coylang*, ſhould be retained as reſidencies, or factories, in order to keep an eye over what might be going forward all along the coaſt, and to avail of ſuch opportunities of trade as might occur; that a bookkeeper, or aſſiſtant, or elſe a truſty and intelligent ſerjeant, with two private ſoldiers, or ſeamen, ſhould be ſtationed at each place, and alſo at *Tengenapatnam*, as ſoon as the diſputes with the queen of *Ansjengo* ſhall have been amicably adjuſted.

The veſſels of all deſcriptions were to be reduced to one ſmall yatch, two ſloops, and three rowboats; for it was determined not to obſtruct any more, by meaſures of conſtraint and harſhneſs, the navigation of the Malabars, and their trade in the productions of their country, conſiſting chiefly in areca-nuts,

nuts, wild cinnamon, and pepper, which the Company could not excluſively purchaſe from them.

The number of pieces of artillery, which ſhould thenceforward be employed upon the fortifications, ſhould be fixed at ninety-five pieces of iron, and ſix pieces of braſs, ordnance, with two mortars. And about five hundred and thirty Europeans, and thirty-ſeven natives, were judged ſufficient for the ſervice of the Company.

Upon this, the charges diminiſhed conſiderably in the year 1698; and it is ſurpriſing that the reſolutions juſt now detailed had not before been taken, and put in execution, ſince the experience of thirty years had already pointed out the injurious tendency of the former expenſive eſtabliſhment, with no adequate benefit. The oſtentation of a great power, which coſt the Company ſuch large ſums of money, had not the effect of producing in the native princes that degree of awe and apprehenſion, which is indiſpenſably neceſſary for carrying on an excluſive trade.

Thus, Mr. SWAARDEKROON, in his memorial on the ſubject of the *Malabar* coaſt, of

of the 31ſt of May, 1698, ſhews how little the power of the Company was feared by the rajah of *Cali Coylang*, who traded openly with that notorious pirate, WILLIAM KIDD.

His words are remarkable when, farther on, ſpeaking of the conqueſt of the *Malabar*, he ſays, "that it is to be regretted that the "Company carried ſo much ſail here in the "beginning, that they are now deſirous of "ſtriking them, in order to avoid being "overſet."

In the year 1701, a war broke out between the Company and the ſamorin, which was put an end to by a treaty of peace, concluded on the 8th of January, 1710; but which was no longer maintained than till the year 1715, when the ſamorin ſurpriſed the fort of *Chittua*, which had been conſtructed in order to keep him in check: this event was followed by a memorable campaign, under the command of the counſellor of India, WILLIAM BAKKER, at the head of full four thouſand men, both Europeans and natives, who ſubdued the whole of the enemy's country; notwithſtanding which, no proportionate advantages were gained by the peace concluded with the ſamorin, on the

17th

17th of December, 1717, in compariſon with what might and ought to have been inſiſted on.

During this war, the Engliſh, or rather their commandant at *Tellicherry*, had aſſiſted the ſamorin with money, ammunition, and gunners. But the worſt conſequences of the war were, that the charges of the *Malabar* government were not the leſs for it ſince it had been ended; on which account the ſupreme government at *Batavia*, in their ſecret diſpatches to *Malabar*, of the 30th of September, 1721, expreſs, in particular, their aſtoniſhment at the renewed ſpirit of hoſtility towards the native powers manifeſted by the Company's ſervants, and at the extravagance of the expences incurred by them. They further write, that they were of opinion, that, in caſe the ſamorin thought fit to attack the king of *Cochim*, who had ſo long enjoyed the protection of the Company, they ſhould not take an active part in the quarrel, without, however, entering into any particular engagement with the ſamorin, to remain neutral, till it ſhould be abſolutely requiſite to interfere.

Nevertheleſs, the charges, inſtead of being reduced

reduced within tolerable bounds, on the contrary, grew more exorbitant.

In the year 1739, Mr. VAN IMHOFF came from *Ceylon*, in order to examine into theſe affairs, and ſent a report concerning them to the government at *Batavia*, by his letter of the 6th of July, 1739, in which he ſays, that the king of *Travancore* having been ſucceſsful in the wars which he had undertaken, had rendered himſelf ſo much reſpected among the chief kings of the *Malabar* coaſt, that he was looked upon by every one with eyes of jealouſy and apprehenſion.

Mr. VAN IMHOFF was, therefore, of opinion, that if it were requiſite for the Company to maintain a balance of power amongſt the chiefs of the *Malabar* coaſt, it could never be made to preponderate more to the prejudice or danger of the Company, than in favour of that prince, who was almoſt wholly attached to their competitors, and whoſe encreaſe of power could not but be pregnant with the moſt alarming conſequences to their intereſts, whilſt he, at the ſame time, merited ſome chaſtiſement for his inſolence towards them, independent of the primary conſideration of maintaining a due

due balance among the native powers of the *Malabar*.

That gentleman ſays, in another place, that there were but two ways to effect a reformation in the affairs of this government, which was abſolutely neceſſary, as matters could poſitively not remain any longer in the ſituation in which they then were. One of theſe was, to follow the marketprice in the purchaſe of pepper, that at leaſt ſo much might be procured as was wanted for the return-ſhips from *Ceylon*. The other was, to enforce the contracts, by means of more energy, than thoſe which had hitherto been employed; and to make thoſe princes, who did not fulfil their engagements, feel the weight of the reſentment, and the power of the arms of the Company, by exacting the penalties for the non-performance of their contracts, by force of arms and military execution, or by ſurpriſing and carrying off to *Batavia* one or other of thoſe princes, who ſhewed themſelves the moſt refractory, which would create ſo much terror among them, that it would not be neceſſary to reſort to the ſame expedient a ſecond time.

Of theſe two means of redreſs, he diſap-

proved of the firſt, alleging, that to follow the marketprice would, at that time, be both unprofitable and unjuſt, and, in future, unadviſable, and even dangerous and alarming for the intereſts of the Company. In reſult, he concluded that the ſecond method would be the beſt.

Upon this, the people in the adminiſtration on the coaſt, immediately ſet about attacking *Travancore*, without even aſking orders from *Batavia* on the ſubject. It was, however, ſpeedily requiſite to ſend for aſſiſtance from *Java*, in order to carry on the enterprize that had been begun; for, of all the princes who were repreſented by Mr. VAN IMHOFF as ready and willing to join their arms to thoſe of the Company, the rajah of *Cali Coylang* alone, came to their aſſiſtance; and his attachment to us was his ruin, for his dominions were ſubdued by the king of *Travancore*, after our troops had been compelled to ſurrender their fortreſſes in *Travancore*, and to abandon the field.

In the mean time the expences and loſſes of the eſtabliſhment encreaſed ſo much, that notwithſtanding all the profits from the year 1740 to 1745, this commandery run greatly

greatly in arrear. This war, that of *Java*, and the Macaſſer war, which were all waged at the ſame time, ſet the Company materially backward in their affairs.

The conſequence of this inconſiderate conduct was a great decline in the reputation and importance of the Company on the coaſt of *Malabar*; for they concluded a treaty of peace, by which their allies were wholly abandoned, and left to themſelves, without any conditions or interference on the part of the Company in their behalf; and, on the other hand, we entered into an excluſive alliance with the king of *Travancore*, as the moſt powerful prince in the country; the whole agreeable to a determination which had been taken on the ſubject at *Batavia*, and the inſtructions, to that effect, which were ſent off on the 18th of October, 1748.

A ſtricter union afterwards took place between the Company and the king of *Travancore*, and a firm treaty of peace and alliance was made with him on the 15th of Auguſt, 1753, by which their hands were for ever tied from interfering in the Malabar diſputes. The ninth article of this treaty does not appear in a light very honourable

to the Company; it ſtipulates, that the Company ſhall recede from all engagements which they may have entered into with the other Malabar princes, whom the king of *Travancore* might chooſe to attack, and on no account interfere in their diſputes, or afford them aſſiſtance or ſhelter; nor in any reſpect raiſe any oppoſition to the enterprizes of the king.

This was the main ſpring of all; this was the chief object of the king of *Travancore*, and that in which he moſtly intereſted himſelf. Filled with the intention, and fired with the idea, of making extenſive conqueſts, he knew no obſtacle ſo powerful to prevent the accompliſhment of his deſires, as the power of the Company; and by this treaty he ſecured an open field before him, for turning his arms to whatever quarter he choſe.

It was not long before he availed himſelf of the advantage he had obtained. He made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of *Tekkan Koui*, whoſe prince was left unaided by his neighbours and allies; and of ſeveral other places, to which the neutrality of the Company gave eaſy opportunities.

By the twentieth article of the abovementioned

tioned treaty, the Company bound themſelves to provide that prince annually, to the value of twelve thouſand rupees, or eighteen thouſand gilders, various ſorts of warlike ſtores and ammunition, and the prices of theſe articles were fixed as follows, viz.

a firelock at - - rupees 7. 16. or	*f.* 11	11	(£.1 1 oſterl.)
one hundred gunflints, - - -	0	13	(0 1 2)
a pound of gunpowder, - - -	0	13	(0 1 2)
one hundred leaden muſket bullets,	0	14	(0 1 3)

as likewiſe ſome ironwork, and braſs cannon.

On the other hand, the king engaged to ſell to the Company, all the cotton cloths, and every year three thouſand *candils* of pepper, of five hundred pounds weight each, together with all the other productions which the lands he was already poſſeſſed of, yielded: and the further quantity of two thouſand *candils* of pepper out of thoſe territories which he might in future conquer. For which the Company, according to articles V and VI, engaged to pay, namely, for each *candil* of good and ſound pepper, properly *harped* or ſifted, from the kingdoms of *Travancore* and *Ansjengo*, ſixty-five rupees (*f.*97 15 —), and for the pepper produced in the countries which the king of *Travancore* might ſucceed

in ſubduing, in conſequence of the neutrality of the Company, fifty-five rupees (*f.*82 15 —) per *candil*; and moreover an export-duty of four *fanam rageas* * per *candil*.

The twenty-fourth article ſays; that the king ſhall beſides receive an annual douceur, or preſent, from the Company, the value, however, of which was left to be fixed by them; this was afterwards ſettled, by the government of *Batavia*, at five thouſand gilders †, upon the condition that the ſtipulated quantity of pepper ſhould be duly delivered.

The twenty-fifth article ſtates; that the Company's ſubjects ſhall be left unmoleſted in the lands, which have anciently belonged to them.

By this means *Travancore* became ſo powerful, that all the other princes of *Malabar*, ſeeing that the Company remained inactive, and beheld with eyes of indifference, or of approbation, the encreaſing greatneſs of its rajah, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to engage the Company to alter their conduct, as well by offering to furniſh them with various quantities of pepper, as by giving

* A *fanam* is about the value of 3*d*. ſterling. *T.*

† About £.454 ſterling. *T.*

ſecret informations of the evil intentions of the king of *Travancore* towards the Dutch.

But perceiving, at length, that every propoſal was rejected, and every information ſlighted, with the coolest indifference, they then had recourſe to the ſamorin, whom they perſuaded to enter into hoſtilities againſt the Company; imagining, that if they were once obliged to take up arms, matters would come round again, according to their wiſhes.

The ſamorin finding, that inſtead of being reſiſted, the only arms oppoſed againſt him were ineffectual remonſtrances, and vain menaces, grew bolder every day, till he at laſt overrun the Company's province of *Paponetty*, ſo that they were at length compelled to ſend a detachment of troops thither, to expel him from the territory of the Company; which was effected. But it was not long before the ſamorin made a new incurſion into the Company's territory, and with better fortune, ſo that our people were forced to retire to *Cranganore*, with the loſs of eight pieces of artillery, leaving the ſamorin in poſſeſſion of *Paponetty*. Upon this he made preparations to invade the kingdom of *Cranganore*, which he ſhortly afterwards did, with an army of

five thouſand men, and endeavoured to throw up ſome fortifications at *Aycotta*, in order to obſtruct the navigation of the river, but in which he was fortunately prevented by our people.

The flames of war approaching thus by degrees nearer and nearer, and not having a ſufficient number of troops at hand, to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy, the government of *Malabar* came to a reſolution, on the 20th of October, 1756, to requeſt the aſſiſtance of a few hundred men from *Ceylon*, but the government of that iſland, being themſelves in want of troops, excuſed themſelves, on that ground, by their letter of the 14th of November following.

Before the troops of the ſamorin had advanced ſo far, Mr. CUNES, who was at that time the governor and commander in chief on the coaſt of *Malabar*, had written to the kings of *Cranganore* and *Airoer*, who were almoſt, as it were, the ſubjects of the Company, deſiring them to ſtation their *nairs* upon the frontiers of the province of *Paponetty*, in order to prevent the incurſions of the enemy; but theſe princes openly took part with the ſamorin; and not without reaſon; the Company

pany had ſet them the example, and had firſt abandoned them, and left them at the mercy of the king of *Travancore*: why then ſhould they abandon the ſamorin, who was now their only hope and ſupport? Would they not then themſelves have aſſiſted in forging thoſe fetters, which the king of *Travancore* would otherwiſe not have failed to caſt upon them, to which the Company, by their miſtaken policy, had ſmoothed the way?

When the king of *Travancore* was informed, by the commandant CUNES, of the hoſtilities which the ſamorin had committed againſt the Company, he anſwered with the greateſt compoſure, "that he had told the "ambaſſadors of the ſamorin, that they "ſhould diſſuade their maſter from doing ſo."

It was, at the ſame time, pretty well aſcertained, that, far from uſing any diſſuaſive arguments, the king of *Travancore* had, on the contrary, greatly encouraged the ſamorin to perſevere in his hoſtile exertions; truſting that, when matters came to greater extremities, the Company would call in his aſſiſtance, and that he ſhould thereby have better opportunities of carrying on his projects of aggrandizement and conqueſt.

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The ſamorin, whoſe object was not ſo much the making war on the Company, as the prevention of a further encreaſe of power in the king of *Travancore*, made propoſals of accommodation himſelf, offering even to furniſh yearly two thouſand *candils* of pepper to the Company, if they would but reſolve to join their forces to his, and attack the king of *Travancore*; but far from liſtening to theſe propoſals, or entering into treaty concerning them, ſo many preliminary articles of diſcuſſion were ſtarted, and conditions propoſed, as if the Company had been the conquerors: this conduct appears to have been ſolely grounded upon an unwillingneſs to depart from their favourite ſyſtem, or from the conditions of the engagement latterly entered into with *Travancore*; to which every thing was to be ſacrificed. Yet inſtead of this conduct inducing the king of *Travancore* to be more and more attached to the Company's intereſt, he, on the contrary, after the diſputes with the ſamorin were accommodated, had the hardineſs to declare, that the Company muſt, in time, be contented with the delivery of his products in ſuch a manner, and in ſuch quantities, as he choſe

choſe to allow; and that he did not intend to look upon them in any other light, than in that of merchants, not poſſeſſed of any territorial juriſdiction, or ſupreme authority, and who ought to follow the market-prices in paying for their purchaſes.

Of all the Malabar princes he thus remained the only formidable neighbour of the Company, doing, without oppoſition, whatever he liked; which continued till lately when a ſtill more dreaded enemy, both to himſelf and the Company, aroſe, one whoſe name has become famous by his wars againſt the Engliſh, the juſtly celebrated HYDER ALI CHAN BAHAUDER, otherwiſe HYDER NAIG, who, by his conſummate courage and conduct, raiſed himſelf from the condition of a common trooper, to be maſter of the kingdom of *Myſore* (where he aſſumed only, however, the title of nabob, becauſe the king of *Myſore* is ſtill living, although kept in confinement by the uſurper), and ſubdued the province of *Canara*, and the kingdom of *Calicut*, forcing the ſamorin to ſeek a refuge with the king of *Travancore*. HYDER ALI is now become the moſt formidable potentate of this part of India; and if the Marattas, with whom he

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is inceſſantly at war, did not ſtand in his way, he would, in all probability, preſcribe laws to the whole peninſula within the *Ganges*, in a very ſhort time.

An implacable enemy of the Engliſh, of his hatred for which nation he has given innumerable proofs, and burning with the deſire of ſupplanting the nabob of the *Carnatic*, upon the coaſt of *Coromandel*, who was in every thing ſubſervient to the Engliſh, he had in view to make himſelf maſter of the kingdom of *Travancore* *, in order to leave

* The only prince on the *Malabar* coaſt who had eſcaped the oppreſſion and violence of HYDER ALI, was the king of *Travancore*. His means of defence were extraordinary and romantic. Around his capital, and chief province, he ſuffered the woods to grow for a number of years, till they formed an impenetrable belt of great depth. This, cut into labyrinths, afforded eaſy egreſs to his people, and rendered all attacks from without impracticable. Immured within this natural fortification, he encouraged the cultivation of the arts and ſciences; he invited the approach of men of genius and knowledge; he cultivated the friendſhip of the brahmins, and was himſelf admitted into their ſociety, by the ceremony of paſſing through a golden cow; and by preparing his own military ſtores, caſting of cannon, making of gunpowder, &c. he rendered himſelf independent of foreign aid. The ſubjects of his remoter provinces, to avoid the ravages of war, took refuge within the woody circle; and, whenever they could do it with ſafety, returned, with their families and effects, to their former habitations. *T.*

no enemy behind him, when he attacked the *Carnatic*; for this reaſon, he ſent, about a year ago, to requeſt of the government of the *Malabar*, a free paſſage for his troops thither, through, or along, the territories of the Company.

The refuſal of this requeſt, and the delay of a reply to a letter, which he had diſpatched, accompanied with conſiderable preſents, to the ſupreme government at *Batavia* (which delay was occaſioned by the length of the voyage performed by the veſſel, by which the letter and preſents were ſent, and likewiſe by a little negligence of which the people at *Batavia* were guilty, ſo that the ſhip from *Batavia*, that arrived on the coaſt of *Malabar* the following year, brought neither anſwer or preſents, in return to HYDER ALI, or the leaſt notice of the matter to Governor MOENS), excited a great degree of reſentment in the breaſt of the haughty Myſorean, who was then, indiſputably, the greateſt prince in thoſe parts. This, Mr. MOENS endeavoured to ſoften as much as poſſible, by writing at one time, that the extraordinary length of the voyage was the occaſion of the delay, and at another, that the

reply

reply to his diſpatches would come by the Coromandel or Ceylon ſhips; but nothing could efface the impreſſions which this imaginary, or real, affront, had made in the vindictive heart of HYDER ALI, who intimated without reſerve, that he very well perceived that the Company cared little for his friendſhip.

Mr. MOENS, who foreſaw that it would be impoſſible to avoid coming to a rupture with this powerful and reſtleſs prince, principally becauſe his requeſt to be allowed to march through the territories of the Company, in order to attack the country of *Travancore*, was refuſed, entered into cloſer engagements with the kings of *Travancore* and of *Cochim*, to aſſiſt each other with all their might in caſe of need. The latter ſeemed even inclined to act offenſively, in order not to be liable to undergo the ſame fate as the ſamorin; but this was diſcouraged by Mr. MOENS, who knew very well that the whole burthen and expence of the war would fall upon the Company, as the puſillanimity of the native princes, and their dread of the arms of HYDER ALI, were too great, to expect any effectual co-operation from them.

The

The flames of war, which had been ſo long a kindling, burſt out at length, in the month of October, 1716. HYDER ALI ſent his general, CHA DERGAM, with eight or ten thouſand men, to make an irruption into the poſſeſſions of the Company, namely, in the ſandy country or province of *Paponetty*; he ravaged the country with fire and ſword, and laid ſiege to the fort of *Chittua*; this fort, which is a ſquare, with four demi-baſtions, had been duly provided with a ſufficient garriſon, and ammunition and proviſions enough to hold out for ſome time.

The ſaid general, CHA DERGAM, iſſued a manifeſto, in the name of his maſter, the nabob HYDER ALI, by which he alleged that certain lands, ſituated within the province of *Paponetty*, belonged to the empire of the ſamorin, and that *Calicut* having been conquered by him, he required thoſe lands to be delivered up to him by the Company, as an appendage to it.

To this, Mr. MOENS replied, that thoſe lands had been mortgaged many years ago to the Company, by the ſamorin, for the ſum of twelve thouſand rupees; but that he

was

was ready, at any time, to deliver them up to whoever would repay to the Company the money for which they had been mortgaged: but no anſwer, or at leaſt not a ſatisfactory one, was given to this.

Mr. MORNS, whoſe military force, agreeable to the cuſtomary ſparingneſs of the Company, in this reſpect, was very trifling, ſcarcely amounting to two hundred effective men, had, upon the burſting of the ſtorm, immediately written, in preſſing terms, for a reinforcement of troops and veſſels from *Ceylon*; and, by the diligent zeal of the governor there, Mr. FALK, theſe were ſent with ſuch expedition, that the troops were diſembarked at *Cochim*, on the 4th of November, and were directly ſent off to *Cranganore* and *Aycotte*, in order to prevent the enemy from penetrating in that quarter, and getting footing in the iſland of *Baypin*, whilſt the kings of *Travancore* and *Cochim* threw up ſome ſtrong and fortified lines, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, in order to defend their lands from an irruption on that ſide. On our ſide too, great aſſiduity was uſed, in forming a retrenchment under the

the guns of *Cranganore*, and in fortifying *Aycotte*, that *Baypin* might be ſtill better covered againſt any hoſtile attempt.

Chittua having now been inveſted for a long time, the garriſon ſent word to Mr. MOENS, that if they were not ſpeedily ſuccoured, they would be obliged to ſurrender, for want of proviſions and ammunition.

Upon receiving this intelligence, Mr. MOENS determined to relieve that ſmall, but important fort, whatever it might coſt; that the enemy who were in force between *Chittua* to the north, and *Cranganore* to the ſouth, might not be without ſome object of apprehenſion and check in their rear.

The Ceylon reinforcement had likewiſe come very opportunely for that purpoſe; and every thing being prepared for the expedition, and the ſupplies of proviſion and ammunition for the garriſon of *Chittua* being packed in ſmall caſes and caſks, in order to admit of an eaſier and more ſpeedy conveyance on ſhore, and into the fort, the ſoldiers, to the number of one hundred and ſeventy or eighty men, were embarked on board the ſhip *Hoolwerf*, and a ſufficient number of ſmall veſſels were provided for

the purpoſe of diſembarking the men, and landing the ſtores and proviſions, intended for the relief of *Chittua.*

On the ſame day that they ſailed in the morning, they anchored, at noon, abreaſt of *Chittua:* the commanding officer of the military wiſhed to attempt a landing immediately; but, by the advice of the captain of the ſhip, who conceived that the ſurf upon the reef, where they would be obliged to land before they could get to *Chittua*, ran too high at that time, to render the attempt practicable, as likewiſe that the ſmall veſſels which were to convey the ſoldiers and ſtores on ſhore, were not yet in readineſs, or in a proper ſituation, the attempt was deferred till the next day.

This expedition was planned and executed with ſo much ſecrecy, that the enemy were wholly uninformed of it, until they beheld the ſhip caſt anchor before *Chittua*; and the delay in landing, gave an opportunity to the nabob's general, who immediately ſuſpected the cauſe of the large ſhip, and ſo many ſmall veſſels, having anchored on the coaſt, to ſend, with all ſpeed, a conſiderable number of his troops to take poſt upon

upon the reef, or rather the ſpit of land, which for ſome years had been waſhed up between *Chittua* and the ſea; where they placed themſelves in ambuſcade, waiting for the landing of our men.

Theſe, ignorant of this circumſtance, attempted to land on the following day, at noon; but, unfortunately, the firſt veſſel, which had the ſoldiers on board, overſet, as ſoon as it entered the ſurf; the men, however, got ſafe to land; but they had not proceeded many yards, before they were attacked by the party of the enemy that lay there in ambuſh: they could not oppoſe much reſiſtance to them, as their firelocks, and the greateſt part of their ammunition, had been drenched in ſea-water: the commanding officer, therefore, immediately ordered his detachment to retreat to the beach; but here they were again diſappointed, for the affrighted natives, who had navigated the veſſel in which they came, having recovered her, had put off from the ſhore again, and none of the others durſt encounter the ſurf; ſo that, after having defended themſelves for a ſhort time, as well as they were able, ſeveral of them being killed, and many

wounded, the detachment was obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war to the enemy.

The conſequences of the ill ſucceſs of this expedition, were conſiderably prejudicial to us.

The enemy obtained a freſh degree of courage, from the advantage they had gained over us in this action, and our people were not a little diſheartened by it, as they had loſt a conſiderable proportion of their ſmall number of European troops, and were obliged by it to abandon *Chittua* to its fate. That place ſurrendered, at length, by capitulation; and although it was upon condition that the garriſon ſhould not be made priſoners, but ſhould be allowed to march out, and be conducted to *Cranganore*, the perfidious Myſorean abided not by his word, but after they were plundered of all they poſſeſſed, and ſtripped almoſt naked, he ſent them in chains to *Calicut*, and farther up into his country.

The ſituation of our affairs, on the coaſt of Malabar, now became daily more critical and alarming. The enemy had now nothing more to do, than to ſtorm *Cranganore*, or

or to break through the *Travancore* lines, to be at hand to get footing on the iſland of *Baypin*, or even to attack *Cochin* itſelf; and the retrenchment which had been begun before *Cranganore* was not near completed, for want of labourers, who are here called *coolies**.

To this, add the intelligence, which Mr. MORNS received from good authority, that the nabob had cauſed a conſiderable part of his fleet, conſiſting of one three-maſt ſhip, ſix two-maſt grabs, and twenty well armed gallivats, to aſſemble at *Calicut*, with the intention of attempting to make a landing upon the iſland of *Baypin*, and thus to attack *Cranganore* on both ſides, and to extend his depredations even to the gates of *Cochin*.

In order to guard, as much as poſſible, againſt the completion of this purpoſe, a ſchooner, which was the only veſſel ſtationed by the Company on the coaſt, was placed as cloſe as poſſible to the mouth of the river of *Cranganore*; and the ſhips, the *Hoolwerf* and

* *Coolies* are thoſe natives who are employed in carrying of burthens, digging of trenches, and ſuch laborious occupations; and who, ſupplying the place of pioneers, cannot be diſpenſed with in the operations of military tactics in *Hindoſtan*. S.

the *Honcoop*, were ſtationed a little farther to ſeaward, at a middling diſtance from each other, in order to cover the coaſt, and at the ſame time to be near enough to join their force, upon the appearance of the enemy's fleet, in order to oppoſe any landing that might be attempted.

In the mean time, the retrenchments before *Cranganore* were carried on with the utmoſt diligence; yet, for want of proper workpeople, they were not completed till the end of December, when, however, every thing was prepared, as well as circumſtances would admit of, as well for defenſive, as for offenſive operations. But matters remained in this ſituation; for Mr. Moens wiſely conſidered, that if once the Company acted offenſively, all means of amicable accommodation would be entirely cut off, and they would be involved in an open war, from which it might not be ſo eaſy to diſengage themſelves, and which would, at all events, be a ſource of heavy expence, and run their poſſeſſions on the coaſt of *Malabar* ſtill more in arrear. The enemy now continued quiet in *Paponetty*, and ſeemed to wiſh for nothing more than the trifling

mortgaged

mortgaged diſtricts which had formed the bone of contention; while a communication ſtill, in ſome meaſure, kept up with HYDER ALI, had been the means of keeping alive the hopes of a pacific termination to theſe menacing events.

Moreover, if our people had acted offenſively, they would have had to attack the enemy in a woody country, where they might wait for us with advantage, and in caſe of diſcomfiture, the retreat would be difficult. The loſs of the Ceylon reinforcement would have been irreparable; and although a detachment of two hundred ſepoys, ſent from *Coromandel* over land had reached *Cochim* in ſafety, in the latter end of December, Mr. MOENS was induced, by the abovementioned motives, to act, for the preſent, merely upon the defenſive, in the hopes that the ſhip that was daily expected from *Batavia*, would bring the long-expected anſwer, and counter-preſents, from the government there, to the nabob of *Myſore*.

In order, however, to make a trial of the real diſpoſition of the kings of *Travancore* and *Cochim*, by making them believe that

he ſeriouſly intended to undertake the proſecution of the war, Mr. MOENS ſent to them to inform them, that having, on his part, got every thing in readineſs to act offenſively againſt the common enemy, he now required of them a categorical anſwer, in how far he could depend upon their ſuccours, and at the ſame time, wiſhing to form a plan, in concert with them, for the commencement of their combined operations.

Upon this, he received from *Travancore* juſt ſuch an anſwer as he expected, in conſequence of the ſecret informations which he had before obtained, at no little expence, of what was paſſing at the court of that prince; it was to the following effect; namely, that the king of *Travancore*, had entered into an alliance with the nabob of *Arcot*, by which it had been ſtipulated, that if he, the king of *Travancore*, were attacked in his own dominions by HYDER ALI, that then the nabob of *Arcot* would come to his aſſiſtance, but that if he were himſelf the aggreſſor, he was not then to expect the ſlighteſt degree of ſuccour; and that, as HYDER ALI had not yet actually committed hoſtilities

hoſtilities upon his territories, his hands were bound from acting any otherwiſe than merely defenſively. Hence it appeared that the liberal promiſes, made by the king of *Travancore*, that he would join all his forces to our's as ſoon as we were in readineſs, were never intended to be performed, and came to nothing; and it may be inferred, that he had no other object in view, in making them, than to encourage the Company to involve themſelves in difficulties, and to keep himſelf entirely out of the ſcrape.

It was not the king of *Travancore* alone who wiſhed for the humiliation of the Company, but the Engliſh were likewiſe animated with the ſame invidious deſires; and although it would have been diametrically oppoſite to their intereſt, that the power of HYDER ALI ſhould be augmented, yet they would have rejoiced to ſee the annihilation of our's on the coaſt of *Malabar*.

A well authenticated anecdote confirms the opinion of their inimical diſpoſition towards us: the chief of *Anſjengo*, converſing on the ſubject of the diſputes which had ariſen between our Company and HYDER ALI,

ALI, expreſſed himſelf in a manner which clearly evinced his ſatisfaction, at the unfavourable poſture which our affairs had taken; "adding, let HYDER ALI take *Cochim* "away from them, it will not be long be-"fore we ſhall take it back from him."

The chief of *Tellicherry* too, as ſoon as he underſtood that the enemy had taken *Paponetty*, allured the different veſſels, that were annually accuſtomed to reſort to *Cochim*, for the purpoſes of trade, to his ſettlement, pretending that *Cochim* was inveſted both by ſea and by land; he even wrote a letter to Mr. MOENS, by which he offered to take under his ſafeguard, at *Tellicherry*, the goods and effects of the Company, with aſſurances, upon his word of honour, that, both with reſpect to the houſing, and to the diſpoſal of articles of merchandiſe, the ſame care and diligence ſhould be employed, as if they belonged to the Engliſh.

But Mr. MOENS, well informed of his underhand dealings, wrote in reply, that matters, far from being come to that extremity, were ſtill in ſuch a ſituation, that the operations of trade were purſued without interruption, and the road was protected by the

the Company's ſhips, and that he therefore begged leave to decline his friendly offer: at the ſame time he ſecretly cauſed information to be given to ſuch veſſels as had run in there, that they might ſafely come to *Cochim*, without any apprehenſion; and this had the effect, that they all immediately left *Tellicherry* and ſailed to *Cochim*, where they diſpoſed of their goods, and were ſupplied with the articles they wanted, as uſual.

At length, the *Groenendaal*, the long-wiſhed-for ſhip from *Batavia*, appeared, and caſt anchor in the road of *Cochim*, on the 9th of January, 1777, having on board an anſwer from the ſupreme government to the letter of HYDER ALI, with the preſents accompanying it.

Mr. MOENS and his council, nevertheleſs, deliberated, whether they ſhould now ſend theſe diſpatches to the nabob, on account of the hoſtilities which he had already committed, or not: after mature conſideration, however, the firſt was unanimouſly reſolved on, becauſe that by this means, if the nabob really ſought peace, it muſt immediately appear. Mr. MOENS added a letter from himſelf, which principally contained the

the reaſons of the long delay of the letter and preſents.

After the lapſe of ſome weeks, HYDER ALI, who had now marched higher up in the peninſula againſt the Marattas, with whom he was equally at war, wrote a letter to Mr. MOENS, and ſent back the people who had been taken priſoners at *Chittua*, providing them with proviſions, and paying their expences as far as *Cochim*, retaining, however, thoſe who had taken ſervice with him; he took no notice in that letter of the preſents which had been ſent to him, although, in all probability, he well knew that they were on the road to him; but he wrote that the diſputes which had ariſen between him and the Company, were occaſioned by miſunderſtanding; that he had indeed ſent a general and ſome troops into the ſandy country, but it was only for the purpoſe of ſeeking after the lands which had belonged to the kingdom of the ſamorin; that our people had ſhot firſt; that he had diſpatched two meſſengers to Mr. MOENS, to adjuſt the differences, but that they had been refuſed to be received; with ſeveral other feigned ſubjects of complaint, and unfounded allegations,

allegations, by which he endeavoured to exculpate himſelf, and to throw the whole blame of the rupture upon the Company; he concluded, however, by offering them his friendſhip, and manifeſted a deſire of accommodating matters.

Upon this, Mr. MOENS replied to him, that nothing was more agreeable to the Company, than to maintain their relations of amity with the princes in the neighbourhood of their eſtabliſhments; that they eſpecially wiſhed to preſerve the friendſhip and good-will of a powerful prince like him, with whom they had never before had any miſunderſtanding; and that, in order to re-eſtabliſh a peace, and to remove all the ſubjects of diſpute which had ariſen between them, he left it to the choice of the nabob, whether his highneſs choſe to ſend his *vakeels* * to *Cochim*, or whether Mr. MOENS ſhould ſend perſons to treat with the nabob at his own court.

When I left *Cochim*, on the 24th of April, 1777, no anſwer had yet come to this laſt letter, but it was expected to arrive every day.

* *Vakeel*, an agent, miniſter, or ambaſſador from a Mooriſh prince. *T.*

The

The probable cauſes of the pacific diſpoſition which now appeared in the nabob, were the following:

Firſt, the open war in which he was engaged with the Marattas, who were endeavouring to reinſtate, in the poſſeſſion of their dominions, thoſe princes, who had formerly been tributary to them, and had now been diſpoſſeſſed by HYDER ALI.

Next, the aſſembling of the *nairs* of the ſamorin, in the mountains, in order to reſtore their prince, who had fled for refuge to the king of *Travançore*, to his dominions; to which likewiſe conduced, that the chief of the Moors, who conſtituted almoſt the half of the ſubjects of the ſamorin, and whom HYDER had left in his office, upon his paying a large ſum of conſideration-money, had now revolted from the conqueror, and had gone over, with his people, to the mountains, where he had joined the *nairs*.

Laſtly, HYDER ſaw that the fortifications we had made at *Cranganore* and *Aycotte*, together with the *Travancore* lines, were of ſuch a nature, that he could not attack them with much hopes of ſucceſs; and, conſequently,

quently, not penetrating to *Cochim*, that he could not preſcribe his own terms to the Company.

I have before hinted, that the principal object of our Company, in expelling the Portugueſe from this coaſt, was in order to become poſſeſſed of the pepper-trade, excluſively of all others; to which, perhaps, other reaſons of political expediency might be added.

They, however, early met with much diſappointment on this head, both by the bad faith of the Malabar princes, and by the conſtantly encreaſing competition of European rivals, who adopted a ſurer mode of obtaining as much pepper as they wanted, by always following the marketprice, or even paying ſomething above it, while our Company continually inſiſted upon the performance of the contracts, that no pepper ſhould be furniſhed to any others, although a fixed price was never ſtated in them, and they only ſpeak of the marketprice, as the rule to go by *.

* *Secret Conſiderations of the Commandant* DE JONG, of the 25th of October, 1757. *S.*

The

The ſelling of pepper to other nations was ſtigmatized as a contraband trade, which ought to be put a ſtop to by compulſion, if other means were not ſufficient; and force was reſorted to at different times for that purpoſe; but theſe attempts were as little productive of the effects propoſed, as they were expenſive; for the princes themſelves were not able to reſtrain their ſubjects from carrying on this trade with other nations, by which they made double the advantage that they did in ſelling to us *.

By all theſe viciſſitudes and occurrences, the Malabar coaſt has been rendered, from the period that it was conquered, to a few years ago, one of the heavieſt burthens of the Company in India; and this it was that made the governor general, Mossel, addreſſing himſelf to the director general, Golonesse, who maintained that the *Malabar*, where he had long been ſtationed as commandant, was one of the moſt important poſſeſſions of the Company, uſe theſe words: "I am ſo far from being of your opinion, "that I rather wiſh that the ocean had

* *Secret Conſiderations of the Commandant* De Jong, of the 25th of October, 1757. *S.*

"ſwallowed

" ſwallowed up the coaſt of *Malabar* an " hundred years ago *."

The obſervations of Mr. MOSSEL on the ſtate of the *Malabar* coaſt, need only be attentively peruſed to obtain a conviction of the great detriment which our eſtabliſhments upon it have already been to the Company; they have not ſo much been intrinſically prejudicial as baneful, on account of the continual diſputes and wars which we have been engaged in with the native princes, and not a little by the infidelity and peculation of the ſervants who have been employed here †.

Since

* *Hiſtoire Philoſophique et Politique de l'Abbé* RAYNAL. Tom. I. p. 261. Edition de la *Haye*, 1774. *S.*

M. RAYNAL, in this place, gives an opinion, in a note, that the eſtabliſhments of the Dutch on the coaſt of *Malabar* might, by a more enlarged commercial policy, be rendered of benefit to whoever poſſeſſed the maſtery of the pepper trade from *Java*, *Sumatra* and *Borneo*; " for this purpoſe, it would " merely be requiſite to purchaſe the pepper on the coaſt of " *Malabar*, at an advanced price, ſay one that would compel " other nations to abandon the trade; the benefits which " would accrue upon the immenſe quantities of pepper furniſhed at a very low rate, by thoſe more eaſtern poſſeſſions, " would more than compenſate for the ſacrifice recommended; " and, by this operation, the excluſive commerce might be obtained of a ſpice which has now become an article of univerſal conſumption in moſt parts of the globe." *T.*

† Mr. MOSSEL, however, was of opinion, that, by a better

Since the accommodation of the laſt differences reſpecting the ſamorin, the *Malabar* has, however, again begun to make a tolerable figure in the Company's ſtatements; we do not mean to take into conſideration the ſum written off in the year 1767, to make good the deficiency occaſioned by the infidelity of the perſons employed; the balance, cloſed on the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1771, ſhews, that the expences of the *Malabar* had amounted in the book-year, 1770-1771, to

management, the *Malabar* might be rendered a profitable poſſeſſion to the Dutch; not ſo much by the pepper trade, as by the gains upon the ſpices, ſugar, arrack, and Japan copper, which may be diſpoſed of here. He ſuppoſes that the profits upon theſe might annually be *f.*250,000, and the charges of the whole *f.*232,000, or *f.*18,000 (about £.6,636 ſterling) leſs than the gains; to which is to be added, what might be gained upon the pepper: in 1778, 1,000,000 *lbs.* of pepper, from the coaſt of *Malabar*, were ſold in *Holland*, at 17 ſtivers (nearly 1*s.* 7*d.*) per pound; the purchaſe-coſt on the coaſt, is, by the treaties, from four to five ſtivers per pound: the pepper, however, muſt then be ſent to *Ceylon*, and thence conveyed to Europe, whereby much expence is incurred, but not ſo much as not to leave a conſiderable profit. Mr. MOSSEL's calculation of the charges is, however, made upon the ſuppoſition that the Company's eſtabliſhment on the *Malabar* coaſt, amounts to no more than 300 or 400 perſons, and we have before ſeen, page 233, that in 1776-1777, there were 867 Europeans, and 405 natives, in the Company's ſervice here. *T.*

*f.*205,570.

*f.*205,570. 17.; and, on the other hand, the profits amounted to *f.*325,687. 17. 8, leaving a handſome advance upon the whole of *f.*120,117. 0. 8 *; and theſe profits would, under the diſintereſted adminiſtration of Governor MOENS, have been larger, had not the unhappy diſputes, which I have before detailed, been the means of greatly augmenting the charges †.

The articles which are of the moſt current vent, of thoſe ſent hither by the Company, are cloves, nutmegs, and mace; but the leaſt part of them is conſumed on the coaſt, for a much more conſiderable quantity is exported by country-veſſels, who trade hither from the northern parts of the Arabian ſea, *Muſcat*, and the gulph of *Perſia*, where ſuch an advance upon the prices is

* About £.10,920 ſterling. *T.*

† In the year 1779, however, the charges of the *Malabâr* eſtabliſhment were *f.*489,645, while the profits amounted together to no more than *f.*414,977, or *f.*74,668 (about £.6,606 ſterling) leſs than the charges, excluſive of the expences of the conveyance from *Batavia* of the articles ſold. Beſides pepper, ſome cardemom, and caſſia lignea, is furniſhed for Europe from the *Malabar*; and a conſiderable number of ſlaves are yearly ſent, in private trade, to *Batavia*, and the *Cape of Good Hope*. *T.*

obtained, as defrays the charges and riſk of conveyance; theſe veſſels bring, on the other hand, capok, which is diſpoſed of to advantage at *Cochim*.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XV.

Further Stay on the Coaſt.—Departure from COCHIM. — *Paſſage through the Channel of* MAMALA. — *A lunar Eclipſe.* — *Singular Whiteneſs obſerved in the Seawater—Seen by other Navigators.—Account of a ſimilar Phenomenon from* VALENTYN. — *Deſcription of a curious Species of Shellfiſh.—Of Inſects in the Sea occaſioning a luminous Appearance.—View of Cape* ST. JOHN.— *Arrival at* SURAT. — *Changes that had taken Place there.—Termination of the War between the Marattas and the Engliſh.* — *Optional Ceſſion of* SALSETTE *to the latter.—Repented of by the former—Who complain of ill Faith in the Engliſh.*

THE ſhip *Ouwerkerk* having undergone ſome neceſſary repairs, and taken in water for the proſecution of her voyage, was in readineſs to ſail on the 26th of December; but the conſtant apprehenſion that the fleet of the nabob would make an attempt to effect a landing on the iſland of *Baypin*, made the government at the *Malabar* determine to keep the ſhip ſtill on the coaſt, till a two-maſt bark, expected from *Ceylon*, or the ſhip

from *Batavia*, ſhould arrive. I received orders to ſail with the *Ouwerkerk* to before *Aycotte*, there to relieve the ſhip *Hoolwerf* (whoſe cargo, if ſhe ſtaid longer, would have been ſubject to be ſpoiled), to remain there till further orders; and, in caſe any hoſtile veſſels ſhould appear, to uſe my beſt endeavours to reſiſt and prevent the execution of their deſigns.

I remained at anchor there till the 9th of January, 1777, when I received my diſpatches on board, with permiſſion to purſue my voyage to *Surat*, upon which I immediately weighed anchor, and ſet ſail; but I was obliged, by contrary wind and ſtream, to anchor again at ſunſet. In the mean time the ſhip, *Hoolwerf*, replaced mine in the ſtation before *Aycotte*, and the *Groenendaal*, which had left *Batavia* on the 20th of November, and had arrived the day I received permiſſion to depart, lay at anchor before *Cochim*.

About midnight, when the land-wind began to blow, we again got under ſail, ſteering for the channel of *Mamala*, intending to run through it between the *Laquedive* and the *Maldive* iſlands, and to purſue our voyage

to

to *Surat* to the weſtward of the former. Although this was a circuitous route, as the northeaſterly winds blew ſtrong, yet there was no other means of fulfilling the object of our voyage, for we were commanded by our inſtructions from the government at *Batavia*, to keep out of ſight of the land, on account of the Maratta fleet, till we were in the latitude of Cape *St. John*, and we could not, therefore, avail of the uſual alternate ſea and land winds, which do not blow far out at ſea, and with the aſſiſtance whereof we might otherwiſe have effected the paſſage with great quickneſs.

For the firſt eight days, we met with very ſtrong currents, which ſet us ſometimes to the north, and ſometimes to the ſouth, without that we diſcovered either the iſlands on one hand, or thoſe on the other. On the 18th of January, we perceived but a very feeble current, and by the encreaſing north-weſterly variation of the compaſs, we computed that we had already paſſed the weſternmoſt of the *Laquediva* iſlands; we then ſteered as high up to the N.W. as the ſcantineſs of the wind would allow, in order to get into higher latitudes.

On the 23d, we ſaw another eclipſe of the moon. Full one-half of the planet was obſcured, on its ſouth ſide; the beginning could not be obſerved, by reaſon of the hazineſs of the weather.

On the 30th, we met, at night, with a very ſingular appearance in the colour of the ſea. It aſſumed ſo great a degree of whiteneſs, that it was perfectly like milk. During the day, we had obſerved that the water was darker and browner than uſual, and had loſt that azure clearneſs which it almoſt always has in the open ſea: in proportion as the evening twilight diminiſhed, it became whiter, and encreaſed gradually in whiteneſs till nine o'clock, when it was ſo white, that the whole ſea appeared as if covered with a white ſheet, or exactly like the appearance, in the night-time, of a flat country overſpread with ſnow. The horizon was not diſtinguiſhable, except to the north-weſt, where the line of diſtinction between the ſea and the ſky was diſcernable, from the latter being ſomewhat dark and gloomy. This phenomenon was entirely diſtinct from the luminous appearance which is frequently obſerved in the water of the ocean, as, inſtead

ſtead of giving any light, the whole was of a deadly paleneſs, excepting cloſe to the veſſel, where it ſeemed mixed with ſome ſparks of light. While it was at the ſtrongeſt, I had the lead caſt ſeveral times, but we found no ground with a line of one hundred and fifty fathoms. I had ſome of the water taken up, and examined it directly with the microſcope, but could not ſee any thing in it, with a glaſs of the greateſt magnifying powers; to the naked eye, it appeared as clear as cryſtal; and, on taſting it, it ſeemed to have loſt ſomething of its briny and bituminous taſte.

The ſame appearance was obſerved by the Engliſh captain NEWLAND, in the ſame part of the ocean, with the difference, however, that he ſaw it intermixed with black ſtripes running in a ſerpentine direction through the whiteneſs, which I did not ſee in it. He likewiſe diſcovered animalculæ in it, by putting a glaſs, with ſome of the water, in a dark place, and holding his hand cloſe over it *; but neither did I obſerve any thing of this kind, although I likewiſe filled

* See *Hedendaagſche Vaderlandſche Letteroeffeningen* (a Dutch periodical publication), vol. iii. no. V. art. *Miſcellanies*, page 204. *S.*

a glaſs

a glaſs with the water, and put it in a dark place, but without holding my hand over it.

The account given of this phenomenon by Mr. NUBURK, volume ii, page 84 and 85, agrees perfectly with the above.

About midnight, when the moon roſe, the water reſumed, by degrees, its former duſky colour, and on the following morning it appeared the ſame as the day before.

We were then, by eſtimation, ſixty leagues from the coaſt of *Arabia Felix*, which was the neareſt land. Our north latitude was 16°, and our compaſſes ſhewed a northweſterly variation of five degrees.

We had a light breeze of wind, chiefly from the northeaſt, varying, however, from E.N.E. to N.N.E.; the thermometer ſtood at 72°; the ſky was, in general, ſlightly clouded; and the ſtars were viſible: I had no reaſon to ſuppoſe that the moon had any influence upon this phenomenon, or had contributed to it, it having been in the quarter the day before; and the more, as we did not diſcover any ſtrong current.

I remember to have read ſomewhere in VALENTYN, that this ſame appearance is alſo ſometimes obſerved in the ſeas between

Amboyna

Amboyna and *Banda**; but I am well aſſured that it could never be more diſtinctly ſeen than when I obſerved it.

On

* It appears from VALENTYN, that this phenomenon, which he calls *het witwater* (the white water), occurs twice every year in the ſeas around *Banda*; the firſt time, when it is denominated the little *witwater*, it takes place at the new moon, in June; it is but ſlight in July, but does not entirely ſubſide before the ſame appearance occurs again at the new moon in Auguſt, when it is called the great *witwater*. In the day-time, the ſea appears as uſual; but in the night, it aſſumes a milkwhite hue, and the reflection of it in the air is ſo great, that the ſky cannot be diſtinguiſhed from the water. Land is very eaſily diſcerned by night, in it, for the land appears very black in the middle of the whiteneſs. Very little fiſh is caught during the time that it laſts, but afterwards ſo much the more; the fiſh do not like the water, and the clearneſs of it makes them eaſily ſee the fiſhing-tackle and boats, and conſequently avoid them. It has likewiſe been obſerved to rot the bottoms of veſſels which lie much in it. It throws up, on the ſhores where it reaches, a great deal of ſlime, and filth, and likewiſe different ſpecies of blubber or *molluſca*, *bezaantjes* (*holothuria phyſalis*, or Portugueſe men-of-war), &c. It is dangerous for ſmall veſſels to be at ſea in the night, where it comes, as, though it may be calm, the ſea always rolls with heavy ſurges, enough to overſet ſmall veſſels; and it ſeems as if they were occaſioned by ſubaqueous exhalations preſſing upwards for a vent. It is chiefly ſeen between *Banda*, and the ſoutheaſtern iſlands, to the ſouthward of the iſlands of *Aroe* and the *Keys*, down to *Tenimber*, where the heavieſt rolling of the ſea is obſerved, and *Timor Laut*; it runs weſtward as far as *Timor*; and to the north, it is met with on the ſouth coaſt of *Ceram*, keeping, however, to the

On the following evening, and part of the night, we ſaw this phenomenon again, the ſouth of the *Uliaſſers* and *Amboyna*, where it appears in large ſtripes. This milk-ſea, as VALENTYN emphatically calls it, is clearly ſeen in the night, from the hills at *Amboyna*, ſtretching towards *Banda*; for at *Amboyna* itſelf, it does not properly occur, having only been known once to have reached that iſland, namely, in 1656. When it begins to abate, it runs along the iſlands of *Omo*, and *Ende*, or *Floris*, and finally, in ſtripes as far as *Bouton*, and even to *Saleyer*, and the coaſt of *Celebes*, where it gradually loſes itſelf in the other ſeawater, or mixes with it. The more tempeſtuous the weather proves, the more it rains, and the harder the ſoutheaſt tradewind blows, the more this white water is ſeen. It is entirely unknown whence it proceeds; but it has generally been ſuppoſed to come from the gulph of *Carpentaria*. Some have conſidered the whiteneſs as occaſioned by myriads of animalculæ; and others have aſcribed it to a ſubtle, ſulphureous, marine exhalation, which they have ſuppoſed to ariſe from the bottom of the ſea, and to become condenſed in the water. But though brimſtone be produced in conſiderable quantities, at *Amboyna* and *Banda*, and likewiſe upon *Nila*, *Teeuwer*, *Dammer* (three iſlands, ſouth of the two former, and between them and *Timor*, little known to any but the Dutch), and elſewhere in theſe parts, yet, ſays VALENTYN, if the white water were cauſed by that circumſtance, it would be obſerved, wherever ſulphur is found in large quantities: but, unable to aſſign any other reaſon, he leaves the ſolution of this phenomenon to be determined by future diſcoverers and naturaliſts. He likewiſe ſays, it has been obſerved at the *Mayotte* or *Comora* iſlands, to the northweſtward of *Madagaſcar*, and between it and the main land of *Africa*. VALENTYN *Beſchryving van Ooſt Indien*, vol. II. page 137 and 138, and vol. III. part 2, page 10 and 11. *T.*

and

and every night till the 3d of February, but in a ſlighter degree every ſucceeding time, and on the evening after that day, it was not viſible at all; there was, however, a ſtrong luminous appearance in the water; we were then, by eſtimation, thirty-five leagues from the neareſt part of *Arabia Felix*, being in the north latitude of 17° 30′, and our compaſſes ſtill ſhewing a northweſterly variation of five degrees.

During the time that we ſaw this white water, the ſky was ſometimes entirely clear, with a fine ſtarlight down to the very horizon, and ſometimes it was cloudy, and even quite overcaſt; ſo that it does not appear to me that the ſtate of the weather had any influence upon it: the thermometer continued, for the moſt part, at the point at which it was the firſt evening.

On the 1ſt of February, and the day after, we took up out of the ſea a kind of little ſhellfiſh, univalve and ſpiral, which floated on the ſurface of the water; the ſhell was of a beautiful azure colour beneath, gradually becoming lighter towards the opening; they were of various ſizes, the largeſt being as big as a little garden-ſnail, and the ſmalleſt of the

the ſize of a common perriwinkle; the animal that inhabited the ſhell had the ſame ſpiral form; but inſtead of the horny covering, or cap, that cloſes the opening of the perriwinkle, this animal had a large hollow bladder, perfectly white, and filled with air, about an inch and a half in length, and half an inch in thickneſs; it was of an oval ſhape, and ſerved to keep the little animal, with its fragile habitation, floating on the waves; this membrane was attached to the fore part of the animal, and, upon being carefully ſeparated from it, there appeared a little oval head, from which projected two little horns, like thoſe which ſnails generally have. Upon being bruiſed, the animal yielded a beautiful purple liquor, which, when viewed in the microſcope, had an appearance of very ſmall animalculæ, of a vermicular ſhape, like thoſe which are met with in ſtagnant rainwater, tranſparent, and comparable for ſize, or rather for minuteneſs, to the *trichoda*, or wheel inſect. I evaporated this liquid, and obtained from it a dry powder, which, when rubbed down, and mixed with gum-water, made a beautiful purple paint.

I believe, as we were then not far from the

the Gulph of *Arabia*, that theſe animals were driven by the currents out of the Red Sea, where, I think, they are met with.

To ſeveral of theſe ſhells adhered a number of very minute muſcles, of the ſame ſhape and appearance, as thoſe which we vulgarly call longnecks, and which adhere to the bottoms of ſhips, or to timber that has been long in the water; ſome very ſmall crabs likewiſe were ſeen upon the ſhells.

Although I had many times in vain examined the ſeawater, in order to diſcover what might be the cauſe of the luminous appearance which it ſometimes aſſumes at night, I was fortunate enough, on the 10th of February, to diſcover in it thoſe animals, whoſe rapidly varying and ſhooting motion, occaſion, in my opinion, this circumſtance. Their length was about two lines, and their breadth one line: they are flat, and perfectly tranſparent: the animal conſiſted of nine annulæ, or rings, the ſmalleſt of which was the head, out of which two little horns projected; the rings encreaſed in ſize and breadth to the ninth, or laſt, which alone made one-third of the whole length, and formed the poſterior part of the animal; a gut, or duct,

ran

ran through the whole length, in the middle of the body, which was narrow at the head, but encreaſed in width till about the middle of the ninth diviſion, where it ſpread out into many little branches: in the middle of this duct a ſubſtance appeared, which had a kind of periſtaltic motion from behind to before, and which I looked upon as the *principium vitæ* of the animal: quite at the extremity of the ninth annula there were two ſmall openings, round which four little legs, or arms, were diſcernible, and there appeared to be ſeveral more, but they were ſo very minute, that I cannot with certainty aſſert that there were more.

In the ſame water I alſo found an inſect of the ſame ſize, which, when viewed by the glaſs, No. IV, had the ſame ſhape as that of which a drawing is given in Captain PHIPPS's Voyage to the North Pole, in plate XII, figure 2, and deſcribed under the name of ſea-louſe *.

We

* Fig 2, plate XII. in PHIPPS's Voyage, is *cancer nugax, macrourus, articularis, pedibus quatuordecim ſimplicibus, laminis femorum ſex poſteriorum dilatatis ſubrotundo cordatis.* It is added, that this animal, which had not before been deſcribed, ſhould be inſerted in the *Syſtema Naturæ* near *cancer pulex*; it was taken in the trawl

We ſtruggled with contrary winds till the 8th of February, before we could reach twenty degrees of north latitude; we then got better opportunities of gaining an eaſting, as the winds veered to N.N.E. and north, and when we were before the mouth of the Gulph of *Perſia*, they even run to N.W. and W.N.W. with which we purſued our voyage with tolerable ſucceſs; on the 19th of that month, we ſtruck ſoundings, for the firſt time, in forty-nine fathoms, black ſandy clay, with ſmall ſhells and gravel, and afterwards a greeniſh hard clay bottom, and on the 21ſt we let drop our anchor, at two o'clock, A.M. in twenty-one fathoms, as the current was againſt us.

At eight o'clock, when the ſtream had ſubſided, and the flood began to riſe, we again got under ſail, and at half paſt nine, we came in ſight of the high land of Cape *St. John*, finding ourſelves, by obſervation, at noon, twenty-nine leagues and a half more to the weſtward than by the ſhip's reckoning.

trawl near *Moffen* iſland. The *cancer pulex*, was taken up in the ſame trawl. It is ſingular that ſimilar animals ſhould be found to exiſt in the arctic and in the tropical ſeas. T.

At three o'clock, P.M. when the flood had left us, and the wind became contrary, we anchored again, and ſo on, working up with the tides of flood, and lying over when the counter-ſtream began; we were, the following morning, before *Ternapour*; in the evening, we had paſſed the city of *Daman*; on the 23d, in the morning, we were beyond the little hill of *Balzany*; and, in the evening, in ſight of the road of *Surat*.

We anchored there on the 24th of February, and having moored the ſhip at night, I went up to *Surat* on the following day, and reaching the town at four o'clock in the afternoon, I landed at the Dutch wharf, where I fixed my quarters in a houſe not far from it, which had been hired for me.

On my arrival, I found that many changes had taken place in our direction, ſince I had been here laſt. The late director, B——, had been recalled by the ſupreme government, and being fearful that, if he went to *Batavia*, he would there meet with his deſerts, as he was perfectly conſcious of his negligence, if not of his miſconduct, in his adminiſtration, he reſolved, as ſoon as Mr. VAN DE GRAAF, who had been appointed

pointed his ſucceſſor in the directorſhip, arriyed in an Engliſh ſhip from the *Malabar*, where he had been the ſecond in command, to put himſelf under the protection of the Engliſh Company, and to take his paſſage to *Bombay*, by the ſame veſſel that had brought Mr. VAN DE GRAAF.

Similar apprehenſions were entertained by the ſecond, Mr. S——, who equally, a few days afterwards, ſought the protection of the Engliſh; it was, however, only for one night, as on the following morning, Mr. VAN DE GRAAF ſucceeded in perſuading him to return back to the Company.

On the 10th of March, a report was received here that the nabob of *Myſore*, HYDER ALI, had obtained a ſignal victory over the Marattas, in which that nation were ſaid to have loſt full forty thouſand men killed on the field of battle, and that the victor had advanced, with his army, within twentycoſs of *Poonah*; but no confirmation was received of this news before my departure.

The war between the Marattas and the Engliſh, of which I have before made mention, had been terminated the preceding

year, by a treaty of peace, by which no adequate advantages were obtained, on the part of the Engliſh, in the proportion that might naturally be expected from their conqueſts and ſucceſſes. This has even laid the foundation of a renewal of hoſtilities.

The laſt article contains a ceſſion, by the Marattas, to the Engliſh Company, of the iſland of *Salſette*, near *Bombay* (the poſſeſſion of which is the main ſpring upon which the welfare of the Engliſh Company, on this coaſt, turns, both becauſe the iſland is only ſeparated from *Bombay* by a narrow river, and becauſe, being very fertile, it is conſidered as the granary of that eſtabliſhment), with a clauſe, that if the Engliſh Company did not prefer this place, they ſhould have the option of a diſtrict in the *Baroche* country, yielding an annual revenue of three lacks of rupees. The choice was not a matter of heſitation, or difficulty, to the Engliſh; they abided by the ceſſion of *Salſette*. But in this, ſay the Marattas, the Engliſh, or rather the preſidency of *Bengal*, to whom the ratification of the treaty, and the option contained in it, were referred, acted deceitfully; for they allege, that both parties had

had agreed, by a ſecret article, that this optional ceſſion ſhould be made on the part of the Marattas merely to ſave appearances, and for the honour of the Engliſh Company, that they might have the name of making choice of one of the two, whilſt, in the mean time, the Engliſh had ſolemnly promiſed that they would take the beforementioned diſtrict in the *Baroche* country, and reſtore *Salſette* to the Marattas. On this account, the Marattas would not ſuffer the Engliſh envoy to leave *Poonah*, and ſent word to *Bombay*, that they inſiſted upon having *Salſette* reſtored to them, or elſe upon the war being renewed.

CHAPTER XVI.

Journey by Land from SUALLY *to* SURAT.—*Tower of* SUALLY.—*Hackeries.—Sandhills.—Inlet of the Sea, called the Baſon of* SUALLY.—*The Village.—Hoſpitable Conduct of the Perſee Chief.—Departure from* SURAT.—*Arrival at* COCHIM.—*Departure again.—Doubling of Cape* COMORIN.—*Signs of Land.—View of the Iſlands of* NASSAU—*Account of that, and other Iſlands on the weſt Coaſt of* SUMATRA.—*Arrival at* BATAVIA.—*The Ouwerkerk appointed to return to Europe.—Death of the Governor General,* VAN RIEMSDYK, *and Election of Mr.* DE KLERK *in his Stead—Reſolutions taken by the Government at his Inſtance.—Heats of the Iſle of* BANTAM, *and Coronation of his Succeſſor by a Deputy from* BATAVIA.—*Tour up the Country, and to the Seat of the Governor General.*

ON the 23d of March, I went, early in the morning, on board of my ſhip, accompanied by the comptroller of equipment, BOELEN: the next day, leaving her again, we landed in the *Korry*-bay, juſt within the river's mouth, in order to go by land thence

to

to *Sually*, and further to *Surat*; for that purpoſe, we had the day before given orders that five hackeries ſhould be ready to receive us.

Before we got into them, we firſt went to ſee the tower of *Sually*, which ſerves as a beacon to make the road of *Surat*, and points out the anchoring-place.

It is erected upon one of the little ſand-hills which lie about two miles from the banks of the river. It was built many years ago, as a tomb, over the grave of an Engliſh captain, who lies buried here; it appeared to me to be between twenty-five and thirty feet in height, ſquare, and covered at top with a cupola. As the entrance to it was ſhut, we could not take a view of the inſide; but I was told, that there was a pleaſant apartment in the upper part of it, where the Engliſh ſometimes met on parties of pleaſure.

At half paſt ſix o'clock, we each got into a hackery, though there is ſufficient room in one of theſe carriages for two perſons: the other three were intended for our ſervants and baggage.

The weather was exceſſive hot that day, and we had nothing to ſhield us from the

ſcorching rays of an eaſtern ſun, as theſe carriages had no kind of covering or awning; moreover, there was not the leaſt breeze of wind, to mitigate the fervency of the air.

We firſt rode to the northeaſt, through a ſandy and uncultivated plain, in which there was nothing to relieve the eye, but here and there a dwarfiſh, faded, and drooping buſh or ſhrub. Having purſued this direction and road for about two hours, we then turned more to the northward and weſtward; here we rode acroſs a valley, which appeared to me to bear all the ſigns of having formerly been the main bed of the river, or, at leaſt, to have been a branch of it.

We then came again to ſome ſandhills, from the tops of which we had a pleaſant view of an arm or inlet of the ſea, formerly called the *Baſon of Sualy*, and where it is ſaid, our ſhips uſed to lie at anchor in former times *.

Upon theſe ſandhills there was ſtill one of the tombs of our people in exiſtence; it ſtood upon four pillars, riſing about twenty feet from

* In VALENTYN's time, the ſhips that frequented the port of *Surat*, lay at anchor in the *Baſon of Sually*, whence moſt goods were carried up to the city upon oxen. T.

the

the ground; we could not diſcover by whom, or for whom, it was erected, as there was no inſcription upon it. On an adjacent ſandhill, were the ruins of another. Under the firſt, was a vault, in which we ſaw a great number of bones, and ſome pieces of wood.

About a quarter of an hour's walk from here lies the village of *Sually*, which we reached at half paſt twelve o'clock. It conſiſts merely of forty or fifty houſes, or huts, built under the ſhade of a grove of trees. All the inhabitants are Perſees.

The chief of the village, called *Cattoual* by the Moors, and *Petil* by the Perſees, received us at his houſe, with every mark of reſpect and hoſpitality; he brought the water to waſh us, and poured it upon our hands himſelf; he brought us as much milk as we could drink, and ſaw us provided with whatever elſe we ſtood in need of.

This village, which, I reckon, lies three or four Dutch miles north or N.N.E. from the tower of *Sually*, is very populous for its ſmall ſize; and the great numbers of the children we ſaw, afforded proofs of the prolificneſs of the women, although it is frequently expoſed to the incurſions and ravages of the Coolies and

and the Marattas, by whom they have latterly been twice plundered of their all, within the ſpace of one year; and to theſe depredators they dare not offer any ſhew of reſiſtance, which would coſt them their lives as well as their property.

We ſtopped to reſt ourſelves here till half paſt three o'clock in the afternoon, when we again ſet out on our journey to *Surat*.

We travelled, as before, through a barren, ſandy plain, without any trees or verdure: the heat was nearly intolerable, and we were deprived of the leaſt air of wind: we were entirely expoſed to the ardency of the ſun, till five o'clock, when we came into a road, which was a little ſhaded, as far as the village of *Batta*. When we came to the riverſide, oppoſite to *Attua*, we found a veſſel lying ready to receive us, and to carry us up to the city, where we arrived at half paſt ſeven o'clock in the evening.

As ſoon as the bales of piecegoods were arrived from *Baroche*, in the beginning of the month of April, all expedition was uſed to haſten my departure, as the bad monſoon was at hand; and I had, beſides, to touch at *Cochim*, to deliver there one lack of rupees, which

which I was to take with me from here. I ſhipped likewiſe one hundred Moors for *Batavia.*

I went on board, with my final diſpatches, on the 7th of April, and, on the next day, we weighed anchor at four o'clock, P.M. and got under ſail; we ſhortly afterwards paſſed Cape *St. John*, and got out to ſea.

On the 15th, we had ſight of *Cape Ramas*, a few leagues ſouth of the Portugueſe city of *Goa*; further we did not meet with any thing remarkable on the voyage, till on the 19th of that month we caſt anchor before the city of *Cochim.*

I went on ſhore the day after my arrival, to pay my reſpects to Governor MOENS, in whoſe houſe I took up my reſidence, in conſequence of his friendly offer.

Having landed here the hundred thouſand rupees, and taken in a freſh ſupply of water, I urged my departure on account of the advanced ſtate of the ſeaſon. I received my diſpatch on the 24th of April, and I immediately got under ſail.

Since the 16th of this month, we had had, almoſt every evening, dreadful ſtorms of thunder, lightning and rain; as is not unuſual

ſual in theſe latitudes; the lightning was ſo fierce, that the ſky appeared in one blaze of fire; they, however, were ſomewhat abated when we paſſed Cape *Comorin*, on the 27th of April. This bad weather was a prognoſtic of the approaching bad monſoon.

We took our departure from that promontory, being the laſt land which we ſhould probably ſee, till we approached the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*.

We firſt ſteered E.S.E. intending afterwards to bear away E. by S. or as much more ſouth, or eaſt, as would be neceſſary for us to paſs the line in the longitude of 113°.

On the 9th of May, being, by computation, in longitude 106°, we met with much ſeaweed, pieces of bamboo, wood, branches and leaves of trees, &c. which were ſigns that we began to near the land; although it afterwards appeared, that we were then ſtill at a great diſtance from the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*, which made me think, in the ſequel, that all theſe might have come from the little iſland, which is laid down in the map of the Indian ocean, in longitude 105°, and which is called the *Low Iſland*. Upon meeting, however, with theſe ſigns of land, we

we determined to paſs the line as ſpeedily as poſſible, in order, agreeable to the Company's ſailing-orders, to make the iſland of *Good Fortune* *, as being bold and free from ſhoals; but we were deceived, for inſtead of ſooner making *Sumatra*, it was not till the 25th of June that we got ſight of the iſland *Naſſau*: we had run down, with the northeaſt winds, into 8°, ſouth latitude, where we drove about ſeveral days in calms; we then got the ſoutheaſt winds, with which we ſailed large till in 3°, and when we deſcried *Naſſau*, we were, by the ſhip's reckoning, beyond the longitude of *Batavia*.

Our miſreckoning, upon diſcovering the iſland of *Naſſau*, we found to be 8° 29′, or one hundred twenty-ſeven and a half leagues of longitude; which great error we aſcribed ſolely to the force of the currents ſetting to the weſtward, together with the frequent calms and light airs of wind, which had obſtructed our real progreſs.

I regretted much my not having tables of

* One of the largeſt of the iſlands that lie parallel with the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*; it is called *Pulo Porah* by the Malays, and is ſituated between the iſland *Mintaon*, or MANTAWAYE, and the *Poggee* or *Naſſau* iſlands. T.

the

the diſtances of the ſun and moon, by which I ſhould ſoon have been enabled to diſcover this important error.

The iſland of *Naſſau*, the largeſt of the range of iſlands that lie before the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*, is middling high, although not mountainous, and in clear weather can be diſcerned at the diſtance of eight or nine leagues *. The ſoutheaſt point, called *Fiſh-*point,

* *Pulo Poggee*, or the *Naſſau* iſlands, are two iſlands which are ſeparated from each other by a narrow channel; the inhabitants of them, and of the iſland *Mantawwye*, are univerſally *tattowed* in the ſhape of birds and beaſts, and their ſkin diſcoloured. Neither of the *Naſſau* iſlands is the largeſt of the range: *Pulo Neas* has the greateſt circumference; it is, except *Pulo Babee*, the northernmoſt, and is not far diſtant from *Natal*, on the coaſt of *Sumatra*, where there is an Engliſh ſettlement, and whence a great trade is carried on to the iſland of *Neas*: the articles received thence are rice and ſlaves, of the laſt not leſs than four hundred and fifty annually, beſides about an hundred and fifty which go to the northern ports; in catching theſe unfortunate victims of the avarice of the chiefs, it is computed that no fewer than two hundred are killed, which together form a conſiderable number for ſuch a country to ſupply. The people of *Neas* are ſmall in their perſons, of a fair complexion, particularly the women, who are moſtly ſent to *Batavia*; but a great proportion of both ſexes are infected with a ſpecies of leproſy, which covers their bodies with white ſcurf, or ſcales, that render them loathſome to the ſight; but this diſtemper, though diſagreeable, does not appear immediately to affect the health, ſlaves, in that ſituation, being daily bought and ſold for field and other

point, runs out very low, and one or two leagues to the ſouth of it, lie two ſmall, and about four or five leagues farther, one ſomewhat larger, iſland; this laſt has, by ſome, been taken for the iſland *Met de Reeven*, or *Reef*-iſland *, which is an error that might have

other out-door work; it is communicated from parents to their offſpring, but though hereditary, it is not contagious. Their ears are made to extend in ſo prepoſterous a manner, with an aperture large enough, in many inſtances, to admit the hand through, as often to be near touching their ſhoulders, though the purchaſers of females ſometimes get them trimmed to the natural ſize. Theſe iſlanders are remarkable for their ingenuity in handicraft works; and, as an inſtance of their ſkill in the arts, they practice that of letting blood by cupping, in a manner peculiar to themſelves, and ſimilar to ours: their principal food is pork, and the chiefs make a practice of ornamenting their houſes with the jaws of the hogs, as well as the ſkulls of the enemies, which they kill: they are revengeful in their tempers, and eſteemed dangerous as domeſtic ſlaves, a defect in their character which philoſophers will not heſitate to excuſe in an independent people, torn by violence from their country and connexions. Earthquakes are frequent in *Sumatra*, and extend to theſe iſlands; in 1763 an entire village was ſwallowed up by an earthquake in that of *Neas*. *T.*

* *Pulo Mego:* this, with ſome other of theſe iſlands, are uninhabited, except by rats and ſquirrels, who feaſt upon the cocoanuts which are produced in them, without controul, unleſs diſturbed by the crews of veſſels from *Sumatra*, that go thither occaſionally to collect cargoes of cocoanuts for market. All theſe ſmall iſlands are ſkirted near the ſeabeach, with cocoanut-

have very dangerous conſequences; the miſtake, however, may eaſily be avoided or

cocoanut-trees, growing ſo thick together, that they almoſt choak each other, whilſt the interior parts are entirely free from them; this is occaſioned by the accidental floating of the nuts to the ſhore, where they are planted by the hand of nature, ſhoot forth, and bear fruit, which falling, as it comes to maturity, ſprings up in like manner, and cauſes a ſucceſſive reproduction. Mr. MARSDEN ſurmiſes that this chain of iſlands may, probably, have once formed a part of the main, and have been ſeparated from it, either by ſome violent effort of nature, or by the gradual attrition of the ſea. A circumſtance preſents itſelf on the coaſt of *Sumatra*, which affords ſome ſtronger colour of proof, than can be uſually obtained in ſuch inſtances. In many places, and particularly about *Pally* and *Laye*, detached pieces of land are obſerved ſtanding ſingly, as iſlands, at the diſtance of one or two hundred yards from the ſhore, which were headlands of points running out into the ſea, within the remembrance of the inhabitants. The tops continue covered with trees, or ſhrubs, but the ſides are bare, abrupt, and perpendicular. The progreſs of inſulation here is obvious and incontrovertible; and the larger iſlands, at a greater diſtance, may have been formed, in the revolution of ages, by the ſame accidents. The probability is heightened by the direction of the iſlands, the ſimilarity of ſoil and productions, and the regularity of ſoundings between them and the main, whilſt without them, the depth is unfathomable. We have been particular in collecting information reſpecting this chain of iſlands, as they are but very little known to Europeans, and little is mentioned of them by any writers except MARSDEN, to whom we are chiefly indebted for theſe particulars. Of *Engano*, the ſouthernmoſt of them, we have introduced a curious

or diſcovered, for the latter lies in the ſouth latitude of 3° 55′, and the former in 3° 30′; and when you are in ſight of *Reef*-iſland, you cannot ſee any thing of the iſland *Naſſau*, as I experienced myſelf in February, 1769; whilſt, when near the other, you cannot fail to ſee the iſland of *Naſſau*. I have diſtinguiſhed this ſmall deceitful iſland, in my ſhip's journal, by the appellation of *Falſe Reef*-iſland.

We continued loitering within ſight of *Naſſau*-iſland till the 2d of July, when we loſt ſight of it, with a light gale of wind from the northweſt.

On the ſame day we ſaw a great deal of filth floating in the water, which being viewed in the microſcope, ſhewed merely like a collection of darkiſh ſpiral filaments, but we could not diſcover any ſigns of life in them.

On the morning of the 4th of July, at

curious account in chapter xi.; to this we may here add, that it is ſo little known, even to the very neareſt inhabitants of *Sumatra*, that the people of *Lampoon* believed its inhabitants to be all females, who were impregnated by the wind, like themares in VIRGIL's georgics; and they ſtyled them, in the Malay Language, *ana Saytan*, or imps of the devil. T.

daybreak, we ſaw the land of *Sumatra's* weſt coaſt, ſouth of *Bencoolen*, and found, that in the few days ſince we had loſt ſight of the iſland *Naſſau*, we had again been driven by the current eighteen leagues to the weſtward.

On the 9th, we at length entered the ſtraits of *Sunda*; we anchored the following noon in the bay of *Anjer*; and on the 16th of July in the road of *Batavia*.

On my arrival here, I learnt that the ſhip *Ouwerkerk* was appointed, by the government, to ſail as a return-ſhip to Europe, in the firſt diviſion of the homeward fleet; and Captain JOHN ABEL, of the ſhip *Vryberd*, (the Liberty) was afterwards appointed commodore of the fleet.

The moſt remarkable occurrence that took place, during my laſt reſidence at *Batavia*, was the death of the governor general, VAN RIEMSDYK, on the 3d of October.

On the following morning, at ſix o'clock, all the bells in the city were tolled for half an hour, as likewiſe at one o'clock in the afternoon, and five o'clock in the evening. This was repeated on the day of interment,

and

and the flags on the ſhips in the road were hoiſted half-ſtaff high.

At half paſt eight o'clock in the morning, all the members of the ſupreme government of India, who were preſent at *Batavia*, aſſembled together, and unanimouſly elected to the vacant office of governor general of the poſſeſſions of the United Provinces in India, the director general, REINIER DE KLERK *, and Mr. WILLIAM ARNOLD ALTING, of *Groningen*, to ſucceed him as director general. This nomination being effected, the keys of the caſtle, and of the city-gates, were preſented to the new governor, who again put them into the hands of the chief of the military. In the ſame ſeſſion of the aſſembly, it was

* Some particulars will be given in the appendix of the life of Governor DE KLERK, abſtracted from ARY HUYSERS' Biographical Account of this extraordinary character. He was a man, who, from the loweſt ſtation, that of a common ſailor, aroſe by the progreſſive operation of merit, to the higheſt dignity in point of grandeur, and extent of power, in the Indies, and, perhaps, in the world. Like ſome of our own eaſtern great men, he performed the moſt eminent ſervices for his employers, though ſometimes at the expence of juſtice and humanity. *T.*

reſolved, at the inſtance of the new governor:

I. That the Javaneſe princes and regents, who, according to ancient cuſtom, were obliged to come to *Batavia* to do homage to the newly-elected governor general, ſhould thenceforward be excuſed from doing ſo, as their coming to *Batavia* generally coſt the Company an expence of a ton of gold *.

II. That, thenceforward, when the governor general was abſent, the counſellor of India, who had the guard of the city, ſhould give the parole.

III. That no counſellor of India, on meeting the governor general in his carriage, ſhould, thenceforward, be obliged to ſtand ſtill, till he had paſſed.

IV. That when the governor general en-

* *f.*100,000, or about 9,090*l.* ſterling. The chief of *Samarang*, however, was appointed to receive the homage of the Javaneſe regents, on the northeaſt coaſt. A political reaſon, likewiſe, concurred to occaſion this reſolution: *Batavia* was, at that time, but thinly inhabited, or garriſoned; and as the native princes uſually brought with them, on ſuch occaſions, a large number of followers, whilſt the Javaneſe were always looked upon by the Dutch as a treacherous people, apprehenſions were entertained for the ſafety of the city. *T.*

tered

tered a church, during the performance of divine ſervice, no perſon, either man or woman, ſhould ſtand up, as had heretofore been required of them.

. Theſe reſolutions being taken, the aſſembly broke up, and the newly-elected governor general was conducted to his country-ſeat, by all the members of the government in a body, where the ceremony of congratulation was performed; after which the new director general was equally accompanied to his houſe, by all the other members of the government.

A mourning for ſix weeks, for the deceaſed governor general, was directed, by an order of council, to be worn by all the qualified ſervants of the Company.

The body of the late governor, was conveyed, in the evening of that day, from his country-ſeat to the caſtle, and laid in ſtate in one of the apartments of the government-houſe, which was hung with mourning on the occaſion; a guard of halberdiers were placed over it, till the day of interment, when it was committed to the earth, in the Dutch church, and the obſequies were performed with great pomp.

On the 1ſt of Auguſt, the envoys from *Bantam* left *Batavia*, who had come in order to impart to the ſupreme government the death of their king; and to requeſt that they would ſend a commiſſary to *Bantam*, with full powers to crown as king, in the room of his father, the prince who had been already choſen as ſucceſſor to the empire, in the year 1768. To this commiſſion was appointed the ordinary counſellor of India, Mr. HENRY BRETON, who ſailed on the 22d of that month, with a ſecond Bantam embaſſy, amongſt whom was the *pangorang warin*, or prince prime miniſter, who had been diſpatched for the purpoſe of accompanying the Dutch commiſſary. Mr. BRETON went by the ſhip *Concordia*, and was accompanied by a conſiderable ſuite of ſome of the higher qualified ſervants of the Company, who embarked partly on board of the ſhip *Hoolwerf*, that was equally going to *Bantam*. The coronation having taken place with great ſplendour, the commiſſary and his ſuite, accompanied by a freſh embaſſy from *Bantam*, returned to *Batavia*, on the 14th of September.

Not having any particular occupation at *Batavia*,

Batavia, I went a tour for a few days up the country, and afterwards I went upon a viſit to the country-ſeat of the governor general, DE KLERK, which is ſituated upon a little river, full two Dutch miles above the city. Around it, the agreeable ſhade of a number of ever-verdant trees ſufficiently mitigate the rays of the ſun, to give much pleaſure in viewing the ſurrounding rice-plantations. The lands which belong to this ſeat, and which extend two Dutch miles farther upwards, are let by the proprietor, for the tenth part of their produce. Having taken a view of this diſtrict, and higher up, as far as *Pondong t-Jabe*, I returned to *Batavia*, in order to make preparations for my voyage to *Holland;* but before I proceed to relate the occurrences of my homeward paſſage, I will give a detail of further obſervations reſpecting the iſland of *Java*, and the city of *Batavia*.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

Situation of JAVA.—*Face of the Country.—The North Coaſt.—The South Coaſt leſs known.—Weather.—Rivers.—Soil.—Agriculture.—Productions.—Rice—Two Sorts, upland Rice, and lowland Rice.—Pepper—Quantities furniſhed to the Company.—Sugar—Chiefly encouraged and manufactured in* JACCATRA.—*Number of Sugarmills.—Their eſtimated annual Income.—Sugarworks, and Method of making Sugar.—Different Qualities of it.—Coffee.—Quantities and Prices of it.—Cotton.—Quantities and Prices of Cotton-yarn.—Salt—An Article of Trade to* SUMATRA.—*Timber.—Large Foreſts.—Indigo—Quantities and Prices.—Other Articles.—Minerals.*

IN my former voyage to *Batavia*, *Bantam*, and *Bengal*, I have made ſome mention of the iſland of *Java*, and devoted an entire book to details and obſervations, reſpecting this excellent country, which may, with juſtice,


Kado
Bay of
Klapper or Cocoa I.
Rovers I.
The KINGDOM of
BANTAM
Welcome Bay
Princes I.
Pepper Bay
Bantam
Speelwyk
Krecatau
Flat Point
Brabands hoedje
Dwars in den Weg
or Middle I.
Little Furnace
Gr. Comb. or Great Furnace
Pt. Ditong
Pt. Baby
Arms of Horn I.
Bay of
Lampoon
SUMATRA

juſtice, be conſidered as the moſt precious jewel in the diadem of our Company. But as my plan did then not allow me to be very ample on this ſubject, I ſhall here enlarge, on ſuch matters as I before ſlightly touched on, or communicate others to my readers which I then purpoſely omitted.

The iſland of *Java*, conſtituting, together with *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, and *Celebes*, thoſe four large iſlands, which were formerly known by the appellation of the *Sunda* iſlands, is the ſouthernmoſt of them. According to the moſt recent and beſt obſervations, it is ſituated between 5° 50′ and 8° 46′ of ſouth latitude, and extends from 120° 5′ to 129° 50′ longitude eaſt of *Teneriffe*, thus full one hundred and eighty Dutch miles in length; and at the broadeſt part, from the point of *Coedoes*, near *Japara*, to the ſouth coaſt of the province of *Mataram*, it is about ſix and thirty Dutch miles over. Its longeſt diameter lies in the direction of W. by N. $\frac{N}{S}$ N. and E. by S. $\frac{W}{S}$ S. To the eaſt, it has the iſland of *Bali*, from which it is ſeparated by a ſtrait of the ſame name: to the north, it has the large iſland of *Borneo*, and thoſe of *Billeton* and *Banca*, at the diſtance

tance of forty or forty-five leagues: to the northweſt is *Sumatra*, from which it is divided by the ſtraits of *Sunda*; theſe are no more than ſeven leagues over at the narroweſt part, namely, from the *Varkens*, or *Hog*-point, to the oppoſite land of *Bantam*, and they are here ſtill more contracted by the iſland *Dwars-in-den-weg*, or *Thwart-the-way*, which lies in the middle of the paſſage: to the weſt and ſouth, its ſhores are waſhed by the waves of the ſouthern ocean.

A chain of high mountains, commencing to the eaſt, in the province of *Balambouang*, and running through it to the weſtward, though gradually decreaſing in height, divides this iſland, longitudinally, into two parts, of which the northern portion is the largeſt and the beſt. The north coaſt has almoſt every where a low and woody foreland, although it has hills in ſome places, for inſtance, a little to the weſt of *Bantam*, where the high land ſtretches down to the ſea coaſt.

The iſland has ſeveral deep inlets, or bays, on this north ſide, as thoſe of *Bantam*, *Batavia*, *Cheribon*, *Samarang*, *Joana*, and *Sourabaya*, where there is every where good

good anchorage, in little depths. Indeed, the whole coaſt affords both good anchoring-ground, and a ſafe road for the veſſels that paſs and repaſs, during the good or ſoutheaſt monſoon; but in the bad monſoon, when the northweſt wind blows in hard gales, and raiſes a high ſea, it is dangerous to anchor near the coaſt, which is then almoſt every where a leeſhore.

The ſouth coaſts of *Java* are much leſs known than the northſide, for the Company have not hitherto taken much trouble to have them examined, ſo that the greateſt part of what is known concerning them, is gathered from the ſcattered information of the navigators who have accidentally ſailed along them, as I did from the 5th to the 15th of October, 1774, of which I have before given a detail*.

In

* In VALENTYN's map of *Java*, which contains five ſheets and a half of large paper, the ſouth coaſts of *Java* are laid down, ſeemingly, with great accuracy; the appearance of the land is every where deſcribed, and the track of ſome navigator who coaſted along it at a very ſhort diſtance, from *Prince*'s-iſland to *Balambouang*, with his ſoundings, anchorages, nature of the bottom, &c. is marked down in it; but it does not appear when, or by whom, this voyage was performed, though, from its direction, it appears probable that it was undertaken

In the good monſoon, the ſky is here almoſt always clear, although ſometimes in the evening a thunder-cloud comes down over the mountains: but this does not frequently happen, except near the time of the breaking up of the monſoon, when many and violent thunderſtorms rapidly ſucceed each other.

In the bad monſoon, the then prevailing weſt winds bring with them heavy rains and violent thunderſtorms; yet this makes but little alteration in the degrees of heat or cold; in the warmeſt part of the day, the thermometer generally ſtands at between 82° and 88°, and is ſeldom higher.

This degree of heat, if accompanied by a motionleſs ſtate of the air, would, by continuance, become intolerable, but all-bountiful Nature, has afforded her aid to the gaſping inhabitants of this torrid clime, by the alternate land and ſea breezes, which blow here every day, in regular rotation; and, if they do not wholly moderate the exceſſive heat,

taken by the command of the Company, for the expreſs purpoſe of exploring the ſouth ſide of *Java*. Comparing M. STAVORINUS's account of part of this coaſt, in chap. 3. of book I. with this map, they ſo far perfectly agree. *T.*

yet

yet they make it more ſupportable, and not very uncomfortable to thoſe who have not to make any conſiderable ſtay here.

The weight of the air is nearly the ſame throughout the year; the barometer ſeldom varies more than two or three lines; but the air did not ſeem to me to poſſeſs ſo much elaſticity as in the northern regions. Experiments in electricity, likewiſe, do not ſucceed here ſo well as in Europe.

Java is watered by a great number of rivers, which all deſcend from the chain of mountains that divides the iſland into two parts; but none of them are ſufficiently navigable for ſhips, or large veſſels, both on account of their inſignificance, and of the bars which lie before their mouths, and upon moſt of which there is little more than one foot depth at low water. The moſt conſiderable, that I have ſeen, is that of *Joana*, together with the *Sedani* or *Tangerang*.

The ſoil is almoſt every where a reddiſh granulated clay, which, during the dry ſeaſon, can be little tilled, by reaſon of its hardneſs, without a great deal of moiſtening.

The labour that is beſtowed upon it, is very

very trifling, in compariſon with the bountiful fertility of the land in the production of various articles of neceſſity, luxury, and commercial importance.

Ploughing is performed here, as in moſt parts of India, with buffaloes, which are abundant. The plough conſiſts of a beam, or pole, eight feet in length, to which, about three feet from the fore-end, is fixed a piece of wood, ſomewhat crooked, and ſharp-pointed; this breaks the ſoil, which is afterwards turned over by a triangular iron coulter of upwards of nine inches in breadth. One or two buffaloes yoked to it, and a Chineſe, or Javaneſe, who guides the plough, leiſurely perform the work of tillage.

No manure is uſed for the land here, at leaſt in as far as regards the fields employed in more extended purpoſes of agriculture; garden-grounds, however, are moiſtened with water in which oil-cakes have been ſoaked; which emits a moſt horrid excrementitious odour, but renders the ſoil rich and fat. The only trouble that is taken with the land of the farmer, conſiſts in burning upon it all the weeds and rubbiſh which it produces; and when one piece of ground ceaſes to yield

ſufficient

ſufficient crops, another is reſorted to, and the firſt is ſuffered to lie fallow for ſeveral years, after which it becomes again fertile of itſelf.

The articles produced in the iſland of *Java*, are far greater in value than thoſe of all the neighbouring countries: they chiefly conſiſt of the following:

In the firſt place, rice: in the abundance, excellence, and flavour of which article of food, it excels all other countries; and it not only produces ſufficient for the ſupport of its own inhabitants, but alſo provides the eaſtern provinces and *Ceylon* with this grain. In my former voyage, I have given an account of this production, and it is therefore unneceſſary that I ſhould ſay much of it here. I will only add, that there are two ſpecies of it; one, which when planted, is ſet nearly under water, ſo that the tops juſt appear above the ſurface, as the rice-plants would otherwiſe die, or be deſtroyed; for being too weak to ſtand againſt the wind by itſelf, the plant ſtands in need of the ſurrounding water to ſupport it. The other ſort, which is planted in the rainy ſeaſon, on high ground, and upon the mountains, receives

the

the moiſture it requires, ſolely from the rains; but it is not ſo good as the former ſort. The lowland rice is called *ſawa*, and is planted in May; while the upland rice, which is denominated *tipar*, is planted in November, and reaped in March; and theſe two crops bear ſome analogy to the winter and ſummer grain with us: the upland rice too does not yield ſo great an encreaſe as the other *.

* Theſe two ſorts of rice are always kept ſeparate, and will not grow reciprocally. Mr. MARSDEN terms the upland rice *laddang*, and the lowland, *ſawoor*. The former of theſe, he ſays, bears the higher price, being a whiter, heartier, and better flavoured grain, and having the advantage in point of keeping. The latter is much more prolific from the ſeed, and ſubject to leſs riſk in the culture, but is of a watery ſubſtance, produces leſs encreaſe in boiling, and is ſubject to a ſwifter decay. It is, however, in more common uſe than the former. Beſides this general diſtinction, the rice of each ſort, particularly the upland, preſents a variety of ſpecies. In general, it may be obſerved that the larger grained rice is the leaſt eſteemed, and the ſmaller and whiter the moſt prized. The upland ſort is alſo called *paddee goenong*, or mountain-rice. It was one of the objects of our government in ſending Captain BLIGH to the South Sea, to procure ſeeds of this mountain-rice; and notwithſtanding the diſaſters befallen him, he obtained ſome from *Timor*, which were forwarded to his Majeſty's botanic garden at *St. Vincent*, and to other parts of the Weſt Indies, where we believe it is now cultivated with ſucceſs. T.

In

In the ſecond place, the pepper from *Java* is an article which, next to the finer ſpices, yields, perhaps, the greateſt proportional advantage to the Company; for though there are more parts where it is produced, and whence it is brought into the Company's warehouſes, namely, the coaſt of *Malabar*, the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*, *Palembang*, and *Borneo*, yet the greateſt quantity of what the Company receive, is produced in the country of *Bantam*, and its dependent provinces on the oppoſite coaſt of *Sumatra*, as appears from the following liſt of what pepper was received at *Batavia* and *Onruſt*, in 1776-1777, viz.

		lb.
from *Bantam* and *Lampong*, -	black pepper	3,714,000
	white ditto	15,000
from *Borneo*, - - - - -	black ditto	1,117,375
	white ditto	16,250
from *Palembang*, - - - -	black ditto	497,507
from *Sumatra's* weſt coaſt, -	ditto ditto	1,119,436 *
from the province of *Jaccatra*,	ditto ditto	1,900

The quantity of pepper ſent in that year from the coaſt of *Malabar* to *Ceylon*, has not been

* The quantity of pepper produced in all the diſtricts of *Sumatra*, under the controul of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, amounts, *communibus annis*, to twelve hundred tons, of which the greater part comes to Europe, and the remainder is ſent to *China*. T.

exactly aſcertained, but I think that it was about 1,500,000 pounds weight.

Sugar is a third article, and by far the chief produce of the province of *Jaccatra*; and although *Cheribon*, and the *northeaſt coaſt of Java*, annually produce conſiderable quantities of it, they cannot rival *Jaccatra* in this reſpect; and no wonder, for the culture of it was early cheriſhed by the higher powers in *Jaccatra*. The cultivators of the ſugar-cane enjoy many exemptions in point of pecuniary impoſts, and they have been encouraged by every means, not only by the government of *Batavia*, for to this there might have been particular motives, but likewiſe upon poſitive orders from the chamber of ſeventeen in Holland, under date the 20th of June, 1710.

On the other hand, the cultivation and manufacture of ſugar has never been proſecuted with vigour, or ſuitably encouraged, on the *northeaſt coaſt*. The various plans of improvement, in this reſpect, which have been ſuggeſted, have never been made any uſe of; and the laſt, which was preſented to the governor general, VAN DER PARRA, in the year 1774, by the reſident of *Japara*, Mr.

Mr. VAN DER BEKE, and which contained many very good things, was never taken any notice of. Nay, ſo far from any encouragement being held out, the importation of ſugar at *Batavia*, from the *northeaſt coaſt of Java*, has been as good as interdicted to private merchants, by a heavy duty of one rupee per picol, which was ſolely laid upon it, in order to favour the ſugarmills in the province of *Jaccatra* and the *Preanger* lands; and thus, the diſcountenancing of the manufacture of ſugar in the other parts of *Java*, is, probably, the cauſe why the common Java ſugar has never attained to be equal in quality to that of *Jaccatra*, the latter being much more ſubſtantial and better granulated.

In the year 1710, there were one hundred and thirty-one ſugarmills in *Jaccatra*; their number, however, decreaſed conſiderably, before, during, and after, the war of *Java*, ſo that at the end of December, 1750, there were no more than ſeventy-ſeven left, of which only ſixty-ſix were in a condition to work; theſe, with ſeven in the kingdom of *Bantam*, eight in that of *Cheribon*, and thirteen in the province of *Java's northeaſt coaſt*, made the number of ſugarmills exiſting, at

that time, in the whole iſland of *Java*, one hundred and five. But, at preſent, 1777, there are ſtill conſiderably fewer.

Mr. Mossel has made a calculation what profit theſe ſeventy-ſeven ſugarmills, in the province of *Jaccatra*, might annually yield to their proprietors, or leſſees: he reckoned that a yearly quantity of ten millions pounds weight of ſugar might be produced by them, which he took at four rixdollars per picol,

is - - - - -	rixd.	320,000
and an equal quantity of molaſſes, from which afterwards, either an inferior ſugar is made, or arrack diſtilled, at one rixdollar per picol,		80,000
together, rixdollars,		400,000*

The whole may be more amply ſeen by referring to his *Obſervations on the Sugarworks in the neighbourhood of Batavia, &c.* dated the 31ſt of December, 1750.

The ſugarcane, which, in general, grows here very luxuriantly, is planted from September to April, and ſtands twelve or fifteen months in the field, according as the land

* Upwards of £.87,000 ſterling, or nearly £.1,200 for each ſugarmill. *T.*

be

be rich or poor, before it is cut. If the ſoil be good, and adapted to its cultivation, it can be cut four times; on ſome grounds leſs often, and on others only once.

The ſugarworks here, are not near ſo well or ſo ſolidly conſtructed, as thoſe which I have ſeen in the Weſt-Indies. The cane is here bruiſed between two rollers, and is therefore twice put through before all the juice is expreſſed; the ſugarmills in the Weſt-Indies have three rollers, ſo that the ſame quantity of cane can be ſqueezed in half the time that is taken for it here: the latter mode, however, requires a proportional greater degree of ſtrength; one or two buffaloes are here ſufficient, but four horſes are, at leaſt, required there for turning the mills.

The juice is twice boiled, and afterwards put into pots, upon which a layer of clay, diluted with water, and kneaded into a paſte, is laid, and it continues in this ſtate for about twenty days, during which time the clay is once or twice renewed; and by this operation the ſugar acquires a tolerable degree of whiteneſs; it is then ſet in the drying-place, which is a ſhed, covered with *ataſ*,

where it remains until it is perfectly dry, and the molaſſes have entirely trickled out of it, through an opening at the bottom.

When a ſugarmill is in good condition, and has no want of workpeople, or of buffaloes, about fifteen thouſand canes can be bruiſed every four-and-twenty hours; theſe yield from nine to eleven pots, containing each fifty pounds weight of ſugar of the firſt and ſecond qualities, twelve pounds of the third quality, and from ſixteen to twenty pounds of molaſſes *.

Mr. MOSSEL calculated that all the canes which the ſixty-ſeven ſugarmills annually conſumed, covered four thouſand ſix hun-

* Many attempts have been made by the Engliſh, at *Bencoolen*, to bring to perfection the manufacture of ſugar and arrack, from the canes abounding on the coaſt of *Sumatra*: but the expences, particularly of the ſlaves, were always found to exceed the advantages. When one time, however, the plantations and works were committed to the management of Mr. HENRY BOTHAM, it manifeſtly appeared that the end was to be obtained, by employing the Chineſe in the works of the field, and allowing them a proportion of the produce, for their labour. The manufacture had arrived at a conſiderable extent, when the breaking out of the laſt war gave a check to its progreſs: but the path is pointed out, and is worth purſuing with vigour. The ſums of money thrown into *Batavia*, for arrack and ſugar, have been immenſe. T.

dred

dred *morgen* (9,200 acres) of land, to which adding the ſame quantity of four thouſand ſix hundred *morgen*, for paſture-ground for the buffaloes, and ten thouſand *morgen* for wood for fuel, the whole extent of ground wanted for the proſecution of that manufacture, with that number of mills, would not amount to twenty thouſand *morgen* (40,000 acres), which is but a ſmall part of the province of *Jaccatra*, north of the mountains.

The firſt quality of the ſugar differs only from the ſecond and third by its greater whiteneſs. The firſt ſort is that which is alone ſent to Europe; the ſecond goes chiefly to the weſtern parts of India; and the third, which is the browneſt, to *Japan*. There is likewiſe another ſort, which is very brown, and much leſs dry; it is called *diſpens*-ſugar, becauſe it is moſtly delivered by the *diſpenſiers*, or purveyors, from the proviſion-warehouſes of the Company, to be uſed on board of their ſhips *.

Coffee

* Dr. THUNBERG ſtates, that, on board of the ſhip by which he went from *Batavia* to *Samarang*, they were furniſhed with very wretched, coarſe, brown ſugar, inſtead of white. When he remonſtrated, in behalf of the ſick, with the captain on

Coffee is likewiſe a product yielding much profit to *Java*, and great advantage to the Company. The cultivation of it is performed in the ſame manner as in the Weſt-India iſlands. *Jaccatra* and *Cheribon* are the two diſtricts where it is moſt vigouroufly proſecuted, though the article is equally grown on the *northeaſt coaſt of Java*. *Java*, where it is not indigenous, is indebted for this production to Mr. ZWAARDEKROON, who was governor general from the year 1718 to 1725, and who procured the coffee-plant from *Mocha*, and after paying a very high price for what was firſt produced (fifteen rixdollars per picol), he continued to encourage the cultivation of it by all the means in his power. His endeavours were ſo well ſeconded by his ſucceſſors, that in the year 1753, 1,200,000 pounds weight of coffee were furniſhed from *Cheribon*, at the rate of $2\frac{113}{1000}$ ſtivers per pound; and full as much from *Jaccatra*, and the

the ſubject, his reply was, that it was not unuſual for the ſhips to be ſupplied with brown and coarſe ſugar, inſtead of white ſugar; and that the difference between the prices of theſe two ſorts went into a common purſe, for the benefit of the ſuperintendants of the warehouſes, where they were packed up. *T.*

Preanger

Preanger lands, at $2\frac{5}{16}$ ſtivers per pound: and, in the ſequel, the quantity produced grew ſo large, that, in the year 1768, the quantity of 4,465,500 pounds weight of coffee, was delivered to the Company from *Jaccatra* and the *Preanger* lands *, at the reduced rate, according to the beſt of my recollection, of four rixdollars per picol of one hundred and twenty-five pounds †, although the native cultivator muſt deliver one hundred and ſixty pounds for a picol, which excedent in the weight is an emolument partly accruing to the commiſſary of inland affairs, and partly to the adminiſtrators in the warehouſes.

But the reaſon why *Jaccatra* appears to furniſh ſo large a proportion of coffee, is, that a conſiderable quantity of this produce that is grown in the parts of the province of *Cheribon*, which are neareſt to *Jaccatra*, come down through the laſtmentioned country to *Batavia*; the income of the commiſſary for inland affairs is hereby greatly enhanced, and it is pretended, that it is more convenient to

* *Journals of the Council of India*, 30th December, 1768. *S.*

† Equal to about 14*s.* 5*d.* ſterling per cwt. See note to page 233 of vol. 1. *T.*

the

the natives: it was the governor general VAN DER PARRA who ſettled it in this manner.

Cotton is likewiſe a production of *Java*. The ſhrub * that produces it, is cultivated in almoſt every part of the iſland by the natives; the kingdom of *Bantam*, however, excepted, where little of it is found; ſo that the yarn which is ſpun of it, in the province of *Cheribon*, and other parts, yields a conſiderable degree of gain, on being clandeſtinely imported into *Bantam*.

The Company, to whom the greateſt part of it is delivered, pay for it, according to its qualities, forty-five, thirty-five, twenty-four, and leſs, rixdollars per picol, of one hundred and twenty-five pounds †.

Jaccatra and the *Preanger* lands furniſhed, in the year 1753, the quantity of about two hundred picols, or twenty-five thouſand pounds of cotton-yarn; and in 1768, no more than 133 picols, or 16,225 pounds. The largeſt part of the cotton-yarn produced is ſent to Holland; the reſt is employed by the

* *Goſſypium herbaceum.*

† Equal to the reſpective rates of 17½*d.* 13½*d.* and 9$\frac{5}{12}$*d.* ſterling, per pound. *T.*

natives,

natives, in weaving of cloths for their own conſumption.

Attempts have likewiſe been made to introduce the manufacture of cotton cloths, as an article of trade for the Company, and to ſuperſede part of their large importations of the article from *Hindoſtan*, but, as it appears, with very little ſucceſs hitherto.

Sixthly; *Java* yields to its poſſeſſors the article of ſalt, though it is not one of very extenſive commercial importance. Moſt of it is brought from *Rembang*, where the Company purchaſe it at the rate of ſix rixdollars per five thouſand pounds, and they export it to the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*, where it is diſpoſed of, generally, at the rate of between thirty and thirty-five rixdollars for three thouſand pounds weight *.

In the ſeventh place, the *northeaſt coaſt of*

* The purchaſe-price here ſtated, is equal to about 10*s.* 10*d.* ſterling per ton Engliſh, and the ſelling-price from 91*s.* 8*d.* to 107*s.* per ton. The natives of the ſea-coaſt of *Sumatra* exchange their benjamin and camphor for iron, ſteel, braſſwire, and ſalt; of which laſt about one hundred thouſand bamboos (gallons) are annually taken off in the bay of *Tappanooly* alone. Theſe they barter again, with the more inland inhabitants, for the products and manufactures of the country, particularly their cotton cloths; of which article very little is imported; and

of Java, and part of the diſtrict of *Cheribon*, furniſh a very large quantity of timber, logs, beams, boards, knees, &c. which is not only

and the ſale of piece-goods in the bay is very inconſiderable. Having no coin, all value is eſtimated among them by certain commodities. In trade, they calculate by *tampangs* (cakes) of benjamin; in tranſactions amongſt themſelves, more commonly by buffaloes: ſometimes braſſwire, and ſometimes beads, are uſed as a medium. A *gallon*, or ring of braſſwire, repreſents about the value of a dollar. But for ſmall payments, ſalt is the moſt in uſe. A meaſure called a *ſaloop*, weighing about two pounds, is equal to a *fanam*, or twopence halfpenny: a *ballee*, another ſmaller meaſure, goes for four *keppeng*, or three-fifths of a penny. The demand for ſalt is moſtly ſupplied by cargoes imported, although in one of the earlieſt letters from *Bencoolen*, to the preſidency of *Madraſs*, it is mentioned that ſalt could not be diſpoſed of as an article of trade; and they alſo manufacture it themſelves; but their method is tedious. They kindle a fire cloſe to the ſeabeach, and pour upon it ſeawater, by degrees. When this has been continued for a certain time, the water evaporating, and the ſalt being precipitated among the aſhes, they gather theſe in baſkets, or in funnels made of the bark or leaves of trees, and again pour ſeawater on them, till the particles of ſalt are well ſeparated, and paſs, with the water, into a veſſel placed below to receive them. This water, now ſtrongly impregnated, is boiled till the ſalt adheres, in a thick cruſt, to the bottom and ſides of the veſſel. In burning a ſquare fathom of firewood, a ſkilful perſon procures about five gallons of ſalt. What is thus made has ſo conſiderable a mixture of the ſalt of the wood, that it ſoon diſſolves, and cannot be carried far into the country. The coarſeſt grain is preferred. MARSDEN's *Sumatra*, pages 153 and 307. *T.*

ſufficient

ſufficient for the wants of *Batavia*, for ſhip-building, the conſtruction of houſes, and domeſtic uſes, but a very conſiderable quantity of it is annually exported to ſeveral of the out-factories, and, in particular, to the *Cape of Good Hope*.

The large foreſts which are met with in the above diſtricts, belong to the Company; the natives are obliged to fell and prepare the timber, as a kind of feudal ſervice, ſo that no other emolument is made by them, on this ſcore, than the hire of the draft-oxen by which it is conveyed to the ſea-ſhore; and this, together with the freight by ſea, form the whole of the purchaſe-money and charges of the timber.

Thoſe foreſts, however, begin at preſent to be conſiderably diminiſhed; but it is in agitation to provide againſt the probable future want of timber, by new plantations.

Next, and as an eighth article, is reckoned that of indigo, which, although not an original production of *Java*, has been cultivated with tolerable ſucceſs, ſince the Company have been eſtabliſhed here; in ſo far, that, whereas formerly that article was obliged

obliged to be ſent for from the empire of the great mogul, and ſpecial *firmans* were obtained with ſome difficulty for that purpoſe, as appears by the ſecond article of the ſecond *firman*, ſtill preſerved at *Surat*, which I have before detailed, that trade has now been abandoned in *Hindoſtan*, and inſtead of being purchaſers, the Company have been able to be ſellers of a conſiderable quantity of the article.

The Company pay for the firſt quality thirty ſtivers per pound, and in proportion for the ſecond and third qualities. The indigo is ſorted upon its delivery at *Batavia*, by a perſon ſpecially appointed for that purpoſe. In the year 1768, *Jaccatra* furniſhed 2,875 pounds of indigo, though the inhabitants had been aſſeſſed at the quantity of 6,125 pounds.

Turmeric *, long pepper †, and cubebs ‡, are equally productions of *Java*; but the collection and exportation of theſe articles is not of great importance. The two laſt are moſt in demand for *Surat*.

* *Curcuma.* † *Piper longum.* ‡ *Piper cubeba.*

With

With minerals and metals *Java* is the leaſt of all provided; as far as I know, none are met with, but a little iron ore and ſtar-ſtones*, which is called, in the Malay tongue, or by the natives, *maaſouron*.

* *Aſterias.*

CHAP-

CHAPTER II.

Diviſion of JAVA.—*Its general Population.*—BANTAM.—*Boundaries.*—*Government.*—*Population.*—*Dependencies.*—*The Country of* LAMPOON.—*Eſtabliſhment of the Company at* BANTAM.—*Expences.*—*Iſlands in the Straits of* SUNDA, *&c.*—*Peculiar Unhealthineſs of* BANTAM.—JACCATRA, *and its* PREANGER *Lands.*—*Boundaries.*—*Population.*—*Adminiſtration.*—*Rivers.*—*The Mockervaart.*—*Canals and Drains cut by the Dutch.*—*Productions.*—CHERIBON.—*Boundaries.*—*Population.*—*Productions.*—*Eſtabliſhment.*—*Expences and Profits.*—*The Empire of the* SOESOEHOENAM.—*Former Extent and Grandeur.*—*Preſent reduced Situation.*—*The Dominions of the Sultan.*—*Iſland of* MADURA.—*Titles of the reigning Soeſoehoenam, and of the Sultan.*—*Political Relations of the Company with theſe Princes.*

WHEN the Company firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves here, *Java* was divided into three large empires, namely, *Bantam*, *Jaccatra*, and the empire of the *Soeſoehoenam*, which laſt was the moſt extenſive, and comprehended full two-thirds of the whole iſland,

iſland, *Cheribon* being feudatory to it.—Times have now ſo far altered, that the iſland is at preſent divided into five ſtates, or empires, which altogether contain one hundred and twenty-three provinces, or governments, amongſt which the kingdom of *Bantam* is conſidered but as one.

Each province, or government, conſiſts of a certain number of *tjatjars*, or families, the number of which, throughout the whole of *Java*, including *Bantam*, amounted, in the year 1777, to 152,014.

Theſe are calculated, upon an average, throughout *Java*, to conſiſt of two men, two women, and two children, forming, therefore, a population of . ſouls 912,084 *

but if to this we add the inhabitants of the principality of *Madura*, which, though a ſeparate iſland, is always taken together with *Java*, and which contains ten thouſand families, or . ſouls 60,000

the whole population of *Java* and *Madura*, will amount to . 972,084

* Huysers gives the population of *Java*, excluſive of *Madura*, as follows, viz.

aſſuredly a very ſlender number of inhabitants for ſuch an extenſive iſland. It was, however, formerly much more populous; but the long and bloody wars with which this country has been afflicted, for nearly a century and a half, before the Company ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing themſelves in that firm manner in which their power here is at preſent rooted, is ſufficient to make us ceaſe from being ſurprized, at the paucity of the number of the inhabitants of this extremely fertile iſland. The laſt war waged againſt the empire of the *ſoeſoehoenam*, ſeems, in particular, to have produced a great degree of depopulation. According to the ſtatement of the population, made in the year 1738, the number of families in

in the kingdom of *Bantam*	5,000	tjatjars, or families
in *Jaccatra*	33,914	ditto
in *Cheribon*	15,000	ditto
in the *Mataram*, or empire of *Java* proper	94,200	ditto

in all 148,114 families, reckoned at ſix individuals each, makes the whole number of inhabitants 888,684; but he adds in a note, that, according to more recent accounts, the population of *Java* is calculated at one million and a half, or two millions of people. Theſe ſtatements, however, do not include the inhabitants of *Batavia*. *T.*

the

the territories of the *ſoeſoehoenam* alone, amounted to 309,700, or . ſouls 1,858,200
and at preſent (1777), the ſame lands, which were then under the dominion of the *ſoeſoehoenam*, part of which are now, however, taken from him, contain no more than 118,100 families, or 708,600

1,149,600

making a difference of more than the half, which would appear to me too improbable to be believed, had I not had the inſpection of the authentic documents relative thereto *.

The

* VALENTYN's ſtatement of the population of *Java*, in his time, ſhews a ſtill greater diſproportion; his account, in which he takes every *tjatjar*, or family, at five perſons only, gives—

in the kingdom of *Bantam*, excluſive of the city of *Bantam* .	families	5,000,	or perſons 40,850
in *Jaccatra*, excluſive of *Batavia* . .	ditto	19,390,	or ditto 96,950
in *Cheribon* and its dependencies . .	ditto	63,120,	or ditto 305,600
in the countries belonging to the emperor of *Mataram*, or the *ſoeſoehoenam* . . .	ditto	483,570,	or ditto 2,417,850

The actual five diviſions of *Java*, are: *Bantam*, *Jaccatra*, *Cheribon*, the empire of the *ſoeſoehoenam*, and that of the *ſultan*.

The kingdom of *Bantam*, which forms the weſtern diviſion of *Java*, is about one hundred Dutch miles in circumference, each being of twelve hundred Rhineland roods. The Indian ocean waſhes it on the ſouth; to the northweſt and north it has the ſtraits of *Sunda*, and the iſlands ſituated in them; to the eaſt, it is divided from the empire of *Jaccatra*, by a narrow ſlip of land, called *Grending*, lying a little to the weſtward of the *Sedani*, or river of *Tangerang*, and by a chain of mountains, known by the name of *Goenong Tjeberum*, which terminate to the ſouth in the bay of *Wynkoopſbergen*.

in the county of *Balambouang*, by a rough calculation, full . .	families	50,000, or perſons	300,000
and in the iſland of *Madura* about . .	ditto	30,000, or ditto	150,000
		total	3,311,250.

A decreaſe in this iſland from upwards of three millions to leſs than one million of people, in about ſixty years, is an amazing inſtance of the deſtructive agency of war. *T.*

Bantam

Bantam became ſtrictly connected with the Company, in the year 1680, by means of the aſſiſtance afforded by them againſt Sultan AGON, who had formerly abdicated the throne, but who had reſumed the ſceptre again; his ſon ſolicited and obtained the aid of the Company, towards eſtabliſhing him in the government. Yet the country remained, in a manner, independent, and its trade continued free; but upon this, encroachments were practiſed from time to time, and it was ſought to draw the bands of connection with *Bantam* more cloſe, by giving our aſſiſtance, towards reducing the revolted province of *Succadana*, in *Borneo*, which formerly belonged to *Bantam*, and is ſtill an appendage of that kingdom *. At laſt, in 1751, *Bantam* became wholly a fief of the Company, occaſioned by the fortunate iſſue of the commotions there; the king was then privately taken hold of, and continued a priſoner, while a prince of the

* *Succadana*, together with *Landak*, another province belonging to *Bantam* in the iſland of *Borneo*, were ceded, in property, to the Dutch Company, by the king of *Bantam*, in the year 1778, and taken poſſeſſion of by them. See vol. i. page 343. *T.*

blood royal, who had been kept in exile at *Ceylon*, was exalted to the throne in his ſtead; and a yearly tribute of one hundred bhars of pepper, amounting to thirty-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds weight, is now paid to the Company from *Bantam*.

The rule of ſucceſſion was, at the deſire of the king, regulated by the Company, who chooſe and appoint the heir apparent to be hereditary prince, as was done in the year 1767: this hereditary prince ſucceeded to his deceaſed father in the month of September, 1777, and was formally crowned as king of *Bantam*, by Mr. BRETON, the miniſter plenipotentiary deputed by the Company for that purpoſe, as I have related in the laſt chapter.

Although the ſultan, or king, of *Bantam*, is a vaſſal of the Company, he is, nevertheleſs, a ſovereign prince, lord and maſter of life and death, and uncontrouled in his authority over his own ſubjects; he lays taxes, augments, or lightens, them, according to his own good pleaſure; and has all other regalia, and marks of ſovereignty, appertaining to a free monarch, excepting that he is reſtricted from entering into any alliances,

or

or engagements, either with any European powers, or with the Indian princes; as likewiſe from ſelling any of the productions of his territories to any other than to the Company; and this reſtriction as to trade relates not only to his kingdom of *Bantam*, but alſo to the articles produced in his dependent provinces in *Borneo* and *Sumatra*; thoſe in the laſtmentioned iſland are the two *Lampons*; diſtinguiſhed into *Lampon Samanca* and *Lampon Toulang Bauwang* *.

Bantam

* The country of *Lampoon* begins on the weſt coaſt, at the river of *Padanggoochie*, which divides it from *Paſſummah*, and extends acroſs the ſouth extremity of *Sumatra*, as far as *Palembang*, on the northeaſt ſide. On the ſouth and eaſt ſides, it is waſhed by the ſea, having ſeveral ports in the ſtraits of *Sunda*, particularly *Keizers*, or *Emperors*, and *Lampoon* bays: and the great river *Toulang Bauwang* runs through the heart of it, riſing from a conſiderable lake between the ranges of mountains. The country of *Lampoon* is beſt inhabited in the central and mountainous parts, where the people live independent, and, in ſome meaſure, ſecure from the inroads of their eaſtern neighbours, the Javans. It is probably within but a few centuries, that the ſouthweſt coaſt of this country has been the habitation of any conſiderable number of people; and it has been ſtill leſs viſited by ſtrangers, owing to the unſheltered nature of the ſea thereabouts, the want of ſoundings, in general, which render the navigation wild and dangerous for country veſſels, and to the rivers being ſmall and rapid, with ſhallow bars, and almoſt continually a high ſurf. If you aſk the Lampoon people of

Bantam has the ſmalleſt population of all the diviſions of *Java*; its whole extent comprehends no more than five thouſand tjatjars, or families, and, conſequently, only thirty thouſand inhabitants.

The Company keep in Fort *Speelwyck*, including the guard which is ſtationed at Fort *Diamond*, an eſtabliſhment amounting in number, when complete, to three hundred men *.

The

theſe parts, where they originally came from, they anſwer, from the hills, and point out an inland place near the great lake, whence, they ſay, their forefathers emigrated; and further than this, it is impoſſible to trace. They, of all the Sumatrans, have the ſtrongeſt reſemblance to the Chineſe, particularly in the roundneſs of the face, and conſtructure of the eyes They are alſo the faireſt people of the iſland; and the women are the talleſt, and eſteemed the moſt handſome. Inland of *Samanca*, ſay the Lampoons, there is a diſtrict, inhabited by a ferocious people, who are a terror to the neighbouring country. Their mode of atoning for offences againſt their own community, is by bringing to their *dooſoon*, or village, the heads of ſtrangers. The account may be true; but without further authentication, ſuch ſtories are not to be too implicitly credited, on the faith of a people who are fond of the marvellous, and addicted to exaggeration. MARSDEN's *Sumatra*, page 262 and 264. *T.*

* In 1776-1777, the eſtabliſhment of the Dutch Company at *Bantam*, conſiſted of twenty civil ſervants, one clergyman, five ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, ſeventeen belonging to the artillery, thirty ſeamen, 199 ſoldiers, and ten mechanics; in all 282 Europeans.

The air is, in general, here very unhealthy, and the mortality pretty conſiderable.

ropeans. On account of its vicinity to *Batavia*, no revenues, either territorial or commercial, are drawn from this place; but the charges of the eſtabliſhment are not heavy; in 1779, they amounted to *f.*78,262 (about *£.*7,115. ſterling), which is a very nothing in compariſon with the benefit derived from the pepper furniſhed by *Bantam*. To the dominion of the king of *Bantam* belong all the iſlands in the ſtraits of *Sunda*, from *Prince's*-iſland to *Pulo Babi*, or *Hog*-iſland, cloſe to his capital city. Many of them are inhabited, and produce pepper; others are deſert, or are the reſort of pirates and ſmugglers, who are dexterous in carrying on an illicit trade in pepper with foreign nations. In November, 1769, the Dutch Company's cruiſing grab the *Zeeleeuw* (the Sea-lion), was attacked, taken, and the crew maſſacred, in the bay of *Lampoon*, by theſe pirates. The *Klapper*, or *Cocoa*-iſlands, which lie on the ſouth coaſt of *Java*, near the ſtraits of *Sunda*, are uninhabited, and are only occaſionally reſorted to for the ſake of the edible birds'-neſts which are found there; but they are ſaid to be greatly infeſted with enormous ſnakes. *Prince's*-iſland is called, in the Malay language, *Pulo Selan*; and in the language of its inhabitants, *Pulo Paneitan*. It is woody, and a very ſmall part of it only has been cleared. VALENTYN landed on it in 1694, and found it then uninhabited. He adds, that there is good anchorage in the ſouthweſt bay, in nine and ten fathoms, and two ſmall freſhwater rivulets running into it. Lieutenant COOK, in the *Endeavour*, lay ten days on the ſoutheaſt ſide, in eighteen fathoms. There is a town upon it, called *Samadang*, of about four hundred houſes, divided into two parts, by a river of brackiſh water. There is no remarkable hill upon it, yet the Engliſh call the higheſt eminence upon it, the Pike. It was formerly much frequented by the India ſhips of many nations,

able. In the year 1768, that is, from the beginning of September to the end of Auguſt,

tions, eſpecially the Engliſh, which have, of late, forſaken it, as it is ſaid, becauſe the water is bad, and touch either at *North*-iſland, a ſmall iſland that lies on the coaſt of *Sumatra*, at the eaſt entrance of the ſtraits, or at *New*-bay, which lies only a few leagues from *Prince's*-iſland, at neither of which places any conſiderable quantity of other refreſhments can be procured. At *Prince's*-iſland may be had turtle, with which the firſt, the ſecond, and perhaps the third, ſhip that comes in the ſeaſon, may be tolerably ſupplied; thoſe bought by the *Endeavour*'s people coſt, upon an average, a halfpenny or three farthings per pound; large fowls, a dozen of them for a Spaniſh dollar; ſmall deer, not larger than a rabbit, twopence a-piece; larger deer, about the ſize of a ſheep, but of which only two were brought down, a rupee; many kinds of fiſh, tolerably cheap; cocoa-nuts, at the rate of a hundred for a dollar, if picked, or one hundred and thirty, if taken promiſcuouſly; plaintains in great plenty; ſome pineapples, watermelons, jacks, and pumpkins; beſides rice, the greateſt part of which is of the mountain kind, yams, and ſeveral other vegetables, at very reaſonable rates. The other iſlands in the ſtraits of *Sunda*, appertaining to the dominions of *Bantam*, are too inſignificant to have been particularly deſcribed. They are moſtly entirely level, founded upon beds of coral, and covered with trees. A few, however, have ſteep and naked ſides, ſuch as the iſland *Dwars in den Weg*, or *Thwart-the-way*, and the two very ſmall round ones, called by the Dutch, *Brabandſch Hoedje*, and *Toppers Hoedje*, and by the Engliſh the *Cap*, and *Button*. The gentlemen accompanying Lord MACARTNEY in the *Lion*, had occaſion to viſit the two laſtmentioned; they were ſo ſteep and rugged, that it was difficult to get aſhore on them: at a little diſtance they might be taken for the remains of old caſtles,

Auguſt, out of the complete number of the Company's ſervants, including penniſts, mariners, and military, being three hundred and ſeventeen, the deaths amounted to ſixty, which is about one in five.

The diviſion which follows next in geographical order, is that of *Jaccatra*, with its *Preanger* lands; *Preanger* lands is the denomination given to thoſe diſtricts which did not anciently belong to the kingdom of *Jaccatra*, but which have been united to the Company's poſſeſſions ſince the year 1677: with reſpect to their adminiſtration, they are divided between *Batavia*, and the reſidency of *Cheribon* *.

tles, mouldering into ruins, with tall trees already growing upon the tops; but, upon a nearer view, they betrayed evident marks of a volcanic origin: in the *Cap* were found two caverns, running horizontally into the ſide of the rock, in which were a number of thoſe birds'-neſts, ſo much prized by the Chineſe epicures. The ſituation of theſe places was, on that occaſion, determined with the greateſt nicety, viz:

	South lat.	Eaſt long. from *London*.
Thwart-the-way	5° 55′	105° 43′
North iſland	5 38	105 43 30″
Cap	5 58 30″	105 48 30
Button	5 49	105 48 30

T.

* See MOSSEL's Obſervations upon *Jaccatra*, and the *Preanger* lands, page 1. S.

This

This diviſion is full one hundred and ten Dutch miles in circumference. To the weſt, it borders upon *Bantam*, with the diſtricts of *Greending*, *Badak*, and *Pagadongan*; to the ſouth, upon the ſouthern ocean, for the moſt part with the diſtrict of *Jampan*, and partly with that of *Soekapoura*, belonging to the Cheribon *Preanger* lands; to the eaſt, upon the government of Cheribon itſelf, with the diſtricts of *Timpanganten*, *Samadang*, *Pagadeen*, and *Pamanoekang*; to the north, upon the ſea, with the diſtricts of *Pamanoekang*, *Tjaſſen*, *Crawang*, and that of *Jaccatra* proper, under *Batavia*.

The country of *Jaccatra*, with its *Preanger* lands, comprizes, upon the whole, thirty diſtricts, containing together 33,914 tjatjars, or families, thus 203,484 inhabitants, of which the diſtrict of *Batavia* alone contains 19,469 families, or 116,814 inhabitants; this ſhews that the other diſtricts are proportionally much leſs populous, whereby a great extent of excellent land remains uncultivated and neglected, and even what is tilled is owing to the induſtry and perſeverance of the Chineſe who are ſettled here.

The

The paucity of inhabitants in the country of *Jaccatra*, cannot, like that in the empire of the *ſoeſoehoenam*, be attributed to the ravages of a deſtructive war; for *Jaccatra* has, ſince the laſt ſiege of *Batavia*, in the year 1629, been very little ſubjected thereto, except in the inſurrection of the Chineſe, in the year 1740, when even the Javans of *Jaccatra* were the leaſt concerned in it; but it may principally be aſcribed to the circumſtance, that, after the arms of the Company were victorious over the kingdom of *Jaccatra*, and they had taken the capital, having likewiſe defeated the army of *Bantam*, all the inhabitants of the country were carried away into the kingdom of *Bantam*; whereby *Jaccatra* remained, for a conſiderable ſpace of time, nearly in an uninhabited ſtate.

It appears, however, according to the ſtatement of Mr. Mossel, that theſe lands contained only, in the year 1753, the number of one hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls; ſo that, in oppoſition to the other parts of *Java*, the population has here been conſiderably augmented *.

* See Memorial of Mr. Mossel, reſpecting the ſtate of the Eaſt-India Company, dated the 30th of November, 175. *S.*

Every

Every diſtrict has its regent, who are all appointed immediately by the ſupreme Indian government at *Batavia*. Theſe regents decide in civil matters of little importance, but affairs of conſequence they muſt lay before the commiſſary of inland affairs, or before the governor general.

Jaccatra is watered and fertilized by ſeveral rivers, moſt of which, however, are little better than ſmall rivulets, in the good or dry ſeaſon. The largeſt of theſe are the *Sedani*, or the river of *Tangerang*, and that of *Crawang*; they deſcend from the high mountains inland, and flow into the ſea, in a northerly direction.

The river of *Tangerang* runs into the ſea, not far from the point of *Ontong Java*, and near its mouth there is a ſmall poſt of the Company, called the *Kwal*. Juſt below that poſt, the river gives a part of its water to the *Mookervaart*, which is a canal cut from that place to *Batavia*, in order to provide the canals and moats of the city with water; but as, in the rainy ſeaſon, this river ſwells up very high, and too much would then be conveyed through that cut to the city, a lock was made, in the year 1770, at the upper end

end of the ſaid *Mookervaart*, which coſt full ſeventy thouſand rixdollars *, and whereby now no more water than is wanted is ſuffered to come to *Batavia*.

It is not the water alone of the river of *Tangerang* that ſupplies this canal, but likewiſe that of the rivers of *Ankee*, *Paſſangarang*, and *Grogol*; and it is through the *Mookervaart* that *Batavia* receives moſt of its water; for that which comes down by what is called the great river of *Jaccatra*, is very trifling in quantity compared with this. The drain, called the *Slokhaan* (the glutton, or cormorant), which was dug in the year 1746, a little to the eaſtward of the river of *Jaccatra*, receives the water from the upper grounds, and thus deprives it of its greateſt force †. The conformation of the country likewiſe

* About 15,270*l.* ſterling. *T.*

† The Dutch ſeem to have pitched upon *Batavia* for the convenience of water-carriage; and, in that reſpect, it is, indeed, a ſecond Holland, and ſuperior to every other place in the world. There are very few ſtreets in the city that have not a canal of conſiderable breadth running through, or rather ſtagnating in them, and continued for ſeveral miles beyond the town, interſecting, together with five or ſix rivers, in almoſt every direction, the dead flat in which it is ſituated; nor is this the worſt, for the fence of every field and garden is a ditch; and

likewiſe requires that *Batavia* ſhould receive its water from the weſtward, as, on that ſide, it is more elevated than on the other, according to ſeveral obſervations made by ſurveyors.

The rivers, the *Sontar*, the *Bacaſſie*, and the *Tjikarang*, find their way into the ſea, to the eaſt of *Batavia*.

The productions of *Jaccatra* are principally coffee, ſugar, and rice; likewiſe indigo, cotton-yarn, turmeric, and cadjang, or lentiles, from which laſt oil is preſſed *.

The

and interſperſed, among the cultivated ground, there are many filthy fens, bogs, and moraſſes, as well freſh as ſalt. Nay, ſuch is the influence of habit, both upon the taſte and underſtanding, that Governor General VAN DER PARRA, whoſe country-houſe was ſituated upon the only riſing ground near *Batavia*, contrived, at ſome trouble and expence, to incloſe his own garden with a ditch. *T.*

* In 1778, were ſold, in Holland, the following articles, being productions of the colony of *Jaccatra*:

2,000,000*lbs.* of ſugar, at four ſtivers.
2,000,000*lbs.* of coffee, at eleven ditto.
500,000*lbs.* of pepper, at ſeventeen ditto.
100 leagers of arrack.
10,000*lbs.* of candied ginger.
cotton-yarn, to the amount of *f.*20,000, and
indigo, to the amount of *f.*1000.

This may be taken as the annual quantity of what *Jaccatra* is able to furniſh for Europe, and the gain upon theſe articles is conſiderable,

The Company poſſeſs this empire by right of conqueſt, having taken it from its king, who was obliged to yield to their arms in the year 1619; and *Batavia* was founded on or near the ſcite of his capital city, *Jaccatra*.

The third diviſion of *Java* is *Cheribon*, which, together with its *Preanger* lands, may be about half the ſize of *Jaccatra* and its dependencies. It borders, to the weſt, upon *Jaccatra*, with the diſtricts of *Limbangan*, *Tjauris*, *Impanagara*, and *Indramayo*; to the ſouth, upon the ſouthern ocean, with the diſtrict of *Soekapoura*; to the eaſt, upon the province of *Banjoemaas*, or *Panjoemag*, belonging to the ſultan, with the diſtrict of *Soekapoura*, upon the country of the *ſoeſoehoenam*, with the diſtricts of *Oetame* and *Gabang*, and upon the ſtrand-regency of *Brebes*, with the diſtrict of *Laſſary*; and to the

conſiderable, as none of them coſt much; the pepper and coffee ſcarcely $2\frac{1}{2}$, and the ſugar $1\frac{1}{2}$, ſtivers per pound. Of ſugar, the Company further diſpoſe every year of full four millions of pounds weight, in *Japan*, *Surat*, the *Malabar*, and other eſtabliſhments, upon which they likewiſe make conſiderable profits; and about the ſame quantity, 4,000,000*lbs.* is exported in private trade, together with immenſe quantities of arrack, rice, and other articles. The revenues and expences of *Jaccatra*, are included in thoſe of *Batavia*, which we add to the account of that city given in chapter iv. *T.*

north, upon the ſea, with the abovementioned diſtrict of *Gabang*, and thoſe of *Cheribon* proper, and *Indramayo*.

It comprizes in all nine diſtricts, containing full fifteen thouſand tjatjars, or families, being *ſikapo*, or fixed inhabitants, beſides the *boedjango*, or unmarried, and ſtrangers.

Theſe lands are divided between two princes, the ſultan ANOM SOEPOE CHERIBON, and the PANAM BAHAN, both of whom are feudatories of the Company. Of the laſt, it is a rule, that the children ſucceed to the father in his dignity, provided they are inclined to do ſo; and if they do not chooſe to be burdened with the cares of authority, they have the right of nominating a deputy to exerciſe their hereditary power, in their ſtead.

Formerly, there were three princes of *Cheribon*; but in the year 1769, one of them, not treating his ſubjects well, was ſent in exile, by the ſupreme government, to *Amboyna*, where I ſaw him, in the year 1775.

Theſe princes are obliged to deliver all the produce of their country, for certain fixed prices, excluſively to the Company; and neither

neither the princes, nor their ſubjects, are allowed to have any communication with ſtrangers, much leſs to carry on trade with foreign nations in any of the articles produced upon their lands. On the part of the Company, as much care is taken as poſſible, to prevent the contravention of theſe conditions; and they have a reſident here, with a garriſon of ſeventy Europeans, ſtationed in a ſmall fort, in the diſtrict of *Cheribon*, whilſt there is alſo an outpoſt ſtationed at *Indramayo*.

This empire put itſelf under the protection of the Company in the year 1680. In criminal matters, the adminiſtration reſts in the combined authority of the two princes, united to the Company's reſident.

Its productions are coffee, timber, cotton-yarn, areca, indigo, ſugar, and alſo a little pepper; this laſt article grew formerly here in ſuch abundance, that in the year 1680, the bhar of three hundred and ſeventy-five pounds was paid for at the rate of no more than ten Spaniſh dollars *.

Before

* This, at the rate at which Spaniſh dollars are current in theſe parts of India, is equal to about 2*l*. ſterling per *cwt*.

Before the war of the year 1740, the *ſoeſoehoenam*, or the emperor of *Java*, as he was called, was the ſole proprietor of all the country, lying eaſtward of the laſtmentioned empire of *Cheribon*, which was the weſtern boundary of that of the *ſoeſoehoenam*. This comprized all the reſt of the iſland, and was incloſed, on the other ſides, by the ſea, and the narrow ſtraits which ſeparate *Java* from the iſlands of *Bali* and *Madura*. It extended in length, from eaſt to weſt, one

Engliſh. *Cheribon* does not contribute a few, or unimportant, articles to the conſumption of India, and to the trade to Europe. It yields yearly, for the former, at leaſt one thouſand laſts of rice, and one million pounds of ſugar, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 ſtivers per pound; and for Europe, at leaſt

30,000*lbs.* of cotton-yarn, of letter A, at 14 ſtivers (1*s.* 3*d.*)
10,000*lbs.* of indigo, at 30 ſtivers . . (2*s.* 9*d.*)

and 1,200,000*lbs.* of coffee, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ ſtivers.

Yet, in 1778, no more than 1,000,000*lbs.* of the Cheribon coffee were ſold in Holland, at eleven ſtivers per pound. The intrinſic revenues of this ſettlement are amply ſufficient to defray the charges. In 1779, the laſt amounted to *f.*12,584, and the former to *f.*35,761, ſhewing a favourable balance of *f*23,177, or 2,107*l.* ſterling. In 1776-1777, the eſtabliſhment of *Cheribon* conſiſted of ninety-eight Europeans; namely, fourteen civil ſervants, one clergyman, three ſurgeons, two artillerymen, fifteen ſeamen, ſixty ſoldiers, and three mechanics. The reſident at *Cheribon* is ſaid to make no leſs than 70,000 rixdollars (upwards of 15,000*l.* ſterling, per annum. *T.*

hundred

hundred Dutch miles, and in breadth, upon an average, about five-and-twenty. It contained fifty-ſix provinces, or diſtricts, large and ſmall; and, as we have before ſtated, three hundred and nine thouſand ſeven hundred tjatjars, or families. After that period, thirty of thoſe provinces, all ſituated on the ſeacoaſt, were ceded to the Company, for an equivalent in money; and ſeven, amongſt which was the *Mataram*, to the ſultan MANKO BOENI. This empire, anciently ſo formidable to the Company, is now ſo reduced in power and extent, that its monarch can at preſent (1777) enumerate no more than ſixteen provinces remaining under his dominion, containing only thirty-three thouſand two hundred tjatjars, or families. On what occaſion, and in what manner, the empire was thus torn aſunder, and how part of it came to be given to the ſultan MANKO BOENI, to the prejudice of MASSEYD, who is now under the preſent reigning ſultan, has been detailed in another place *.

The dominions which fell to the lot of the ſultan MANKO BOENI, who is ſtill

* See page 120-123, of volume II. *T.*

living, conſiſt of ſeven provinces, which lie interſperſed between thoſe which have remained with the *ſoeſoehoenam*; and this intermixture of the territories of theſe two monarchs, makes them, individually, much more feeble, than if the poſſeſſions of each were adjoining to one another, and formed one compact country. The ſeven provinces belonging to the ſultan contain, together, fifteen thouſand eight hundred tjatjars, or families; the moſt extenſive and moſt important of them, is the province of *Mataram*, which is waſhed by the ſouthern ocean.

Although the principality of *Madura* is now ſolely confined to the iſland of that name, which lies to the northeaſt of *Java*, from which it is ſeparated by a narrow ſtrait of ſcarcely a league and a half over, it has always been reckoned to belong to the government of *Java's northeaſt coaſt:* the whole iſland is divided into three diſtricts, and contains thirty thouſand tjatjars, or families; it is thirty Dutch miles in length, and, upon an average, ſcarcely ſix in breadth.

All theſe princes poſſeſs their dominions in the quality of vaſſals of the Company, whoſe pretenſions to the paramount authority,

rity, are grounded upon a voluntary ceſſion of all his dominions, alleged to have been made in favour of the Company, by the late deceaſed *ſoeſoehoenam*, upon his death-bed, in the year 1746: this, at leaſt, is what is pretended, for the ſake of appearance, as it is otherwiſe pretty well underſtood, that the emperor was dead, before this pretended ceſſion was made known to the grandees of the court; but this is kept as much a ſecret as poſſible; though what could they have done againſt the Company, who were poſſeſſed of the power of maintaining the validity of the ceſſion, by force of arms? The empire, thus weakened and diminiſhed, was afterwards given, as a fief, to one of the princes of the imperial race, to the prejudice of MASSEYD; who, however, was quieted with a certain appanage, and the promiſe, that if the preſent *ſoeſoehoenam* died without iſſue, his children, in the right of being the neareſt of blood, ſhould ſucceed to the imperial ignity. There is, at preſent, however, no probability that this will ever come to paſs, as the *ſoeſoehoenam* has not only ſeveral children, but one of them has already been appointed his ſuc-

ceſſor in the empire by the Company; and a ſimilar favour was equally granted in the year 1776, to one of the ſons of the ſultan MANKO BOENI.

The titles which the preſent reigning *ſoeſoehoenam* has aſſumed are as follows: *Soeſoehoenam* (monarch, or ſole ruler), *Pacoeboeana* (axis of the globe, literally nail or ſpike of the earth), *Senepatty Hiengalaga* (commander in chief of all the armies), *Abdul Rachman* (holy prieſt, literally ſlave of the moſt merciful God), *Sabiedien* (ſovereign king), *Panatagama* (prince of the faithful): thoſe of the ſultan of the *Mataram*, are, *Sultan* (prince or king), *Hamin Coeboeana* (regent of the world), *Senepatty Hiengalaga*, *Abdul Rachman*, *Sabiedien*, *Panatagama*, *Calif*, *Attu lach* (vicegerent of the Almighty).

All theſe princes bound themſelves, in the year 1756, not to deliver any of the products of their reſpective countries to any other than the Company; and, in every caſe, to act both defenſively and offenſively, in conjunction with the Company, againſt their enemies.

The Company are pretty well ſecured againſt

againſt the departure from theſe ſtipulations, on the part of the Javaneſe princes, by being in the abſolute poſſeſſion of almoſt all the provinces that border upon the ſea, which have partly fallen to them by the fortune of war, and partly by ceſſion from the emperor; as a compenſation for which, they have to pay an annual ſum of fifty thouſand Spaniſh dollars, from which, however, thirty thouſand are deducted, for the charges of the detachment of European military, that attend the emperor at his court at *Djolo*, or *Soweacarta*. Theſe provinces have each their regent of their own nation, under the title of *tommagong patti*, who are reſpectively ſubordinate to the ſeveral reſidents.

CHAP.

CHAPTER III.

Importance of JAVA *to the Dutch Eaſt-India Company.—Reflections on the Conduct of the Company towards the native Princes—And towards their Javaneſe Subjects.—Neceſſity of Reform in theſe Points.*

FROM all that has preceded, the great importance of the iſland of *Java*, to the Eaſt-India Company, will have very evidently appeared. It is fertile in productions, which have now, by the progreſſive increaſe of luxury in the world, become articles almoſt of the firſt neceſſity, whereby this colony is adequate to bring as much, if not more, wealth into the coffers of the Company, than the ſpice-iſlands, which have hitherto been conſidered as the chief means of the proſperity, if not even eſſential to the exiſtence, of that body. But *Java* can only hope to be equally precious with the ſpice-iſlands, by a change of circumſtances, by cordial exertions to promote the cultivation of

of its highly fertile ſoil with induſtry and vigour, by ceaſing to depreſs and impoveriſh the natives by conſtant injuſtice and continual extortion, and by avoiding, in future, every ſpecies of war, which, by producing a ſtill greater depopulation, would bring deſtruction to the Indians, and ruin to the Company.

The princes of the country, although ſovereign over their own ſubjects*, are, nevertheleſs, the one more, and the other leſs, vaſſals of the Company; and in ſo far jubjected to them, that the mode of ſucceſſion to their thrones is regulated, and the heirs of their dignity are nominated, by the Company. The diſmemberment of the empire of the *Soeſoeboenam*, and the poſſeſſion of the ſeacoaſts, render the Company ſecure from that power, formerly ſo redoubted, and from the conſequences of ſuch prejudicial engagements and alliances, as might be

* Yet, whenever the Company have judged it expedient, they have not heſitated to interfere in the internal government of theſe dependent princes: an inſtance of this occurs in the laſt chapter, where we are informed, that one of the princes of *Cheribon* was depoſed by the Company, for miſconduct towards his own ſubjects. T.

entered

entered into, by the native princes, with European powers. And, although thoſe princes bow themſelves with reluctance under the yoke that has been impoſed upon them, yet they are wiſe enough to conſider, that, if they were even fortunate enough to diſengage themſelves from their preſent bondage, their power has been ſo broken by the depopulation of the country, that, freed from the Dutch Company, they would ſtill be obliged to yield to the firſt foreign nation, that ſhould have the inclination, and the ability, to eſtabliſh themſelves upon the iſland, and, perhaps, be reduced to a more cruel ſtate of ſervitude, than they now experience under their actual taſkmaſters; of which they have a ſtriking example before them, in the mogul empire.

I am of opinion, therefore, that, if the government at *Batavia* were to cheriſh, protect, and favour, as much as poſſible, the ſeveral princes of *Java*, giving them every indulgence in matters of ſmall moment, without, however, ſuffering any diminution of the power and influence that has been attained over them, thoſe princes would ſee the ſound policy, of rather maintaining the Company

Company in their poſſeſſions on the iſland, than allowing them to be transferred to other hands, without oppoſition on their part.

If it be neceſſary for the Company to attach theſe princes to them by the bands of political intereſt, it is no leſs an object of importance for their welfare, and perhaps of neceſſity to their ſafety, that they equally aim at ſecuring the attachment to them of their Javaneſe ſubjects; by rendering their lives at leaſt ſupportable to them, and oppoſing and preventing the ſhameful treatment and crying injuſtice, which theſe poor people experience at the hands of the governor, reſidents, and regents. The common Javaneſe are in an abſolute ſtate of ſlavery; they are no more maſters of what little they ſeem to poſſeſs, than an unconditional ſlave, who, together with all he has, belongs to the maſter who has purchaſed him, his labour, and his poſterity, for money. The common Javan, is not only obliged, at fixed periods, to deliver a certain quantity of the fruits of his induſtry to the regent placed over him, in behalf of the Company, for whatever price the latter chooſes to allow him,

him, and that price, moreover, paid in goods, which are charged to him at ten times their real value; but he likewiſe cannot conſider what may remain to him as his own property, not being permitted to do with it what he may think fit, nor allowed to ſell it to others, at a higher, or a lower rate; and he is, on the contrary, compelled to part with this alſo, as well as what was claimed of him in behalf of the Company, to the ſame petty tyrant, for himſelf, at an arbitrary, and frequently at an infamous price. The regents experience, in their turn, though, perhaps, in a leſs iniquitous degree, the oppreſſion of the reſidents; whilſt in the country of *Jaceatra*, the commiſſary for inland affairs acts the ſame part, in a no leſs unjuſtifiable manner, under the immediate eye of the governor general, towards the native regents and common Javaneſe in that province.

The continually decreaſing ſtate of the population in *Java*, which, from the year 1738, to the preſent time (1777), has diminiſhed more than one half, may, in my opinion, be attributed to the natural operation of this abject ſtate of depreſſion and

and ſervitude, in which the common people of *Java* live, as well as to the ravages of a war of nearly twenty-five years, to which it has been the cuſtom ſolely to aſcribe it; though this war, and the various civil commotions which have happened beſides, have, undoubtedly, greatly contributed to this conſiderable waſte of the human ſpecies.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

Character of the Javaneſe.—Their Indolence, not merely the Reſult of Climate, but alſo of the arbitrary Government.—Proved by, and contraſted with, the Induſtry of the Chineſe here.—Food of the Javaneſe.—Their Dwellings.—Houſehold Conveniences.—Uſual Period of Life.—Peculiar Diſeaſe.—Religion.—Moſques.—Account of a famous Mauſoleum near CHERIBON.*—Cuſtoms of the Javaneſe.—Laws reſpecting Inheritance.—Their Appearance, Dreſs, &c.*

THE Javaneſe are ſaid to be of an indolent diſpoſition, and that much pains muſt be taken to excite them to the performance of any labour. This is, in general, true of all the nations who inhabit the torrid zone, and who live under deſpotic governments, by which they are deprived of their property, in an arbitrary manner. But would not this vice, which is repreſented as a national blemiſh in the character of the Javaneſe, be, in a great meaſure, amended—would it not

not be removed, if arrangements were made, that to theſe miſerable people might be left the property and uncontrouled diſpoſition of only that portion of the fruits of their labour, which might remain, after they have furniſhed to the Company the quantities and qualities required at their hands. Aſſuredly, I flatter myſelf, that the beſt effects would reſult herefrom. The inhabitants of *Java* poſſeſs, in common with all the reſt of mankind, a natural and innate deſire of having the free command and diſpoſal of their own property; and, like others, they would, to obtain this, ſubmit to heavy labour, and be more induſtrious, in proportion as they had the more certain proſpect of earning a property, and of ſecurity in the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of it.

But now, deprived of the moſt diſtant proſpect, and not encouraged by any hope of bettering their ſituation, they ſit down ſullenly contented, as it were, with the little that is left to them, by their deſpotic and avaricious maſters; who, by this unwiſe, as well as unfeeling, conduct, extinguiſh every ſpark of induſtry, and plunge

their ſubjects into the gloom of hopeleſs inactivity.

The climate, it is alleged, influences upon their diſpoſition, and compels them to a life of indolence. But does not the fallacy of this aſſertion appear in the Chineſe who reſide here? Theſe inhabit the ſame iſland, open their variegated ſhops next to the dwelling of the Javaneſe, and till with laborious induſtry the neglected ſoil around the wretched habitation of the native. In diligence, perſeverance, and manual labour, they ſurpaſs many of the induſtrious claſſes of the community in Europe. But they are comparatively unſhackled, and are free maſters of what they can earn by trade, or procure by agriculture, beyond the pecuniary or other aſſeſſments levied upon them by the government. This encourages them readily to undertake the moſt laborious occupations, and diligently to perſevere in them, while they feel a rational hope of obtaining, in proper time, the reward due to their exertions.

The Javaneſe, therefore, poſſeſſing nearly no certain property, are ſatisfied with little.

The

The uſual food of thoſe who inhabit the level country, is rice, with a little fiſh; but thoſe who dwell in the high land, and in the mountains, and who plant little or no rice, make uſe of a certain root, called *tallas*, which the earth affords them, and ſome ſalt, which they make out of the aſhes of wood.

Their dwellings are little huts, generally conſtructed of bamboos, plaiſtered with mud, and covered with *atap*, or other ſimilar leaves.

The conveniencies of houſhold furniture are unknown to them. The whole of the apparatus to be ſeen in their wretched hovels conſiſts of a kind of bedſtead, two or three feet from the ground, made of bamboos, one or two pots to boil their victuals in, a hollow block to pound their rice in, and a few cocoanutſhells for drinking veſſels.

Generally ſpeaking, their period of life does not much exceed half a century; and few of them are found to attain to the age of threeſcore.

They are ſubject to a ſort of ulcers, which is a diſeaſe peculiar to the iſland, and to its

inhabitants, and which has thence received the denomination of the Java pox, from Europeans. It is a ſort of lues, but of a leſs malignant nature.

Their religion is that of MAMOMED; yet it is accompanied by many ſuperſtitious opinions and obſervances, retained from the religion of their idolatrous anceſtors. In the interior parts they have no abſtract ideas of religion, and can, indeed, form none, but ſuch as ariſe immediately from the groſs obſervation of their ſenſes. The mahomedan religion was introduced into *Java* by the Arabians *.

* In the year 1406, CHEIK IBN MOLANA, otherwiſe called IBN ISRAEL, an Arabian, who had contributed to the propagation of the mahomedan faith, at *Acheen*, *Johor*, and other places in the eaſt, came to *Java*, and took up his abode near the place where afterwards the city of *Cheribon* was built: the Javaneſe mahomedans look upon him as the founder of their religion in the iſland; but it appears from VALENTYN, that the kings of *Damak* and *Padjang* had been converted to mahomedaniſm, before the arrival of CHEIK IBN MOLANA, to whom the king of *Damak* gave his daughter in marriage, and with her, as a portion, the country of *Cheribon:* the city of that name was built about the ſame time, and CHEIK IBN MOLANA became both a powerful ſovereign, and a venerated apoſtle of Iſlamiſm: both the kings of *Bantam*, and the princes of *Cheribon*, derive their origin from him, and mahomedans, from all parts of *Java*, perform pilgrimages to his tomb, as to that of one of their greateſt ſaints. *T.*

Their

Their moſques, or places of prayer, are diſperſed all over the country. They are moſtly built of wood, and have neither exterior appearance, nor interior ornament, to recommend them to the curioſity of ſtrangers. Near *Cheribon*, however, I underſtood that a very handſome moſque was erected near the grave of one of their ſaints *.

They

* The tomb, or mauſoleum, of CHEIK IBN MOLANA, near *Cheribon*, with the moſque belonging to it, is deſerving of particular deſcription. It may rank among the moſt curious and magnificent antiquities, not only of *Java*, but of the eaſt. It is called by excellence, *aſtana*, or the palace of the *ſoeſoehoenam goenong djati* (monarch of the mountain of djati-trees). It is a vaſt ſemicircular ſpace, or amphitheatre, ſeemingly cut out of a rock, the mountain of djati-trees, and divided into five different areas, or courts, each riſing above the other, and communicating with ſteps. The front is guarded by a row of palliſadoes; beyond theſe there is a wall of about five feet high, faced with little white and painted Chineſe tiles, in the middle of which, ſeven ſteps lead up to the firſt court, which is the largeſt and broadeſt of the five, being one hundred feet in front; on the wall are ranged nine ſuperb, and inconceivably large, china vaſes, with flowers, and two large trees grow on the left ſide of this area. Another wall, exactly ſimilar to the firſt, divides this from the ſecond court; at the foot of this wall ſtand, on the right hand, ſeven, and on the left hand ſix, large and beautiful china vaſes, with flowers; the aſcent to the ſecond court is by five ſteps; and upon the wall are placed, on each ſide, four ſimilar large china vaſes, and eight trees

They do not bury their dead in coffins, as the Europeans or their Chineſe neighbours

are planted in this court, ſo diſpoſed that each vaſe ſtands between two trees, except on the left ſide, where the irregularity is obſervable of two trees ſtanding together; in this court, there are two handſome Javaneſe houſes, intended for the reception of the princes, or great men, who may come upon a pilgrimage to this ſacred place: four china vaſes, with flowers, are alſo placed in the upper part of this court, at the foot of the third wall. All theſe vaſes are the gifts of ſundry mahomedan princes, the kings of *Bantam*, *Macaſſer*, *Palembang*, and others, who have, at various times, viſited the tomb. A neatly paved path leads quite acroſs the ſecond court, to the entrance of the third, which is through a handſome gate, and up four ſteps; but this court, which is much ſmaller than the other two, and is guarded by a ſimilar wall, has nothing in it. No chriſtians are allowed to go higher than this place, although ſome of the upper officers of the Company are ſaid to have penetrated as far as the fifth and laſt court. There is no wall before the fourth, but merely an aſcent by five ſteps cut in the rock; in this there is a magnificent mooriſh temple, or moſque, with three roofs above each other, all decreaſing in ſize upwards, and the area is planted with trees on each ſide of the moſque. The aſcent from this to the laſt and ſmalleſt of the courts is, probably, likewiſe by ſteps, but they are hidden by the moſque and trees in the fourth: this fartheſt and moſt elevated area, ſeems to be only eight or nine paces broad on each ſide, but it runs conſiderably back, in a ſemicircular ſhape; upon it appears nought but the tomb itſelf of the holy man; this, by reaſon of the great height and diſtance, cannot be accurately deſcribed; it appears to be a handſome

bours do, but they ſimply wrap them in a piece of white linen, and depoſit them in the grave, placing two ſtones upon it, one at the head, and one at the feet. They believe that theſe ſtones are to ſerve for ſeats to the two angels, who, after their death, examine into their conduct, while in this world.

The laws of *Java* determine the right of inheritance as follows: when a man dies, leaving a widow, a child, either ſon or daughter, and a brother, his ſubſtance is divided into eight equal ſhares; the child receives four of them; the widow, one;

handſome and lofty ſtructure, with a large arched gate; and ſome pretend to diſtinguiſh a profuſion of gilding upon it. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that the whole is formed in a ſloping direction, and that each court has a conſiderable acclivity before reaching the entrance of the next, which renders the ſcite of the tomb itſelf, very elevated: theſe entrances are all cloſed by little railed gates. Both the tomb, and the buildings appertaining to it, are kept in very indifferent repair, and run to decay from day to day. This deſcription is dated in 1722, and is inſerted in VALENTYN's work, vol. iv. pages 15 and 16; but though, in the lapſe of time, many things may have changed their appearance, yet the grand outlines of this ſtupendous monument muſt remain the ſame, and are well worthy the enquiries and examination of future travellers. *T.*

and the brother, three. If the deceaſed leave two, three, or four widows, then that ſhare which is otherwiſe given to the one widow is divided, in equal portions, among all the claimants of the vidual inheritance, let the part that falls to each be ever ſo ſmall. If the deceaſed have two, three, or more brothers, the ſame is done with reſpect to them, and the three-eighths which would have fallen to the ſhare of one, is divided equally among them all, provided, however, that they be all ſons of the ſame father.

Theſe laws, however, are ſometimes departed from, when circumſtances afford inducements to favour one of the heirs more than the others.

Thus, the high prieſts of the provinces of *Patty* and *Joana*, certified to the reſident of *Joana*, that they had fixed the ſhare of the widow of a man, who had died there, at one-third part of the whole inheritance, and had divided the remaining two-thirds into eight portions, one of which they likewiſe adjudged to the widow, four to the daughter of the deceaſed, and three to his brother; giving as a reaſon for this departure

parture from the uſual mode, that the wife had, by her own diligence and induſtry, gained the greateſt part of the property thus left to be divided, and being therefore the occaſion of the proſperity of the family, ought to be the greateſt ſharer in the diviſion of the eſtate.

The Javaneſe are, in general, well ſhaped, of a light brown colour, with black eyes and hair; their eyes are more ſunk in the head than is generally obſerved in the nations living ſouth of the line; they have flattiſh noſes, and large mouths; they are moſtly thin, yet muſcular; a few corpulent men among them make no exception to this general deſcription. The women, when young, have much ſofter features than the men, but when they grow old imagination can not well conceive more hideous hags.

The dreſs of the men conſiſts of a pair of linen breeches, which ſcarcely reach half way down their thighs, and over this, they wear a ſort of ſhirt, made of blue or black coarſe cotton cloth, which hangs looſe about them, down below the knees. The hair of the head is bound up in a handkerchief, in the form of a turban.

The

The dreſs of the women conſiſts of a coarſe chintz cloth, wrapped twice round the body, and faſtened under the breaſts, hanging down to the midleg, or lower; over this they wear a little ſhort jacket, which reaches to the waiſt: they have no covering to the head, but wear their hair bound in a fillet, and faſtened at the back part of the head with large pins: they ſometimes adorn their hair with chaplets of flowers.

Children, both boys and girls, often run about entirely naked, till they are eight or nine years of age.

What I have mentioned with reſpect to dreſs, relates alone to the lower ſort of Javaneſe; the higher orders, and rich people, wear much more coſtly garments.

CHAPTER V.

BATAVIA.—*Its Situation.—Harbour.—Canals.—Walls.—Caſtle.—Houſes, &c.—Inhabitants.—Revenues and Charges, &c.—Character of the Inhabitants.—Mode of Living.—Marriages.—Slaves.—Treatment of them.—Their Paſſion for gaming—Not duly reſtrained.*

BATAVIA lies, according to the beſt obſervations, in the ſouth latitude of 6° 5′, on the northern ſhore of the empire of *Jaccatra*, in the deepeſt part of a bay which is formed by the points of *Ontong*, *Java*, and *Crawang*; from which points, it lies, namely, from the former, about four Dutch miles ſoutheaſt, and from the latter, about five miles ſouthweſt. Ten or twelve ſmall iſlands, at the diſtance of from two to four leagues from the city, ſhelter the bay from N.W. to N. by E. from the ſwell of the ſea; the road is between a quarter and half a league from the city. The ground, upon which the city is built, bears evident marks of

of having been left, or thrown up, by the ſea; as is the caſe with a great extent of the land ſituated on each ſide, the ſhore of which is almoſt always ſoft mud, for a good way up, and which encreaſes every year. Above, or to the ſouth of the city, towards *Tanabang* and *Weltevreeden*, the ground riſes by degrees, and the ſoil becomes firmer and drier the nearer you approach the mountains, which lie twelve or more Dutch miles inland.

I have before mentioned, that *Batavia* receives the greateſt part of its water by the drain which has been made from the *Sedani*, or river of *Tangerang*; but neither is this, nor the water of the other rivers, which, communicating with the *Mookervaart*, is brought to the city, added to the great river of *Jaccatra*, that runs through the middle of it, altogether nearly ſufficient to give a proper degree of circulation to the inner and outer canals of the city, whereby moſt of them have only one or two feet water in the good monſoon, or dry ſeaſon; and in the croſs-canals, there is no current whatſoever perceptible; and it is very probable, that, if no greater force of backwater

can

can be brought to act upon them, many of both the longitudinal and the croſs-canals will, ere long, run perfectly dry.

The form of the city is an oblong ſquare, longitudinally interſected by the great river. Its circumference, including the caſtle, is about twelve hundred roods, or one Dutch mile; the longeſt ſides, which lie in the direction of S. by E. and N. by W. are about three hundred, and the ſhorteſt ſides two hundred, roods in length. Beſides the city-moats, which run entirely round, each diviſion, on either ſide of the river, has two canals, running parallel with the longeſt ſides, and interſected, at right angles, by ſeveral croſs-canals.

The city is ſurrounded by a wall of coral-rock, ſerving as a facing to the rampart behind it, which occupies but a very narrow ſpace of ground in many places. It is defended by twenty or one-and-twenty baſtions, if the greater part of them may be ſo called, as they are moſtly of a ſquare or ſemicircular ſhape, projecting beyond the curtains, which, with the wall itſelf, are built nearly perpendicular, and are in ſo ruinous a condition, as to threaten to fall down every day, for which reaſon no other cannon

cannon are placed upon them but ſuch as are very light, and intended only to fire general ſalutes.

The caſtle, which formerly lay by the ſeaſide, but which is now, by the continual encreaſe of the mudbanks before it, full one hundred roods from the ſea, ſtands on the eaſt bank of the river that divides the town into two parts; it covers about two hundred roods of ground, and is a regular ſquare fortreſs, with four baſtions, built of rock-ſtone. For theſe regions it might be conſidered as a tolerably ſtrong fortification, were it not full of buildings within-ſide, that muſt obſtruct, if not render impracticable, the defence of it. Beſides this, Governor General VAN IMHOF has rendered it entirely uſeleſs as a citadel, by breaking down the curtain which formerly connected the two baſtions, looking towards the city, in order to make a roomy eſplanade before the government-houſe, and the other buildings in the caſtle; indefenſible, therefore, on that ſide, whoever is in poſſeſſion of the eaſtern part of the city, is equally maſter of the caſtle.

I ſhall not detain my readers with a further deſcription of the city, as I have given ſome particulars

particulars reſpecting it in the account of my former voyage; and many others have publiſhed more ample deſcriptions of it, which are accurate enough to afford a tolerable good idea of the place.

Beſides the public buildings, the following number of houſes, of all deſcriptions, large and ſmall, are found here, viz.

in the city itſelf, ...	2,442 houſes
in the ſouthern ſuburb, ...	559
out of the *Rotterdam* or *Anſjol*-gate, . .	732
out of the *Utrecht*-gate, ...	760
and in the Chineſe campon, which may be conſidered as a ſuburb, ...	1,277

ſo that *Batavia* and its ſuburbs, contain, in all, 5,770 houſes. *

The

* We ſuſpect a miſtake in this ſtatement, which ſeems copied, with a difference of 1000 houſes, from VALENTYN's account; which is as follows:

in the city 678 large, 564 ſmall } Dutch houſes
997 Chineſe ditto
203 Dutch ditto, tenanted by Chineſe.—In all . 2,442

and out of the city,

	arrack houſes.	large Dutch ho.	ſmall ditto.	Chineſe ditto.	total.	
at the *New*-gate,	6	62	181	309	559	
at the *Dieſt*-gate,	1	7	33	236	277	
at the *Rotterdam*-gate,	5	120	501	106	732	
at the *Utrecht*-gate,	0	27	135	589	751	
coach-houſes, ...					9	
	12	216	850	1,240	2,328	
				in all, without the city,		2,328
					total	4,770

and

The number of the inhabitants were, in the year 1768, viz.

European free merchants and women, .	1,652 perſons.
Native chriſtians, ...	4,571
Slaves, ...	8,866
all the ſervants of the Company, excluſive of thoſe who are upon the iſlands of *Onruſt*, *Edam*, &c. and the other outpoſts of *Batavia*, ...	4,000
total in the city and ſuburbs,	19,089 perſons.
It is further calculated that, in the outer town, within the outpoſts of *Ansjol*, *Ankee*, *Noordwyk*, and *Ryſwyk*, as well in their campon as elſewhere, there are Chineſe, . . .	30,000
native chriſtians, out of the *Ansjol*-gate, .	10,000
Moors out of the *Utrecht*-gate, ...	1,000
Javaneſe, diſperſed in eighteen campons, within the outpoſts, ...	30,000
making altogether the number of .	91,089 *

Among

and this account appeared to the gentlemen who were there in 1769, in the *Endeavour*, to be greatly exaggerated, eſpecially with reſpect to the number of houſes within the walls. Huysers ſtates the number of houſes in *Batavia* to be 3,500, but does not add whether he includes the ſuburbs. In 1778, there were, in the neighbourhood of *Batavia*, ſixty brickkilns, thirty-four tilekilns, eighteen limekilns, ſeven manufactories of earthen ware, twenty arrack diſtilleries, and about ſeventy ſugarmills. T.

* From the more particular ſtatements of Huysers, we can form a better idea of the number of inhabitants, and the diverſity of nations, forming the population of this metropolis of the eaſt. He informs us, that, in 1778, the numbered inhabitants

Among the abovementioned Europeans, are likewiſe comprehended the poſterity of Europeans

inhabitants of *Batavia* were as follow, viz. 468 European burghers, 5,582 native chriſtians, 4,873 mardykers, or manumitted ſlaves of all nations, 23,309 Chineſe, 289 Amboyneſe, 278 Bandaneſe, 966 Moors, 254 Gentoos, 1,852 Malays, 324 Boutonners, 1,983 Macaſſers, 3,707 Bouginеſe, 104 Timoreſe, 189 Mandhareſe, eighty-five Sumbauwers, 13,073 Baliërs, 33,408 Javans, and 20,072 ſlaves; making, in all, 110,816, excluſive of women and children, and of the Company's ſervants. The Company's eſtabliſhment of *Batavia* conſiſted in 1776-1777 of 613 perſons in civil, and thirty-five in eccleſiaſtical, employments, ninety-nine ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, 125 belonging to the artillery, 875 ſeamen and marines, 1,571 ſoldiers, and 903 mechanics; in all, 4,221 Europeans, beſides 703 natives in their ſervice. The important revenues ariſing from the import and export duties, &c. and the valuable productions which the country around it affords, might induce the ſuppoſition, that *Batavia*, or rather the colony of *Jaccatra*, for that is the account in the books of the Company, to which all that relates to *Batavia* is carried, were adequate to its own ſupport; yet this is far from being the caſe. *Batavia* is the metropolis of the Dutch Indian poſſeſſions; it is the ſeat of their government; a large garriſon is conſtantly maintained in it; moſt of the Company's ſhips touch here, both outward and homeward-bound; their cargoes are landed and ſhipped; all recruits are received, maintained, and paid here; in ſhort, almoſt all the charges of the marine and military eſtabliſhment of the Company, are carried to the account of *Batavia*; and it cannot, therefore, be but that a conſiderable balance muſt appear every year againſt it. The famous Mossel, it is true, in his Memorial of Economy, maintains, that *Batavia* might be rendered a ſource

Europeans born here, and of theſe, the moſt conſiderable number are women *.

Both the free merchants, or burghers, and the Company's ſervants, who are natives of Europe, are compoſed of all the different nations who inhabit that quarter of the globe. The feweſt, in number, are Dutch; and the moſt, Germans.

of great revenue to the Company, even after defraying all theſe charges.' Taking, as a baſis, the books of the year 1752, he formed a calculatory ſtatement, making the profits and revenues of *Batavia* amount to *f.*3,300,000, and the charges to *f.*2,800,000 per annum, leaving a yearly ſurplus of *f.*500,000 (about 45,454*l.* ſterling). But the books have not been cloſed ſo favourably ſince his time: in 1767, indeed, a favourable balance appeared of *f.*233,330 (about 21,212*l.*); but in the peaceful year 1779, the collective receipts amounted to *f.*1,820,327, and the charges to *f.*2,384,930, or *f.*564,603 (about 51,327*l.*), more than the receipts, which is vaſtly different from the calculations of MOSSEL. *T.*

* There are not many women at *Batavia* that were born in Europe, but the white women, who are by no means ſcarce, are deſcendents from European parents, of the third or fourth generation, the gleanings of many families who have ſucceſſively become extinct, in the male line; for it is certain, that, whatever be the cauſe, this climate is not ſo fatal to the ladies, as to the other ſex. The female Europeans, at *Batavia*, ſeldom expoſe themſelves to the heat of the ſun, make frequent uſe of the cold bath, and live more temperately than the men, which may be the reaſons of their ſuffering leſs from the inſalubrity of the climate. *T.*

The

The various opinions and habits which have been imbibed, by the different modes of education, and manners of life, of ſo many individuals, from ſo many different countries, are here all obliterated, or blended into the ſingle paſſion of amaſſing riches, which ſeems to be "their being's end and aim"; and to attain this object, they leave no means untried that lie in their power. With whatever ideas of virtue or honeſty, they may ſtep on ſhore, they can ſcarcely be ſaid to have paſſed the threſhold of their firſt abode, before thoſe unſuitable notions are diſmiſſed from their minds*: there are very few who reſiſt the temptations that aſſail them, and who do not deviate from the paths of integrity. And yet there are very few who, although they have ſacrificed every conſideration, for the ſake of the object of their unwearied purſuit, attained the wiſhed-for goal, and acquire ſufficient wealth, to ſatisfy their deſire of riches; diſ-

* Ovington, a traveller of the laſt century, relates as a common proverbial ſaying in his time, that, "thoſe who "ſail from Europe to India, leave their conſciences on this "ſide of the *Cape*; and in returning thence to Europe, they "leave their conſciences on the other ſide of the *Cape*." So that, except in doubling the *Cape*, an Eaſt-Indian was not ſuppoſed to have any conſcience at all. *T.*

appointed, therefore, in their expectations, diſcontented with their ſituation, and diſſatiſfied with themſelves, they fall into a ſtate of melancholy and dejection, which, added to the influence of a noxious climate upon their health, and the want of their cuſtomary viands, exhauſts their animal ſpirits, and renders them a prey to the death that alone extinguiſhes their boundleſs luſt of wealth.

Moſt of the people who live here, and even many rich ones, who, it might be ſuppoſed, had attained the ſummit of their wiſhes, have ſomething in their countenances expreſſive of diſcontent and dejection, and which ſeems a certain ſign, that all is not right within. The climate, may, undoubtedly, contribute much to this appearance; the animal ſpirits do not flow in that free circulation, nor do the powers of the mind poſſeſs that ſtrength and elaſticity, which animate the human frame, and give energy to the exertions of the ſoul, in more temperate climes. I have experienced this myſelf; and I have found that I did not here poſſeſs that flow of ſpirits, and chearfulneſs of diſpoſition, which I was ſeldom without in other countries. This is not all; for, after a ſhort reſidence in this debilitating

debilitating atmoſphere, a ſtate of languor, and love of inactivity, is ſoon ſeen to overcome all the active powers of the mind, and, occaſioning a total neglect of exerciſe, ruins the conſtitution, and ſuperinduces an abſolute repugnance to every kind of occupation. The only reſource for thoſe who are in this ſtate of liſtleſſneſs, approaching to torpidity, is, to ſeek for ſome relief by company, and to endeavour to kill the heavy hours, as they paſs, in the moſt frivolous manner: ſmoaking of tobacco, a little unintereſting and uſeleſs converſation, drinking, and card-playing, form the ſum of their amuſements; and having, in this manner, ſpent the day and part of the night, they riſe the next morning, utterly at a loſs how to paſs the many tedious hours of the day they enter upon; and devoid of all inclination for reading, either for amuſement or inſtruction, they are compelled to go the ſame dull round, and are only ſolicitous to make choice of ſuch ways of killing time, as interfere the leaſt with their beloved ſtate of motionleſs repoſe.

That happy ſocial intercourſe, tempered by friendſhip, and ſoftened by love, which is the reſult of a rational nuptial connection, is

little ſeen or known here. Moſt marriages are made with the ſordid views of obtaining riches, or ſecuring preferment; and the few matrimonial engagements, that are entered into on account of perſonal qualifications, afford inſtances of alienation in a very ſhort time after the hymenial knot has been tied: this is greatly cauſed by the erroneous education which parents here give to their children, but more eſpecially to their daughters. I have, in the account of my former voyage, enlarged on this ſubject, and likewiſe reſpecting the manner of living, diſpoſition, dreſs, &c. of the Europeans of *Batavia*, both men and women, and it is therefore ſuperfluous for me to ſay more, on thoſe points, in this place.

There is another circumſtance, which does not a little contribute to render the domeſtic lives of the inhabitants of *Batavia* diſagreeable, or unhappy; this is the ſervice of ſlaves; which, as no European ſervants can be procured, or are allowed to be kept, has become a neceſſary evil. Every year full three thouſand of both ſexes are brought to *Batavia*, as well from the coaſt of *Malabar*, *Bengal*, *Sumatra*, and other parts, as from *Celebes*;

Celebes; from which laſt place, however, the greateſt number are imported. A duty of twelve rixdollars * per head, is paid upon all ſlaves who enter *Batavia* for the firſt time, excepting upon thoſe, who are brought by the commanders of veſſels, from the places where the ſlaves come from, on their own account; and which, with reſpect to the ſhips coming from *Celebes* or *Macaſſer*, is fixed to the number of twelve ſlaves, who are permitted to be brought at one time, without paying any duty upon them.

They are employed in every kind of domeſtic and menial ſervice, in which they are inſtructed by thoſe who have been longer in the family, or have had opportunities of improvement; and they become, in time, good cooks, taylors, coachmen, &c. and do not yield, in their acquired qualifications, to the beſt of European ſervants. They experience, in general, better uſage, at the hands of their maſters, than what the negro ſlaves in the Weſt-Indies meet with from the coloniſts; although inſtances ſometimes likewiſe occur here, of barbarity and inhumanity in the

* About forty-ſeven ſhillings ſterling. *T.*

treatment of them: but theſe are not frequent, and thoſe who are guilty of ſuch conduct, ſeldom fail of meeting their due reward, and are generally murdered, or poiſoned, by their exaſperated ſlaves; or elſe the ſlaves run away from their maſters, who thereby loſe a valuable property, and are puniſhed in their purſes. When the ſlaves are well treated, they poſſeſs fidelity enough, and confidence may be repoſed in them, provided they do not carry their paſſion for gaming, to which they are exceedingly addicted, to exceſs; for if they have once abandoned themſelves to this infatuating vice, they not only play till they loſe all they may have of their own, but likewiſe all they can lay their hands on belonging to their maſters, continually flattering themſelves with the idle hope of retrieving their former loſſes by a lucky throw of the dice; in which they are, generally, miſerably deceived; for the Chineſe, who are here accuſtomed to keep gaming-houſes, and among other games of hazard, one denominated top-tables, are too great adepts in the art, and much too cunning for the poor ſlaves, to allow of their regaining what they may have loſt.

It

It cannot eaſily be conceived why the ſupreme government do not put a ſtop to theſe baneful proceedings, by prohibiting, or deſtroying, thoſe dangerous haunts of gameſters and ſharpers, which are the cauſes of the ſeduction and ruin of the largeſt part of the ſlaves in the city; for it is the officers of juſtice of the municipal government, that fare the beſt by them, receiving from the keepers of the gaming-houſes, a monthly conſideration for their protection and connivance *; whence it happens, that theſe officers will never receive, or attend, to any complaints, which may be made to them of the ſeduction of the ſlaves, on the part of their owners: even the confeſſion of the ſlave himſelf, who has loſt all his own, and his maſter's property that he could get at, and the teſtimony of the maſter, who has found his ſlave at the gaming-table, do not ſuffice to procure the conviction or puniſhment of the Chineſe, if the latter merely

* The officers, who have the controul over the Chineſe gaming-houſes, are required to pay to the Company, as a conſideration for the profits they make by them, a monthly contribution of 3,100 rixdollars, or upwards of £.8000 ſterling per annum. T.

perſiſts

perſiſts in ſwearing that he never ſaw the ſlave in his houſe: "I can do nothing in the buſineſs; the Chineſe, you hear, denies it," is the only anſwer, and the only ſatisfaction, that can, in ſuch caſes, be obtained from the executor of the law, as I have myſelf experienced.

What, however, is the moſt diſagreeable circumſtance attending a reſidence at *Batavia*, is the inſalubrity of the climate, and the great degree of mortality which prevails there, eſpecially among tranſient viſitors, or people that firſt arrive; this is apparent to ſuch a degree, that the Engliſh, who circumnavigated the globe (1768-1770), and had experienced almoſt every viciſſitude of climate, declared that *Batavia* was not only the moſt unhealthy place they had ſeen, but that this circumſtance was a ſufficient defence or preſervative againſt any hoſtile attempts, as the troops of no nation would be able to withſtand, nor would any people in their ſenſes, without abſolute neceſſity, venture to encounter this peſtilential atmoſphere.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VI.

Cauſes of the Unhealthineſs of BATAVIA.—*Mud-banks thrown up by the Sea.—Moraſſes.—Familiarity of the Inhabitants with Diſeaſe and Death.—Want of Circulation in the Canals.—Deſerted and untenanted Houſes.—Depreciation in the Value of Houſes.—Other Cauſes, originating in Europe, applied to explain the great Mortality at* BATAVIA.—*Periods when the Number of Deaths ſucceſſively encreaſed.—Regiſter of the Deaths in the Hoſpitals, &c.—Comparative and calculatory Statement reſpecting the Number of Men loſt by the Company every Year.*

SOUND reaſon, and the united experience of ages, have incontrovertibly demonſtrated, that low, ſwampy land, ſuch as has been abandoned, or thrown up, by the waves of the ſea, and countries overgrown with trees and underwood, are all extremely unhealthy, and frequently fatal, to the greateſt proportion of their inhabitants. And the inſalubrity of the air has been found to augment, or decreaſe, in proportion as the habitations of mankind have been placed nearer to, or farther

farther from, moraſſes, or ſtagnant waters, or woods, which, by their proximity, prevent the noxious exhalations from being diſſipated by a free circulation of air.

All theſe cauſes of diſeaſe and death combine, in a greater or leſs degree, their baneful influence, to render *Batavia* one of the moſt unwholeſome ſpots upon the face of the globe.

They make their appearance throughout all the neighbouring foreland; and from the point of *Ontong Java*, on one ſide, to two leagues beyond *Ansjol*, on the other, where the firm ſandy beach commences, a diſmal ſucceſſion of ſtinking mudbanks, filthy bogs, and ſtagnant pools, announce to more ſenſes than one, the poiſonous nature of this dreadful climate.

Along this ſhore, the ſea throws up all manner of filth, ſlime, molluſca, dead fiſh, mud, and weeds, which, putrifying with the utmoſt rapidity, by the extreme degree of heat, load and infect the air with their offenſive miaſmata. This aggregation of mud and putrifaction, receives a more peculiar encreaſe during the bad or weſt monſoon, than at another time; and the conſtant prolongation

longation of the pierheads of the river, contributes alſo a ſhare towards this accretion. The mudbanks, thus recently thrown up, are ſoon covered with ſuch buſhes and ſhrubs as are proper to moraſſes, whereby freſh ſupplies of mud and filth are caught and retained, and the accretion and noxious exhalations are augmented and ſtrengthened, while the northweſt winds convey the whole of the putrid effluvia to the city.

Near *Batavia* are likewiſe found ſeveral very low tracts, eſpecially to the weſt of the city, which, although they lie far enough from the ſea, not to be ſubject to be inundated by it, yet, by the continual and heavy rains which fall in that ſeaſon of the year, often ſtand under water; and even include in their circuit, ſwamps covered with high trees, which augment the corruption of the atmoſphere, by their fouleſt vapours *.

All

* It is not ſtrange that the inhabitants of ſuch a country ſhould be familiar with diſeaſe and death. Preventive medicines are taken almoſt as regularly as food, and every body expects the returns of ſickneſs, as we do the ſeaſons of the year. In the words of a late intelligent and poliſhed traveller, "the European ſettlers at *Batavia* commonly appear wan, "weak, and languid; as if labouring with the 'diſeaſe of "death.' Their place of reſidence, indeed, is ſituated "in

All this would, alone, be ſufficient to render *Batavia* a moſt unwholeſome place of abode, and

" in the midſt of ſwamps and ſtagnated pools, whence they " are every morning ſaluted with 'a congregation of foul and " peſtilential vapours,' whenever the ſea-breeze ſets in, and " blows over this moraſs. The meridian ſun raiſes from the " ſhallow and muddy canals, with which the town is inter- " ſected, deleterious miaſmata into the air; and the trees, " with which the quays and ſtreets are crouded, emit noxious " exhalations in the night. There are few examples of " ſtrangers remaining in *Batavia* long, without being at- " tacked by fever, which is the general denomination, in " that place, for illneſs of every kind. The diſorder, at firſt, " is commonly a tertian ague, which, after two or three pa- " roxyſms, becomes a double tertian, and then a continued " remittent, that frequently carries off the patient in a ſhort " time. The Peruvian bark is ſeldom preſcribed in any " ſtage of the diſeaſe; or is given in ſuch ſmall quantities, as " to be productive of little benefit. The chief, or rather the " ſole, medicine adminiſtered, is a ſolution of camphor in " ſpirit of wine. The practitioners of phyſic, at *Batavia*, " where the preſence of the moſt ſkilful certainly is neceſſary, " not having had the advantages of a medical education, are " ſatisfied, as to theory, with conſidering the nature of the " fever as being to rot and corrupt the human frame; and, " as to practice, that camphor being the moſt powerful anti- " ſeptic known, it is proper to truſt to it, by a rule more " ſimple even than MOLIERE's, and to exhibit it in every " variety and period of the complaint. The intermittent " fever does not, however, always prove fatal; but conti- " nues, in ſome inſtances, even for many years; and the pa- " tient becomes ſo familiarized to it, as ſcarcely to think it a " diſeaſe, attending, in the intervals of its attack, to his

" affairs

and the mortality greater here, than at any other ſpot of the Company's poſſeſſions; but to theſe, more than adequate cauſes, which occur in the environs and ſituation of the city, may be added another no leſs prejudicial, namely, the preſent interior ſtate of the town itſelf, whereby the deſtructive unhealthineſs of the climate is carried to the very pinnacle of corruption.

" affairs, and mixing in ſociety. A gentleman in that predicament, converſing upon the nature of the climate, obſerved, that, in fact, it was fatal to vaſt numbers of Europeans who came to ſettle there; that he loſt many of his friends every year; but, for his part, he enjoyed excellent health. Soon after, he called for a napkin to wipe his forehead, adding, that this was his fever-day; he had a ſhocking fit that morning, and ſtill continued to perſpire profuſely. Upon being reminded of his late aſſertion of being always healthy, he replied, he was ſo, with exception of thoſe fits, which did not prevent him from being generally very well; that he was conſcious they would deſtroy him by degrees, were he to remain in the country long, but that he hoped his affairs would enable him to leave it before that event was likely to take place. It is ſuppoſed, that of the Europeans of all claſſes, who come to ſettle in *Batavia*, not always half the number ſurvive the year. The place reſembles, in that reſpect, a field of battle, or a town beſieged. The frequency of deaths renders familiar the mention of them, and little ſigns are ſhewn of emotion and ſurpriſe, on hearing that the companion of yeſterday is to-day no more." When an acquaintance is ſaid to be dead, the common reply is, " Well, he owed me nothing," or " I muſt get my money of his executors." *T.*

Two

Two principal cauſes are to be met with within the city, and a great part of its inſalubrity is, in my opinion, to be aſcribed to them, namely, the little circulation of water in the canals which interſect it, and the diminution of the number of its inhabitants. The former is occaſioned by the river, which formerly conveyed moſt of its water to the city, being now greatly weakened by the drain, which has been dug, called the *Slokhaan*, which receives its water from the high land, and carries it away from the city, ſo that many of the canals run almoſt dry, in the good monſoon *. The latter derives its origin

* The ſtagnant canals, in the dry ſeaſon, exhale an intolerable ſtench, and the trees, planted along them, impede the courſe of the air, by which, in ſome degree, the putrid effluvia would be diſſipated. In the wet ſeaſon the inconvenience is equal, for then theſe reſervoirs of corrupted water overflow their banks in the lower part of the town, and fill the lower ſtories of the houſes, where they leave behind them an inconceivable quantity of ſlime and filth: yet theſe canals are ſometimes cleaned; but the cleaning of them is ſo managed, as to become as great a nuiſance as the foulneſs of the water; for the black mud that is taken from the bottom is ſuffered to lie upon the banks, that is, in the middle of the ſtreet, till it has acquired a ſufficient degree of hardneſs to be made the lading of a boat, and carried away. As this mud conſiſts chiefly of human ordure, which is regularly thrown into the canals

origin from the decay of trade, which was formerly ſo flouriſhing in this place, that there uſed to be ſcarcely a poſſibility of procuring a houſe within the walls of the city; at preſent, on the contrary, thoſe houſes in which anciently the greateſt merchants dwelt, their countinghouſes, where they carried on their buſineſs, and the warehouſes, which received their immenſe ſtocks of merchandize, are now either deſerted and untenanted, or changed into ſtables, or coachhouſes. The ruined ſquare, the *Lepel*, or Spoon-ſtreet, and other parts of the lower town, afford the moſt viſible teſtimony of this decay.

The buildings remaining thus uninhabited, and uncleanſed, ſpeedily contract, in this low, warm, and marſhy place, an infectious and foul air, and contaminate even the houſes that are adjoining; and that this both cauſes

canals every morning, there ſcarcely being a neceſſary-houſe in the whole town, it poiſons the air, while it is drying, to a conſiderable extent. Even the running ſtreams become nuiſances in their turn, by the negligence of the people; for every now and then a dead hog, or a dead horſe, is ſtranded upon the ſhallow parts, and it being the buſineſs of no particular perſon to remove the nuiſance, it is negligently left to time and accident. *T.*

and augments the unhealthineſs of the place, is evident from the circumſtance, that the mortality is greater in the lower town, or on the north ſide, than in the other parts of the city that are more fully inhabited.

The caſtle, which is now eſteemed the moſt unhealthy part of the whole place, uſed, thirty and more years ago, not to be more ſo than any other ſpot around it; but at that time the buildings in it, which are appropriated for the governor general, and for the firſt ſervants of the Company, were inhabited by them; theſe ſtand at preſent empty, are neglected, choaked with dirt, and running to decay: the poor office-clerks, who have not the means of procuring another abode, and are compelled, therefore, to dwell in thoſe buildings erected for them in the caſtle, are the victims. The military, who are, for the moſt part, quartered in the barracks built for them, and the people belonging to the marine department, who reſide upon, or near, the admiralty-wharf, which is oppoſite to the caſtle, are no leſs expoſed.

Moſt people, not ſatisfied with having left the lower town, in order to go and live higher

higher up, have abandoned the city altogether, and reſide in gardens without the walls *, and as far removed from the town, as their circumſtances, or the employments which they have to attend to in the city, will allow them; letting their houſes in the city ſtand empty, or occupying them only for a ſhort time of the year, and no longer than is abſolutely neceſſary. This goes on encreaſing from year to year, and will probably, in the lapſe of time, produce the total abandonment and ruin of *Batavia*. The amazing depreciation in the value of houſes, is but too clear a proof of this aſſertion: ſuch as twenty-five or thirty years ago, ſold

* The Dutch, who are ſo fond of gardens in Holland, have transferred that taſte, where it can, certainly, be cultivated with more ſucceſs, and indulge it to a great extent, at their houſes a little way from *Batavia*; but ſtill within that fenny diſtrict, concerning which, an intelligent gentleman on the ſpot uſed the ſtrong expreſſion, that the air was peſtilential, and the water poiſonous. Yet the country is every where ſo verdant, gay, and fertile; it is interſperſed with ſuch magnificent houſes, gardens, avenues, canals, and drawbridges; and is ſo formed in every reſpect to pleaſe the eye, could health be preſerved in it, that a youth coming juſt from ſea, and enraptured with the beauty of every object he ſaw around him, but mindful of the danger there to life, could not help exclaiming, "What an excellent habitation it would be for "immortals!" *T.*

for ſixteen hundred, or two thouſand rixdollars, would not, when I was laſt there, fetch, at moſt, one quarter of that ſum.

I have here pointed out the chief cauſes of the greater inſalubrity of *Batavia*, than any other place under the ſame parallels. But yet I think it wrong to aſcribe ſolely to theſe the amazing mortality among the Europeans who come hither. There are other cauſes, which are independent of *Batavia* and its climate, which contribute greatly to this mortality. Theſe I ſhould chiefly conſider as originating in Europe, ſince it is certain, that the ſupplies of men arriving in the Indies from Europe, have not, for ſeveral years paſt, been found to bring with them thoſe healthy conſtitutions, which they did half a century ago. The continual encreaſing dearneſs of proviſions in Europe, ſince the year 1740, has, as is naturally the caſe, moſt affected the loweſt claſſes of ſociety, who have, in conſequence, been obliged to take up with coarſer and leſs nouriſhing food, which muſt undeniably have a proportionate prejudicial effect upon their animal frame. Theſe, for no other ſort of people, a very few excepted, take ſervice with the Company,

Company, when conveyed on board of the ſhips, deteriorate their conſtitutions, which have been already fundamentally ſhaken, by the hardſhips which accompany a ſea life, the cloſe and narrow places where they are lodged, and the melancholy with which moſt of them are attacked, on account of leaving their native country.

Arriving thus at *Batavia*, the moſt unwholeſome ſpot that could be pitched on, with a broken conſtitution, which has received new ſhocks from their long voyage, it can ſcarcely be expected, when to this is added, a ſcanty and inſipid diet, to which they are unaccuſtomed, conſiſting of rice and ſome dried fiſh, together with the extreme plenty and cheapneſs of fruit, and the eaſy acceſs to ſtrong liquors, that they ſhould long ſurvive the fatal moment when they firſt ſet foot on this dangerous ſhore. This is ſo far as it regards thoſe who have engaged as ſoldiers.

But it is not only from the military, that the muſter-rolls of death are ſwelled: the ſame mortality likewiſe takes place among the ſeafaring part of the Company's ſervants; yet the above is not ſo much, in every re-

ſpect, applicable to thoſe who are really ſeamen, and having from their youth been bred up to the profeſſion, have, in general, ſubſiſted upon better food, and have acquired a more hardy temperament, but, with reſpect to thoſe who are merely nominal ſailors, and who have never before ſtood upon a deck, who conſtitute the greateſt number of the mariners in the employ of the Company, theſe, I ſay, muſt be looked upon as on an equality with the ſoldiers.

Thus, when it is ſaid that the mortality is general, both in the military and marine departments of the Company's eſtabliſhment, it muſt be conſidered, that the greateſt number of the individuals engaged in the ſea-ſervice, conſiſt of ſuch as differ from the military, upon their firſt coming on board, in nothing than in name. Many years ago, a ſufficient number of able ſeamen could be procured, not to be compelled to have recourſe to landſmen for filling up a ſhip's complement; but, ever ſince the year 1740, the many naval wars, the great encreaſe of trade and navigation, particularly in many countries, where formerly theſe purſuits were little attended to, and the conſequent great

and

and continual demands for able ſeamen, both for ſhips of war, and for merchantmen, have ſo conſiderably diminiſhed the ſupply of them, that, in our own country, where there formerly uſed to be a great abundance of mariners, it is now, with great difficulty and expence, that any veſſel can procure a proper number of able hands to navigate her.

Many people, who have never viſited the countries between the tropics, and are too apt to credit the miſrepreſentations of travellers, have been led to believe, that exceſſive heat is the cauſe of the unhealthineſs of *Batavia*; but the healthineſs of many other countries, where the ſame degree of heat prevails, is proof enough of the contrary. At *Surat*, and in *Bengal*, which are eſteemed the moſt ſalubrious parts of India, I have more than once found the thermometer of Fahrenheit riſe above 100° in the months of March and April, while at *Batavia* I have ſeldom ſeen it higher than 90°, and generally below that point; which is a degree of heat that is not unuſual even in our own country: and this is moreover conſiderably mitigated by the refreſhing land and ſea-

breezes, returning alternately at ſtated hours in regular rotation; the ſea-breeze begins about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and blows the ſtrongeſt from two to five o'clock in the afternoon, while at eight or nine o'clock in the evening, the land-wind commences, and continues throughout the night, and till ſeven or eight o'clock in the morning.

The intermediate calms, however, taking place before theſe breezes relieve each other, are not wholeſome. The ſtagnation of the atmoſphere at thoſe times, and eſpecially in the evening, before the land-wind begins to blow, and when the vapours exhaled during the heat of the day hang low over the earth, is hurtful to reſpiration, and the evening-air is, in conſequence, more eſpecially pernicious at *Batavia*. Yet many of the inhabitants are, nevertheleſs, accuſtomed to ſit out of doors in the evening, becauſe the warmth within ſurpaſſes that without.

There may, perhaps, be other cauſes, beſides the various diſadvantageous circumſtances attending the local ſituation and actual ſtate of the city, above adduced, which may give occaſion to the prevailing diſorder

and

and great degree of mortality that have, for theſe many years paſt, been obſerved at *Batavia*, and which are either not yet diſcovered, or cannot be pointed out with ſufficient accuracy of proof; for this is certain, that many of the circumſtances here enumerated, were in exiſtence at thoſe times, when the city was not reckoned a more unhealthy place of abode than any other, ſituated under the ſame climate.

An unuſual degree of mortality firſt made its appearance in the year 1733, and in that, and the five following years, the deaths amounted annually to more than two thouſand among the free merchants, or burghers, and Company's ſervants, and full fifteen hundred ſlaves beſides.

From 1739 to 1743, the mortality was not quite ſo great; for I find that, in thoſe five years, no more than five thouſand five hundred and ſixty-two of the Company's ſervants, died in the hoſpitals, whereas the number amounted, in the preceding five years, to eight thouſand two hundred and eighty-ſix; but it afterwards encreaſed again, ſo that from 1744 to 1771, the deaths in the hoſpitals alone (into which, by the bye,

bye, no others are admitted than ſuch as are in the Company's ſervice, and of theſe only the common ſoldiers and ſailors, who have not money to provide themſelves with better accommodation, are the only perſons who avail of them) amounted in number, to forty-eight thouſand and thirty-ſix. In the year 1769 alone, there died, both in the hoſpitals and out of them:

2,434	of the Company's ſervants,
164	burghers,
681	native chriſtians,
833	Mahomedans,
1,331	ſlaves, and
1,003	Chineſe.
6,446	together.

And of the latter the number may at leaſt be augmented by one-third, as ſo much may be taken for the deaths that are concealed, in order to avoid payment of the tax impoſed upon funerals; and the numbers mentioned above, are only ſuch as have been declared.

The dead, in the hoſpitals, amounted, from the beginning of July, 1775, to the end

end of July, 1776, to the number of two thouſand five hundred and ninety-five*.

On

* The following is a correct liſt of the numbers that have died in the hoſpitals at *Batavia*, from the year 1714 to 1776, viz.

Year	Dead	Year	Dead	Year	Dead
1714	459	1735	1568	1756	1487
1715	469	1736	1574	1757	1441
1716	453	1737	1993	1758	1638
1717	494	1738	1776	1759	1837
1718	591	1739	998	1760	1317
1719	660	1740	1124	1761	1000
1720	750	1741	1075	1762	1390
1721	614	1742	1082	1763	1750
1722	730	1743	1283	1764	1757
1723	657	1744	1595	1765	1754
1724	769	1745	1604	1766	2039
1725	925	1746	1565	1767	2404
1726	904	1747	1881	1768	1833
1727	676	1748	1261	1769	1742
1728	656	1749	1478	1770	2434
1729	626	1750	2035	1771	2480
1730	671	1751	1969	1772	2066
1731	780	1752	1601	1773	1187
1732	781	1753	1618	1774	1957
1733	1116	1754	1517	1775	2788
1734	1375	1755	2109	1776	2877

It was in 1733, that canals were chiefly begun to be dug around *Batavia*, by which the water was diverted from taking its courſe through the city, and from that time, the number of dead has conſtantly encreaſed. In 1744, a ſecond hoſpital was erected by Governor VAN IMHOFF, and in order to defray the

On making a compariſon between the number of deaths, and the remaining ſervants of the Company, at *Batavia*, and thoſe at the other ſettlements, it appears, that out of five thouſand four hundred and ninety Europeans, who were preſent at *Batavia*, according to the annual muſter, on the 30th of June, 1768 (of which number, however, one thouſand three hundred and thirty-eight, were patients in the hoſpitals), two thouſand four hundred and thirty-four died in the ſpace of the enſuing twelve months: and that the number of the Company's ſervants, at all the out-ſettlements, was found equally, on the laſt day of June of the ſame year,

the expences, the regulation was introduced in both hoſpitals, that the wages of all the ſick who were admitted into them, ſhould be withheld from them, while they were under cure, and applied to the benefit of the inſtitutions, whence, it is ſaid, many more patients died from the chagrin this regulation cauſed them; and we accordingly ſee that that, and the ſucceeding years, are marked with a greater mortality than before. In 1761, they began to ſtow in the hoſpital, without the city, more ſick people than the two hundred convaleſcents, who were formerly attended there; and the years immediately following, ſhew another period of encreaſe. In 1775 an hoſpital ſhip was laid up in the road, in conſequence of which, as well in that as in the next year, the number of dead was greater than ever. *T.*

according

according to muſter, to amount to fourteen thouſand four hundred and ſeventy Europeans; of whom, one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven died in the year following: whence it appears, that the proportion of the dead to the living, is, at *Batavia*, as twelve to twenty-ſeven, which is almoſt one-half, and at the out-ſettlements, as eleven to one hundred, or ſomething leſs than one-ninth. The Company, therefore, loſe, in general, every year, one ſixth part* of their ſervants. And they experienced a loſs, in the ſame proportion, during the ſame period of twelve months, upon the crews of thirty-ſeven ſhips navigating in India; and of the crews of twenty-ſeven ſhips that ſailed from Europe, in 1768-1769, which altogether amounted, by their muſter-rolls, to five thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-one hands, the number of dead was nine hundred and fifty-nine, which is equally very near to one in ſix.

This compariſon may certainly appear

* If out of 5,490 at *Batavia*, there died 2,434
and out of 14,470 at the out-factories . 1,637

then out of 19,960, the whole number . 4,071 died in one year, which is full one-fifth, inſtead of one-ſixth. T.

in

in different lights in different years, but not ſo much ſo, but that this calculation may in general be taken for what has, for ſeveral years paſt, been the reſult that has been annually experienced.

Even if no wars occur, by which the number of thoſe in the pay of the Company may be diminiſhed, the extraordinary mortality above ſtated, is alone ſufficient entirely to depopulate, in time, the Company's ſettlements; for, ſuppoſing that all the Company's European ſervants in the Indies, including thoſe in the civil, and in the military departments, together with the crews of thirty-ſeven ſhips employed in the country-trade, each taken at one hundred and ſixty-five men, amount, together, to twenty-ſix thouſand; of theſe, one ſixth part annually die off, is 4,333

And, ſuppoſing that *Batavia* receives an annual reinforcement from Holland, by twenty-ſeven ſhips, each calculated at two hundred and fifty men, of 6,750

from which muſt be deducted, for each ſhip, returning to Europe, and carrying back,

back, upon an average, one hundred and fifteen men a-piece, for twenty-four ſhips 2,760 (4,334)

Remain at *Batavia* 3,990

343

ſo that the ſupply falls ſhort every year, at leaſt, three hundred and forty-three men *. This is not, however, an inſurmountable annual deficiency; it might be overcome, and the loſs of men would not appear ſo viſible, were the ſupply of people from Europe more regular, and were it but maintained upon the footing which I have ſtated; but how often does it not happen, that, in the room of two hundred and fifty men, as I have ſuppoſed to be brought by each ſhip, ſcarcely two hundred, and even leſs, arrive at *Batavia?* There have even been years,

* From the laſt note, it appears, that this calculation ſhould be formed by taking one-fifth of the landmen, and one-ſixth of the ſeamen, in the Company's Indian ſervice, or, out of about 20,000 landmen, 4,000 dead
and out of about 6,000 ſeamen, 1,000
thus making the yearly loſs by death, about 5000, inſtead of 4,333; and the ſupply being only 3,990, the annual deficiency is about 1000, inſtead of only 343. T.

not

not long ſince, that out of upwards of eight thouſand hands, ſhipped in the ſpace of one twelvemonth, by the outwardbound India-ſhips, not four thouſand have reached *Batavia*, in which years, the Company's Indian ſettlements have accordingly experienced an annual defalcation of three thouſand men. And when to this is ſuperadded the caſualties of war, ſuch as the Company are at preſent engaged in, in the iſland of *Celebes*, and on the coaſt of *Malabar*, together with the difficulty of raiſing the complement of men in Holland, to be able to ſend out the ſhips at their proper time, duly manned, the diſmal aſpect of the Company's preſent ſituation will not require a more convincing proof.

CHAPTER VII.

General Review of the Decline in the Company's Affairs.—Recapitulation of the Receipts and Expenditure of each Settlement.—General Statement, &c. —Reflections on the Decayed State of the Company *.

WERE the proſperity of the Eaſt-India Company only in a ſtate of decline, from the circumſtances we have mentioned, hopes might be entertained of relief and reſtoration. A fortunate chance of war, or a favourable peace in Europe, might afford ſufficient opportunities of engaging men enough

* As this chapter is devoted to a general conſideration of the affairs of the Company, it may not be amiſs to inſert here, a recapitulation of the receipts and expenditure of all the eſtabliſhments of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company; the former, comprizing their territorial revenues, and profits upon the country-trade; and the latter, all the expences of each eſtabliſhment *per ſe*, taken from the books of the year 1779, that is, from the firſt of September, 1778, to the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1779: the order in which the eſtabliſhments are placed, is that in which they are arranged in the books of

enough to ſupply, in a very ample manner, the deficiency of people now laboured under.

But

the Company, and we have diſtinguiſhed thoſe actually known to be in the hands of the Engliſh by the mark †.

	Charges.	Expenditure.
Jaccatra, including *Batavia*	*f.*1,820,327	*f.*2,384,930
† *Amboyna*	48,747	201,082
† *Banda*	9,350	146,170
Ternate	114,997	229,406
Macaſſer	63,190	163,137
Timor	13,619	11,712
Banjermaſſing	——	12,091
Palembang	3,922	49,677
Japan	106,802	96,356
† *Malacca*	162,520	113,235
† *Padang*	74,577	53,675
† *Bengal*	385,159	265,517
† *Coromandel*	427,131	452,133
† *Ceylon*	611,704	1,243,038
† *Malabar*	414,977	489,645
† *Surat*	283,207	——
† *Cape of Good Hope*	195,168	505,269
Java's northeaſt coaſt	436,874	281,873
Cheribon	35,761	12,584
Bantam	——	78,262
Landak and *Succadana*	1,764	9,726
Total	*f.*5,209,796	*f.*6,799,518
		5,209,796
leaving an excedent in the charges of		*f.*1,589,722

or

But many other circumſtances concur, if not to render the reſtoration of the Company's affairs

or 144,520*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* ſterling. The Indian poſſeſſions of the Company were not always a charge upon them; in 1689, the balance, drawn in the ſame manner, was on the other ſide, and ſhewed a favourable ſurplus of *f.*937,361. 10. 5 (85,214*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.*); and in 1744, an advance appeared of *f.*779,056. (70,823*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*). MOSSEL, to whom we have ſo frequently had occaſion to refer, calculated, in his time (1753), the whole yearly receipts at *f.*8,791,000, and the expenditure of *f.*6,517,500, which would leave a favourable ſurplus of *f.*2,273,500 (about £.206,680 ſterling), and which is amazingly different from the later reſults. The deficiency is ſupplied by drafts from India, upon the direction in Holland; and, together with various other objects, the expences of equipping twenty-five or thirty ſhips annually, the payment of the wages and premiums (ſee page 370, of vol. I.), to the returning crews, the ſalaries of the directors, and expences of the adminiſtration at home, the dividends to the proprietors, &c. form the general debit of the Company, againſt the profits upon the merchandize they diſpoſe of in Europe. Theſe gains have been calculated, upon an average, at from ten to eleven millions of gilders, or about one million ſterling, per annum; and this computation appears to be juſt, from the following ſtatement of the invoice-prices, and net proceeds, of the cargoes received from India, for the ten years, from 1750 to 1759, viz.

Years.	Ships.	Invoices.	Sales.
1750	22	*f.*7,372,177	*f.*19,024,209
1751	24	9,630,682	16,670,614
1752	20	7,883,361	23,133,580
1753	22	10,259,866	17,317,037
1754	22	8,859,297	19,840,766

affairs, a matter of impoſſibility, at leaſt, to afford the moſt unfavourable proſpects reſpecting them.

It is not only for a few years paſt, that the decline of this great body has been manifeſt, but from much earlier times: "It "cannot, by any means, be denied," ſays Mr. VAN IMHOF, in his *Conſiderations* of the year 1742, "that the preſent ſtate of the "Eaſt-India Company wears a much more "diſadvantageous aſpect, and is not, by far,

Years.	Ships.	Invoices.	Sales.
1755	22	9,652,485	19,806,077
1756	25	8,421,419	19,890,066
1757	26	8,935,720	14,829,367
1758	22	6,506,717	18,934.386
1759	28	8,437,469	18,817,328

We further, on this ſubject, refer the curious reader to the ſtatements contained in the appendix: viz. No. IV. An account of the returns made to Holland, from the Indies, from the time they firſt traded thither, down to the year 1721. V. An account of the ſhips ſent out, their crews, the ſpecie they carried, the ſhips returned, the proceeds of the ſales, and the dividends on the ſtock, from 1720 to 1729. VI. A ſtatement of the capital ſtock of the Company, and of the reſpective proportions in which each of the ſix chambers were originally intereſted in it. VII. An account of the dividends from 1605 to 1780, and of the revolutions in their value, from 1723 to 1780; and, VIII. A ſtatement of the various articles, and quantities of each, ſold at the Dutch Eaſt-India ſales from 1775 to 1779. T.

"in

" in ſo flouriſhing a condition, as in former " times". Mr. MOSSEL writes to the ſame effect, in the year 1752; and very little reflection is required, at preſent, to diſcover that, in the year 1777, the ſituation of the Company has, in the laſt five-and-twenty years, become much worſe; and that their affairs threaten a diſaſtrous termination at no very diſtant period, if more effectual meaſures of redreſs are not ſuggeſted, and reſorted to, than thoſe which have hitherto been employed.

The common courſe of events, in this world, teaches us, both from ancient and from modern hiſtory, that there have been, or are, no empires, ſtates, republics, or public bodies, but what have all, after reaching the ſummit of their greatneſs, declined conſiderably, though the one more than the other, in power and conſideration, without that the means which have been reſorted to, have ever had the wiſhed-for effect, of wholly preventing their ruin; and it has been fortunate, when, acting as palliatives, they have ſerved to procraſtinate the fall. Theſe viciſſitudes muſt be aſcribed to the inſcrutable deſigns of Providence; and

it ſhould ſeem, that, by them, the Ruler of the univerſe hath, for the accompliſhment of his allwiſe purpoſes, intended to manifeſt to mankind the utter inſtability of every thing in this ſublunary world.

The primary cauſes, which ſap the foundations of a ſtate or ſociety, whilſt in its moſt flouriſhing vigour, and pave the way for its decline and fall, are very ſeldom known. The ſeemingly unimportant commencements of ruin, are nearly undiſcernible, and they do not appear, till long afterwards, and when the evil is ſo deeply rooted, and has raiſed itſelf to a height viſible to all, while it is likewiſe, in general, too late to remedy it; or if ſome appearances of the latent ſource of ruin be diſcovered, the fatal conſequences that may ariſe from it, are ſeldom duly appreciated. In this, the body politic reſembles the animal frame, and is like a man in the bloom of life, who, enjoying an uninterrupted ſtate of health, poſſeſſed of a firm and unſhaken conſtitution, pays no regard to the firſt invidious attacks of a ſlight indiſpoſition, which he preſumes will eaſily be overcome by the natural ſtrength of his conſtitution; till, too late, he finds, that, with unmarked,

unmarked, but hideous ſtrides, the direful diſeaſe has advanced beyond the graſp of medicine, and at length bids bold defiance to every attempt of nature, or of art, to check its fatal progreſs.

The evil which has its origin in the conſtitution of the body politic itſelf, is irreſiſtibly augmented, when accidental extraneous circumſtances concur to drag to perdition, the ſtate or inſtitution which thus totters on its baſe.

Both the interior leven of corruption, and external adventitious evils, have taken place, and ſtill exiſt, with regard to the Company.

On the latter I ſhall not inſiſt, they are evident to every eye; with reſpect to the former, I place the firſt germination of thoſe ſeeds of deſtruction, in the period, when the conqueſt of countries, and the encreaſe of territory, were more the objects of the Company's attention, than the proſecution, increaſe, or improvement, of their commerce and navigation; and this period is, in my opinion, to be defined, as having chiefly exiſted from the year 1660 to 1670, during which time, it was, that the Company made themſelves maſters of the Portugueſe eſta-

bliſhments on the *Malabar* coaſt, and of the iſland of *Celebes*, both which acquiſitions coſt them a great expence of blood, and incalculable treaſures, and have never been of any other than an imaginary advantage to their intereſts.

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from BATAVIA.—*Paſſage through the Southern Indian Ocean.—Obſervations reſpecting the Variation of the Compaſs.—View of the Land of* AFRICA.—*Anchorage under* ROBBEN-*iſland.—Driven out to Sea again.—Arrival in* TABLE-*bay.*

THE crew of my ſhip, being muſtered, was found to conſiſt of one hundred and twenty hands, including the paſſengers; but there were very few able ſeamen among them, and they moſtly conſiſted of mere boys, and were, beſides, in a ſickly condition.

We left the road of *Batavia*, on the 19th of November, anchoring at noon under the iſland *Onruſt*, and the next day near the iſland *Middleburgh*, where the ſhip *Ooſt-Capelle*, coming from *Ceylon*, paſſed by us, bringing intelligence from the coaſt of *Malabar*, that all was there in perfect tranquillity, and that the diſputes between the Company

Company and HYDER ALI, had been accommodated.

As the monſoon had already broke up, and the weſterly winds blew hard every day, it was the 25th, of that month, before we got as far as *Bantam*, whence we croſſed over to the coaſt of *Sumatra*, and anchored, the following day, under *North*-iſland, in order to avail of the northweſt winds, which generally blow at this time of the year, to keep the ſhore of *Sumatra* on board, to ſtarboard, and to clear the land, by preſerving the paſſage to windward of *Prince*'s-iſland. But we waited, in vain, for three days for ſuch an opportunity, as the wind came from the weſt and ſouthweſt, whereby we were obliged to croſs over again to the *Java* ſhore, and to work up along it, out to ſea. We found the Company's ſhip *Hoolwerf*, that had ſailed from *Batavia* on the 8th of November, ſtill at anchor here.

At length, on the 5th of December, we got, in company with that ſhip, to windward of *Prince*'s-iſland, and, clearing the ſtraits of *Sunda*, out to ſea; but it was not till the 7th, that we took our laſt obſervation of the land of *Java*, and loſt ſight of it. On the

9th

9th we loſt ſight of the ſhip *Hoolwerf*; and on the 11th, we met with the regular ſouth-eaſt tradewind, in the ſouth latitude of 10°, whence we ſet our courſes to run to the eaſtward of the *Cocoa*-iſlands, and afterwards, according to the Company's ſailing-orders, w.s.w. till in ſouth latitude 27½°, and longitude 77°; then w. by s. till in 30½° ſouth latitude, and longitude 60°; then again w.s.w. till in the latitude of Cape *Anguillas*; and laſtly, weſt, in order to ſtrike ſoundings on the reef, and run in ſight of land.

When in the latitude of *Madagaſcar*, we met with a violent ſtorm from the north-eaſt, the wind veering afterwards through eaſt to ſouth, and farther on to weſt, which, in theſe ſeas, very ſeldom happens, as the winds generally chop about, in a contrary direction, and run through the north to ſouthweſt.

The greateſt variations of the compaſſes, which we obſerved, were 27° and 28° N.W. in the ſouth latitude of 33½° to 34½°, and between the longitudes of 56° and 45°, whence they became leſs, till within ſight of

of Cape *Anguillas*, when the variation was 22½°.

It appears from the obſervations of navigators, that the line of the greateſt variation of the compaſs gradually removes from eaſt to weſt, and is every year found to be more weſterly than the preceding; at *Surat*, for inſtance, there was, a hundred years ago, a northweſterly variation of 7° or 8°, and now no more than 1½°, at the higheſt, is obſervable: and in the ſame way, in ſight of the *Cape of Good Hope*, the variation has increaſed, in the ſpace of the laſt twenty years, from 18° or 19°, to full 21°.

On the morning of the 4th of February, at ſunriſe, we ſaw land, which we ſuppoſed was that of *Africa*, appearing in one round hummock; and a better view of it in the evening, together with our ſtriking ſoundings on the reef, firſt in ſeventy-ſeven, and afterwards in fifty fathoms water, rendered it certain. On the 6th, we made Cape *Anguillas*, and the next day, both the eaſt and weſt points of *Falſe*-bay; and we found ourſelves twenty-five leagues more to the eaſtward than by the ſhip's reckoning.

The wind being fair that day, we flat-

tered

tered ourſelves with the hope, that we ſhould reach *Table*-bay in the evening, and at eight o'clock, we were ſo far advanced, that we only were in want of one hour's continuation of the favourable opportunity which we then had, to accompliſh our deſires; but we were unfortunately firſt becalmed for a whole hour, and afterwards driven, on a ſudden, ſo far from the ſhore, out to ſea, by a violent flaw of wind from the ſouth-eaſt, which burſt upon us with dreadful force, from over the tops of the mountains, under the lee of which we lay driving without a breath of air, that we loſt all hope of gaining the road that bout.

This hard gale from the ſoutheaſt, laſted for ſeveral days, till at length it gradually fell away; and the wind coming round to the ſouthweſt, afforded us an opportunity, on the 15th of February, of approaching the ſhore, and we were within half a league of the road, when the ſoutheaſt wind again burſt upon us, and fruſtrated our attempts a ſecond time, yet it did not now blow with ſuch fury, but that we were enabled to reach the road of *Robben*, or *Seal* iſland, where

where we let drop our anchor, at eight o'clock, P.M.

The next day, the poſt-keeper of the iſland came on board of us, and brought with him a refreſhment of twelve ſheep and ſome greens.

We were forced to remain at anchor here, for this and the next day, on account of the continuing ſoutheaſt wind, which encreaſed to ſuch a degree, on the evening of the 17th, that the cable of our beſt bower broke, and our ſheet-anchor coming home, we were again driven to leeward. Againſt this adverſe fortune we had no remedy but patience, and perſeverance, in ſtruggling, as much as poſſible, againſt the raging ſoutheaſt wind, and we continued beating up, in hopes of a favourable change, in which we were long diſappointed; and though, on the 4th of March, we again made the *Table*-mountain, yet we could not reach the road, but were anew compelled, by the hard ſoutheaſt wind, to come to an anchor, in the evening, under *Robben*-iſland. On the following day, at eleven o'clock, A.M. a weſterly breeze ſprung up, and we inſtantly weighed anchor, and ſteered for the

road

road of the *Cape*, where we caſt anchor at two o'clock, P.M. ſaluting the road with eleven guns. We found lying here, the flagſhip of the return-fleet, the *Breedenhof*, Captain LEONARD VAN COOPSTAD, who had been driven from her anchors from under *Robben*-iſland, three weeks before us, and, after beating about for twenty days, had at laſt ſucceeded in getting into the road.

Having moored the ſhip in ſafety, I went on ſhore, in order to pay my reſpects to the governor, and to tranſact what buſineſs I had to do here.

CHAP-

CHAPTER IX.

Temperature of the Air at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—*Tides.—Soil. — Water. — Diſorders.— Character of the Inhabitants of* CAPETOWN.— *Their ſelfiſh Diſpoſition.—Their deceitful Hoſpitality.—Little or no Education among them.— Accompliſhments and Blandiſhments of the Ladies. —Their further Character.—Contraſted with the genuine Hoſpitality, and open, ingenuous Diſpoſition of the Farmers, or Country-coloniſts.*

IN the further account which I now intend giving of the *Cape of Good Hope*, I ſhall not enlarge much concerning it, and what is remarkable about it, as I have, in the account of my former voyage, and in the beginning of this, been ample on the ſubject; and I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to ſuch new obſervations as preſented themſelves to me, or to what I before omitted to mention.

The temperature of the air is not only very different in the good, and in the bad monſoon,

monſoon, but likewiſe varies conſiderably at different times of the ſame day, in proportion as the cold ſoutheaſt wind blows more or leſs hard; the thermometer riſing ſometimes 7° or 8°, upon the wind falling: in the ſummer, it is generally between 72° and 80°. Sometimes, before ſunriſe, a thick and damp fog comes on, which makes it very cold, in general coming with a weſterly or ſoutherly wind; upon which not unfrequently follows, a day or two afterwards, a ſtiff gale from the ſoutheaſt. The tide riſes twice in the twenty-four hours. Full and new moon make it high water at three o'clock; and it generally riſes and falls five feet.

The whole ſhore, from above, or weſt of the town, to paſt the *Zoute*, or *Salt*-river, is lined with rocks, moſt of which appear above water at the time of ebb. Between theſe, and farther to ſeaward, are produced a conſiderable quantity of thoſe marine productions which our ſeamen call trumpets *, and which occaſion a very diſagreeable ſmell in the town, in warm weather.

The ſoil around the *Cape* is, for the moſt

* *Fucus buccinalis.*

part, of a ſtony nature: under the firſt ſtratum of earth appears a bed of rock, from five to ſix feet deep, which when cut through, or blown up, ſhews, in many places, a hard whitiſh clay, which has ſomething of a gritty, or ſtony texture.

The water, which the inhabitants drink, and with which the ſhips that touch here are ſupplied, proceeds from a ſpring, ſituated about half an hour's walk from the town, at the foot of the *Table*-mountain, in a piece of ground, which, from its owner, is called *the Garden of Breda*, not far from the Company's garden*; it is incloſed in a wall, with a little door, or window, in the front, in order to keep the water from dirt and

* No. IX. in the Appendix, contains an abſtract of the Latin deſcriptions, in the *Herbarius Vivus*, or Herbal, of OLDELAND, who was ſuperintendant of the Company's garden at the Cape, in the year 1695: this herbal extended to fourteen large folios: and the Flora of the *Cape*, then known, is ſufficiently indicative of the vaſt botanical treaſures which this country affords, and which, in later times, have exerciſed the diligence and abilities of SPARRMAN, THUNBERG, PATERSON, &c. It will not be an unintereſting taſk to the practical botaniſt, to compare the modern reſearches of thoſe gentlemen, with this curious ſpecimen of the diligence and ſcience of the laſt century. *T.*

impurity;

impurity; it is thence led to the town, through wooden pipes, which lie three feet, and, in ſome ſpots, ſix feet, under the ground, in order the better to preſerve it.

The diſorders which are moſt prevalent here, are thoſe that may be denominated rheumatic; they proceed from the inconſtancy of the weather, and are moſt rife when the ſoutheaſt wind prevails.

Although the firſt coloniſts here were compoſed of various nations, they are, by the operation of time, now ſo thoroughly blended together, that they are not to be diſtinguiſhed from each other; even moſt of ſuch as have been born in Europe, and who have reſided here for ſome years, have, in a manner, changed their national character, for that of this country.

There are few European, or Indian, women here; and thoſe of them that do live here, dreſs, in general, according to the cuſtoms of their native country.

Wherever I ſpeak of the general character, and manners, of the inhabitants of the *Cape*, the country-people, or farmers, muſt not be included, who, in many reſpects, are very different, and I mean only

the inhabitants of the town, or chief ſettlement.

The chief trait in their character, which appears the moſt evident to a ſtranger, after a little reflection, is the love of money; and this is ſo palpable and univerſal amongſt them, both in men and women, that one muſt be more than prejudiced in their favour, to attempt to deny it. Flattering words, inſinuating careſſes, the allurements of friendſhip, love, and hoſpitality, nought is omitted, or neglected, that can contribute to gain the hearts and inſure the confidence of the wandering ſtrangers who touch at the *Cape*; this appears to me the probable reaſon, why moſt people, who have been here once or twice, and have, without reflection, taken the baſe metal of ſelf-intereſt for the ſterling gold of unfeigned courteſy and friendſhip, are ſo profuſe in their encomiums on the *Cape*, as if it were the moſt agreeable abode upon earth, and the center of every ſatisfaction.

But view the other ſide of the picture, and examine into the principles, and motives, which give riſe to this abundance of allurements; and the promotion of ſelf-intereſt

intereſt will appear to be the main ſpring that excites this exerciſe of ſeeming hoſpitality.

A conſequence, which naturally flows herefrom, is the mutual envy which they cheriſh towards each other, eſpecially towards thoſe that proſper, either in trade, or in accommodating ſtrangers with board and lodging, by which moſt of the inhabitants of the *Cape* earn their ſubſiſtence.

Theſe views, as before ſaid, are common to both ſexes. With reſpect to the individual character of the men: they are remarkably diſtinguiſhable from thoſe who inhabit the poliſhed parts of Europe, by an utter ignorance of whatever does not daily ſtrike their outward ſenſes; excluſive of this, they can form no ideas; abſtract ſpeculations are unknown to them; and they do not poſſeſs any inclination to exerciſe their underſtanding by reading, or to become acquainted with the manners and cuſtoms of other civilized people, and to reform their own.

The love of repoſe and inactivity, or, indeed, what may be denominated lazineſs, they have in common with the orientals;

and they delight in a ſtate of eaſe and ſloth, to a degree that would not be expected, from a people, inhabiting a temperate climate.

The ladies, on the contrary, are by no means deficient in life and ſpirits; and nature may, with juſtice, be ſaid to have been more liberal to them than to their male companions, although much of their vivacity and pleaſingneſs may be aſcribed to education. The mothers endeavour to inſtil into the tender boſoms of their daughters, from their earlieſt youth, the idea that they are formed to pleaſe the other ſex; and the firſt leſſon they learn, is how to make themſelves agreeable to the men, and eſpecially to ſtrangers. The aids of ornament and dreſs, are not neglected; and no expence, that the parents can afford, is ſpared, to give them every accompliſhment. Muſic, dancing, ſinging, whatever can add grace to the luſtre of beauty, nothing is omitted that can render them elegant and attractive. When they have paſſed the years of childhood, and enter upon the condition of ſpinſters, or as ſoon as they enter their teens, they are taught to be free and unreſerved

unreſerved in their manner, and careſſing in their converſation. Their endeavours ſeldom fail of ſucceſs: a few innocent liberties granted to their temporary lovers, are the means of cementing their conqueſts, and of retaining the homage of their adorers, at leaſt as long as the ſhip lies in the road; and it does not unfrequently happen, that the paſſing ſeaman forms an attachment here, that leads to a matrimonial connection, before he is himſelf aware of the circumſtance.

Unfortunately, however, moſt of theſe amiable and lovely girls, are no ſooner married, and get children, than they become groſs and corpulent, and loſe thoſe charms, which captivated all hearts, and ſecured them a huſband; they loſe, at the ſame time, their attention to neatneſs in dreſſing, which they always aſſiduouſly cultivate before marriage.

When they are met with early in the morning, in their houſes, their ſlovenlineſs is immediately apparent; and thoſe who might, the evening before, be viewed with pleaſure, now become objects of diſguſt.

The fathers do not take the ſmalleſt

trouble to inſtruct their ſons in any thing. What the children learn in their ſchools, they ſeem to think a ſufficient ſtock of knowledge to laſt them during their whole lives. Few give themſelves any trouble to afford them any other opportunities of improvement; others have not the means; and others are too fond, to ſuffer their children to go to a more civilized country, for obtaining a better education.

The number of the inhabitants, therefore, is augmented, but not the number of uſeful members of ſociety; neither do the mechanical, or the fine arts, make any progreſs here. Young people marry early, get children, and reſort to the ſame means of maintaining a family, as moſt others, namely, the keeping of a lodging and boarding-houſe for ſtrangers; when theſe go away, the family live as well as they can, and as ſparingly as poſſible, till others arrive: and the cheapneſs of proviſions encourages this mode of life above all things. The men are devoid both of ſufficient courage and emulation to ſeek, or better, their fortunes, in the naval or military ſervice; perhaps theſe profeſſions are too repugnant to their

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ſo beloved repoſe, and uſual eaſy life. What utility the encreaſe of a population, of ſuch a deſcription, can bring to the public, in general, or to the improvement of the colony, in particular, may eaſily be conceived; and ſuch an encreaſe ought not, therefore, to be looked upon as a progreſſive promotion of the general welfare.

It is very differently ſituated with reſpect to the country-people, or farmers. Their wives are no leſs prolific than thoſe of the inhabitants of *Capetown*. Their children are brought up in the occupation of their parents; if their land is not large enough to afford a proper portion to each of their children, extenſive, and yet uncultivated, tracts of country, wait only to open their fertile boſoms to whoever will beſtow upon them the labour of tillage. Theſe agriculturers, inſtead of being a burthen upon ſociety, augment the numbers and importance of that reſpectable body of men, from whoſe labour ariſes originally the proſperity of every country.

The character of theſe people is likewiſe very different; an ingenuous cordiality, which viſibly proceeds from the heart, makes

makes them fulfil the duties of hoſpitality and humanity, without any motives of ſelfiſhneſs to ſpur them on: their words may be confided in; to break their word, or to act deceitfully, with any one, is unknown among them, at leaſt amongſt by far the greateſt portion of theſe happy ruſtics.

CHAP-

CHAPTER X.

Extent of the Colony.—Productions.—Corn.—Rapacity of the Company's Servants towards the Farmers.—Price of Wheat to the Company.—Tithes paid in Kind at the Town.—Reflections reſpecting the Encouragement of Agriculture, and the Exportation of Produce.—Reſpecting the Government.—Reform obviouſly neceſſary.—Diſcovery of a large and navigable River in the interior Parts, by Colonel GORDON.*—Account of the Country, Temperature, Animals, &c. in that Neighbourhood.*

THE extent of the colony is very great, and the bounds are removed at pleaſure; ſo that the exact line of demarcation between the territory of the Dutch, and that of the native inhabitants, is not eaſy to be found out, or laid down. But this large diſtrict is very far from being entirely compoſed of paſture-grounds, and arable land; only the ſmalleſt part of it is adapted to thoſe purpoſes, becauſe the valleys, and moſt of the flat country, have little or no water; it is, therefore,

therefore, only at the foot, or on the ſides, of the hills, where the farmer is enabled to proſecute, with advantage, the cultivation of corn, and of the vine, that farms have been laid out; and to theſe muſt always be adjoined, a large extent of paſture-ground for the cattle, which muſt equally, in order to avoid the want of water, be ſituated near the hills. This is the reaſon that the farms lie at a great diſtance from each other, and a countryman ſometimes calls another his next neighbour, who lives one or two leagues off: the farther you go inland, the greater intervals of uncultivated country occur between the farms.

By this means, every family, centering, as it were, within itſelf, approaches, in time, and in proportion as they are at a greater diſtance from the *Cape*, to the ſimplicity of nature; ſo that even the fartheſt ſettlers, who reſide thirty or forty days' journey from *Capetown*, more reſemble Hottentots than the poſterity of Europeans. Captain GORDON, who returned from one of his journies, when I was here, told me, that they even went dreſſed in the Hottentot faſhion.

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The productions which this part of Africa yields, are, corn*, wine, butter, and tallow. Corn, and eſpecially wheat, is now produced in conſiderable quantities, and would, perhaps, be more and more productive, if proper meaſures were reſorted to, to encourage the cultivation, and to remove the obſtacles which operate to reſtrain its extenſion.

* The kind of corn, moſt generally cultivated, is wheat; and it richly repays the labour of the huſbandman. Wheat yields, in general, an encreaſe of eight and ten, and frequently fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five for one: in many places, it is ſaid, the produce is ſtill more abundant; in the neighbourhood of *Muſcle*-bay, where, however, little wheat is ſown, the ſoil is ſaid to be ſo fertile, that every grain always produces ſeveral ears; frequently twenty, nay, as far as eighty ears, proceeding from one root. Dr. THUNBERG, who conceived this to be ſcarcely credible, counted them himſelf in the field, and found that a great many ears had frequently ſprung up from a ſingle grain, though the higheſt number he met with, amounted to no more than forty-one. (See pages 70 and 78, of vol. II.) Barley is cultivated chiefly for the horſes, and is mowed once or oftener, before it is in the ear, and given to them for provender. Rye is ſcarcely ever ſown, except in ſmall quantities for pleaſure, or by ſome farmer who chooſes to uſe the ſtraw for thatching. The oats brought to the Cape from Europe, are looked upon as the worſt of weeds; as the grains are eaſily ſhaken out of the ears by the violence of the wind, and ſowing themſelves, choak up all the other corn. It is to no purpoſe to lay a piece of land, ſo ſpoiled, fallow for ſeveral years, for when the field comes to be ploughed up, the oats, having lain unhurt in the ground, ſhoot up afreſh. *T.*

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I have before detailed what the country-people told me on this ſubject, founded on their experience; and what the obſtacles were, which ſtood in the way of the cultivation of wheat; I ſhall not, therefore, repeat it here, but merely add, that many are averſe to the delivery of their corn to the Company, and that this is even ſometimes rendered impoſſible to them, by the rapaciouſneſs of the Company's ſervants at the *Cape*.

Not ſatisfied with the twenty pounds ſurplus-weight, allowed them upon every *mud*, which the farmer muſt deliver at the rate of one hundred and eighty pounds, and which the receivers deliver again to the Company at only one hundred and ſixty pounds, the farmers muſt, beſides, fill their hands, in order to be allowed to deliver their corn to the Company: and the ſame takes place with reſpect to the wine: this can be done by thoſe who are perſons of property, and who do not live far from *Cape-town*, where the corn muſt be delivered, but not by thoſe whoſe farms lie farther inland, and many days' journey off, on account of the expences of conveyance. For each waggon-

gon-load, reckoned at ten *mud*, or $\frac{10}{27}$ of a laſt, the Company pay eighteen rixdollars, or *f.*43. 4 *. If one or more oxen chance to die during the paſſage, or any accident happens to the waggon, the whole of what the poor farmer would have to receive for his corn, is loſt; and thoſe who live at a diſtance from the *Cape*, and are poſſeſſed of a little property, can not carry on the cultivation of grain in a greater proportion than what they want for the conſumption of their own family.

There is another thing that is very oppreſſive to the farmer, and eſpecially to thoſe who live far off; namely, that they are obliged to convey the tithes of their grain, which are due to the Company, as to the proprietors of the ſoil, to the *Cape*, at their own riſk and expence, without any conſideration, how far their farm may lay, or how difficult the roads over the mountains may be; in which, ſometimes, the corn is forced to be unloaded from the waggons, and carried on the backs of oxen, through defiles, and over precipices, for

* Equal to about 20*s.* ſterling per quarter, Engliſh. Twenty-ſeven *mud* make a laſt of Amſterdam, which is equal to about 10$\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. *T.*

more

more than one or two leagues, becauſe a loaded waggon cannot paſs through ſuch ways, or, at moſt, only with half a load, or one of five *mud*, at a time.

It is, therefore, not enough to have ſought a vent for the productions of this colony, above what are required for its own conſumption, or the occaſional ſupply of the veſſels that touch here, in order to render it more flouriſhing; but the agricultural intereſt ought firſt to have been put upon a better footing; the farmer ought to have been liberated from thoſe galling bonds which diſcourage his induſtry; better opportunities for the interior conveyance of his produce ought firſt to have been provided; granaries for depoſiting it, ought to have been eſtabliſhed in different parts; and, finally, the rapacity of the receivers at the *Cape* ought to be curbed, and put a ſtop to.

The direction at home have certainly conſidered the corn-trade of the *Cape*, in another point of view; and ſeem to have been miſled by the plauſibility of a new plan (although it was before ſuggeſted, in the year 1753, by Governor MOSSEL, in his *Memorial of the State of India)*, grounded upon

upon ſtatements, which, perhaps, ſhewed every thing in the moſt favourable light, and which promiſed to afford immediate fruits, although the ſeeds of it were not yet ſown.

I allude to the promiſes, or aſſertions, that were made, that the wheat might be provided for the low price of thirty-ſix gilders per laſt, and that contracts for ſuch delivery might be entered into; it being pretended to be known, as a certainty, that, in the year before (1771), wheat had been ſold at the rate of nine rixdollars of forty-eight ſtivers, per laſt.

I made enquiries among the farmers, and eſpecially among thoſe who had, for many years, frequented, or reſided at, the town, both reſpecting the price of the wheat, and that of the tallow, as it was alleged that a hundred pounds of candles had been ſold for five gilders; and all of them declared to me, that they never knew wheat to have been cheaper than nine or ten rixdollars, ſay from *f.*20 to *f.*24 per waggon-load of ten *mud*, or eighteen hundred pounds weight *; but that this had continued but a very ſhort

* Equal to 10*s.* or 11*s.* ſterling, per quarter. T.

time; and the greaſe, of which the tallow candles were made, they never knew to be lower than four rixdollars, or *f.*9 12, per hundred pounds *. At preſent the waggon-load of wheat ſells for thirty-two rixdollars, or *f.*76 13; and tallow for ſix rixdollars, or *f.*14 8, per hundred pounds †.

It does not appear either, that hitherto this fetching away of the produce, has brought any advantage to the colony; and this year (certainly alſo partly occaſioned by a failure in the harveſt), not even the flyboat from *Batavia* could procure a cargo, although the government of the *Cape*, in order to diſguiſe this want of grain, thought fit to order that veſſel to *Batavia* with troops, though there were ſhips enough at hand, or upon the point of arriving, by which the conveyance of the troops might have been effected, with more propriety and convenience.

To render this a flouriſhing colony, it would be neceſſary to give to it a mixed government, and one that is adapted to the nature of the country, and the diſpoſition of

* About 18*s.* ſterling per cwt. Engliſh. *T.*

† Reſpectively equal to about 35*s.* 6*d.* ſterling per quarter for wheat, and 27*s.* per cwt. for tallow. *T.*

its

its inhabitants; a government that muſt not be thwarted by the controulments of arbitrary power. It is at home that the means of putting this in practice, muſt be ſought for. The adminiſtration of the goverment of this colony ought not to be put upon the ſame footing, as that of the Company's Aſiatic poſſeſſions, where the greateſt part of their ſubjects conſiſts of a ſervile and enſlaved people, who muſt be compelled, by violence, to cultivate their country, and to deliver the produce to the Company; or where policy requires that ſtate-practices of expediency ſhould be reſorted to, with reſpect to the neighbouring princes, their allies, in order to contain them within due bounds, and to keep them quiet.

The firſt mode of adminiſtration is both practicable and neceſſary here; and for the latter, there is no appearance or even ſhadow of reaſon. The numbers of the yet remaining Hottentots are too inconſiderable to be, in any ways, an object. The nature of the laws ought here, as well as every where elſe, to be moulded according to the nature of the inhabitants, and of their method of life, and means of ſubſiſtence. The inhabitants are

all Europeans, or deſcendants of Europeans (the ſmall number of ſlaves does not here come in conſideration), who have not yet loſt the remembrance, or the love, of liberty; to govern theſe with the iron rod of oriental deſpotiſm, and to ſubject them to arbitrary and illframed laws and regulations, can never afford a permanent ſecurity, or muſt terminate in the entire ruin of the colony.

They earn their bread by agriculture, which we are taught by the examples laid before us by hiſtory and obſervation, flouriſhes no where in greater luxuriance, than under a mild government, and this, therefore, is of greater neceſſity here, where the cultivation of the ſoil may be ſaid to be yet in its infancy.

It was in this light that it was ſeen, by the father of this country, the worthy promoter of the welfare of this African colony, governor TULBAGH, who, by a reſidence of upwards of fifty years on the ſpot, was fully acquainted with the true intereſts of the coloniſts, and the nature of the country; and who attached every heart to him, by his mild adminiſtration, and his paternal attention to the welfare of all: although death has, for many years, deprived the colony and the

the Company of the benefit of his ſervices, he ſtill lives in the grateful memory of the inhabitants; and the remembrance of his truly paternal adminiſtration will never be extinguiſhed among them, and never will they forget the thouſand times bleſſed name of TULBAGH.

The diſcovery lately made by Captain GORDON, of a large and navigable river in the ſouth latitude of about 29°, might prove of great advantage to this colony in particular, and to trade and navigation in general, if, as appears probable, it be found to extend to the northeaſtward; as by that route a trade might be carried on into the heart of *Africa*, or into the rich country of *Sofala*, and a commerce eſtabliſhed there, in gold and elephants' teeth. Or if it be found to run to the weſtward, and thus, probably, to diſembogue itſelf in the Atlantic Ocean, a ſettlement might be formed at its mouth, and a bay or harbour eſtabliſhed, where ſhips might remain in ſafety on the weſt coaſt of *Africa*.

GORDON met with this river very accidentally and unexpectedly, and did not perceive it, till he was upon its banks, which were very ſteep. He told me that the breadth

of the river between them, was like that of the *Maeſe* at *Maeſtricht*. Aſcending a hill, he ſaw that it divided itſelf into two branches towards the eaſt. The water of it was very clear, and well taſted; and the land in that neighbourhood was graſſy and hilly *.

* Compare this with what SPARMAN ſays, vol. ii. page 352. "*Groote-rivier*, or *Great*-river, is ſaid to be the largeſt river in *Africa*, and to be no otherwiſe known than from the accounts of the Hottentots. It is reported to contain a great number of ſeacows, or riverhorſes, which are very bold and daring; ſo that it cannot, without danger, be navigated for the purpoſe of further exploring the country. It is ſuppoſed to lie directly to the northward, at the diſtance of eight or ten days' journey from the *Sneeuw-bergen*. It was ſaid to riſe in the eaſt, and run ſtrait on towards the north. It is probable that this river ſoon after turns off to the weſt and ſouth, and is the ſame *Groote-rivier* which I have inſerted in my map, on the authority of Mr. HENRY HOP's *Journal of an Expedition to the Diſtrict of Anamaguas*, publiſhed in a compilation called *Nouvelle Deſcription du Cap de Bonne Eſperance*. This river, however, muſt not be confounded with another of the ſame name, which empties itſelf at the eaſtern ſhore of *Africa*, and the *Caffre*-coaſt." This river is, probably, that called, by Colonel GORDON, the river of *Orange*, and mentioned in LE VAILLANT's ſecond journey. It is to be hoped that the death of Colonel GORDON will not deprive the world of the invaluable reſults of his reſearches; and that, in whatever hands his papers may be, they will not be conſigned to oblivion, or withheld from the public, who might juſtly form great expectations from his long reſidence at the *Cape*, his frequent journies up the country, and his well-known zeal for the promotion of knowledge. *T.*

Not

Not meeting with any place which was fordable, to carry over his baggage and arms, he found himſelf obliged to put a ſtop to his expedition, and after travelling a day's journey along its banks, to ſet off on his return to the ſouthward.

The height of the barometer in the plain country, at the foot of the hills, he found to be twenty-three inches, ſo that the riſing of the land to the northward, muſt be very conſiderable.

The ſeaſons ſeemed here to be reverſed, for, while it was, at that time, the good monſoon at the *Cape*, with dry weather, he there met with much rain, thunder, and lightning.

In this river he met with a great number of ſeacows (*hippopotami*), and he ſhewed me ſome very curious drawings of them; as likewiſe ſeveral ſkeletons, and the repreſentations, as well of the hyena, or tiger-wolf *, as of an animal that has much analogy with the zebra, but is diſtinguiſhed from it, by the black ſtripes being in a more ſerpentine direction towards the haunches, and that the head more reſembled that of a horſe, than an

* *Hyena maculata.*

aſs, which was, indeed, the caſe with the whole body *.

* Moſt likely the quagga *(equus quagga)*; theſe animals can be tamed and broke in; SPARRMAN ſays he ſaw one driven in a team, with five horſes, at the *Cape*. The zebra too, if we may believe LE VAILLANT, is capable of being tamed by man, notwithſtanding all that travellers and naturaliſts have aſſerted with reſpect to its indocility: he relates, that having hunted down a female zebra, he got upon her back; her reſiſtance was feeble, and leſs than that of a horſe not yet broke in, and ſhe ſoon went as tractably as his horſe; he rode her for about a mile, but his hounds having, in the chace, bitten her ſeverely in ſeveral places, and as he could not afford time to ſtay the dreſſing of her wounds, he was obliged to abandon the project he had formed of keeping and taming her, and to give her up to his Hotteatots, who diſpatched her, and feaſted on her fleſh. T.

CHAPTER XI.

Expenditure and Receipts of the Colony.—Eſtabliſhment.—Articles of Trade—To and from the Cape.—Revenues of the Company.—Means of rendering this Colony leſs burthenſome.

THE colony of the *Cape*, conſidered by itſelf, is an object of conſiderable expence to the Company, as it coſts them annually about three hundred thouſand gilders more than it yields, by reaſon of the little trade which they carry on, and the ſtrong garriſon which is obliged to be kept here.

In the year 1770, the expenditure of the colony amounted to the

ſum of . .	*f.*452,010	15	0
and the net receipts to	157,556	11	8
thus, in that year, there was a deficiency of	*f.*294,454	3	8*

without

* 26,768*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* ſterling. In 1779, the charges amounted to *f.*505,269, and the receipts to *f.*195,168, making the balance againſt the *Cape* amount to *f.*310,101 (£.28,191 ſterling).

Governor

without taking into conſideration the intereſt of a capital of *f.*904,004 8 8 *, for which this colony then ſtood debtor, for balances of ſpecie, amounts of ammunition, ſlaves, cattle, &c. and which is not now (1778) diminiſhed.

The articles of trade which are ſent from Holland to the *Cape* by the Company, conſiſt, for the greateſt part, in iron, coals, and nails.

Many complaints are made reſpecting the ſupply of the two firſtmentioned articles, in which no regularity, or due proportion, is obſerved. The ſtores are ſometimes amply provided with iron, and no coals to ſupply the forges for its preparation; and, at other times, the contrary takes place: and, in thoſe

Governor Mossel calculated, in his time, that the charges might amount to *f.*404,000; againſt which he took, for the revenues, a ſum of *f.*140,000, which would leave a balance of only *f.*264,000 (about £.24,000): but he calculated upon an eſtabliſhment of no more than 900 men, including the civil, medical, military, and eccleſiaſtical departments. In 1776-1777, however, the eſtabliſhment of the Dutch Company at the *Cape* was as follows: 506 perſons in civil, and ſixteen in eccleſiaſtical, employments; ſixteen ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, thirty-nine belonging to the artillery, 326 ſeamen and marines employed on ſhore, 872 ſoldiers, and 206 mechanics; in all, 1,981 Europeans. *T.*

* About 82,182*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* ſterling. *T.*

caſes,

caſes, the inhabitants, but more particularly the farmers, are compelled, by the purveyor, to take more than they want, of what happens to be moſt abundant; and this is again a grievance that preſſes hard upon the agriculturer.

In former times, I was told, that the Company uſed to ſend to the *Cape* ſuch wood as was required for the conſtruction of waggons; but as there has been a want of ſuch wood in Holland, as well as in other parts of Europe, the exportation of any to this colony has not, for many years, taken place.

The articles of trade which the Company ſend from India to the *Cape*, are, a few coarſe cotton cloths, a quantity of arrack, and eight or nine hundred thouſand pounds weight of rice: but the whole does not yield much profit.

Different articles are likewiſe brought in private trade from India, as coffee, ſugar, and eſpecially timber, together with ſome cotton cloths. Individuals alſo bring with them various trifles from Holland, but no articles of any conſequence.

On the other hand, the *Cape* furniſhes to India, a cargo of wheat, ſome butter, and

four

four or five hundred leagers of wine. The firſt and the laſt article are now likewiſe ſent to Holland *.

The chief revenues of the Company ariſe from the duties upon exports, imports, wines, &c. the tithes of the productions of the field, and the tax upon farms, which is ſettled at twenty-five rixdollars annually: wealthy farmers pay this tax in ready money; but thoſe who are poor, or who live at a diſtance, and cannot procure caſh for their produce, or ſuch as are peculiarly favoured by the collectors, are allowed to pay it in kind, that is, in cattle, or in wheat †.

Although

* Between fifty and ſixty awms of Conſtantia wine, was the quantity uſually ſold every year by the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, at their autumn-ſales. *T.*

† Beſides the annual tax for his farm, the farmer paid alſo for wax candles four rixdollars a year, for every horſe one ſtiver, and for every hundred ſheep one gilder. Each farmer, whether rich or poor, or poſſeſſed of a large or ſmall farm, pays for mending the roads; and all pay ferry-money alike, let their road lead them that way or not. A tax was likewiſe levied by the Dutch Company, under the denomination of lion and tyger-money; this tax was paid by each burgher, at the rate of four rixdollars for lion, and two gilders for tiger-money; out of this fund, at the time when the colony began to extend itſelf, and when the coloniſts were much infeſted by wild beaſts, a certain premium was paid to every one who killed or caught any of theſe animals. At firſt, government paid ſixteen rixdollars for a lion, and ten gilders for a tiger, after

Although the colony is thus a yearly heavy charge upon the Company, it amply compenſates for the expenditure of three hundred thouſand gilders per annum, by its excellent poſition, for a place of refreſhment, for the outward and homeward bound India ſhips. It is likewiſe much frequented for that purpoſe by ſhips of other nations, which do not contribute, in a ſlight degree, to the advantage of the colony, both by their daily expenditure at the *Cape*, and by their affording a vent for its productions; and which, in my opinion, ought rather to be encouraged than diſcountenanced, as they, in general, pay ready money, and we, by that means, draw the ſpecie of other nations into our hands. Indeed, the prohibitory regulations, in this reſpect, ſerve, at preſent, no other purpoſe than that of filling the pockets of thoſe who are appointed to prevent a clandeſtine trade.

after which, the ſum was diminiſhed to ten rixdollars for a lion's, and ſix gilders for a tiger's ſkin. But when theſe animals were ſo far extirpated, that ſeldom any were to be ſeen, the premium was diſcontinued, excepting in caſe they were brought alive to the *Cape*, which is hardly practicable. But the tax remained in force, and aſſumed the nature of a permanent impoſt. *T.*

Political

Political conſiderations have, probably, prevented the Company from granting the freedom of trade and navigation to the coloniſts of the *Cape*; for I imagine that they cannot have failed to perceive that nothing would more contribute to leſſen the charges of the ſettlement, or to encreaſe the revenues againſt them, and to add to its power and importance, than ſuch a meaſure.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XII.

Departure from the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—*View of the Iſland* ST. HELENA.—*Of the Iſland of* ASCENSION. —*Narrow Bounds preſcribed to the Company's Ships.—Reaſons why other Nations ſo far outſtrip the Dutch in naval Improvements.—A Ball of Fire.—Paſſage of the Line.—Council aſſembled on board the Commodore.—Meeting with a Fleet of ſixteen Ships of War.—An Eclipſe of the Sun.—View of* LIZARD-*Point.—Meeting with the cruiſing Frigates.—Paſſage of the Straits of* DOVER.—*Arrival before* FLUSHING, *and in the Road of* RAMMEKENS.

THE departure of the third diviſion of the return-fleet being fixed for the 2d of April, the ſhips crews were muſtered on the firſt of that month, and, on the day after, we received our diſpatches on board, in the morning. At four o'clock, P.M. the flagſhip made the ſignal for getting under weigh, and we were ſoon under ſail, with a light breeze of wind from the ſoutheaſt. In the evening, it fell perfectly calm, with the appearance of variable weather in the ſky, while a heavy

ſea

ſea rolling into the bay from the ſouthweſt, ſet us ſtrongly towards the eaſt ſhore, and we had much to do to avoid being driven upon it during the night. This made us determine, as ſoon as the day broke, to run again into the outer road of the *Cape*, and, at ten o'clock, A.M. all the ſhips of the fleet lay again at anchor in the road.

We did not, however, ſtop long; for, at half paſt one o'clock, P.M. the ſoutheaſt wind again coming on, the flagſhip made the ſignal for getting under ſail; which had a better iſſue, as at four o'clock we had all paſſed *Robben* or *Seal*-iſland, and were out at ſea.

The ſoutheaſt wind, with which we had left the *Cape*, kept ſteady, and blew hard, ſo that on the 11th of April, we had already paſſed the tropic of capricorn, and entered the torrid zone.

On the 18th of April, all the captains of the fleet went on board the flagſhip, by ſignal from the commodore, where we received information that we were to purſue our voyage to Holland, through the Channel; and two days afterwards, we ſaw, at

break

break of day, the iſland *St. Helena*, paſſing it at four o'clock, P.M.

The weather began now to grow very hot, and the thermometer was ſometimes, in the afternoon, as high as 87°, while the coolneſs of the night made it fall no lower than to 81°.

On the 26th of April, at daybreak, we run in ſight of the iſland *Aſcenſion*, paſſing it in the afternoon, and loſing ſight of it in the evening.

This iſland lies 1° 37′ too much to the eaſtward, in our maps, according to the obſervations of M. DE LA CAILLE made in the road; but the latitude agrees with the obſervations made by us. We had, in ſight of it, a northweſterly variation of 11°, which differs one degree from the obſervation of the variation, when in ſight of the ſame iſland, on my former voyage, being now one degree more, ſo that the line ſhewing $10\frac{0}{1}$ variation, was removed in ſeven years one degree to the weſtward.

Hence we ſteered for the equinoctial line N.W. by N. although the general ſailing-orders, and particular inſtructions of the

Company, direct that it ſhould be N.W. The reaſon of this our diſobedience, was, that a N.W. by N. courſe was materially ſhorter than the other, which would, at leaſt, have led us one hundred and thirty or forty leagues farther; for this reaſon, the ſhips of other nations, when they have a fair opportunity, never ſteer more to the weſtward, than they can help, and keep in a northerly courſe; theſe, not being bound to follow any particular inſtruction or ſailing-orders, with reſpect to their navigation, generally perform much ſhorter voyages, both to and from the Eaſt-Indies, than the ſhips of the Company. Hence too, the commanders of Dutch ſhips, impeded and fettered in their proceedings, cannot poſſibly make as much progreſs as others, in the improvement of navigation; and to this it may alſo, in my opinion, be greatly attributed, that the Engliſh, the French, and others, ſo far outſtrip us in the making of improvements, new diſcoveries, &c. although our Eaſt-India trade might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be an excellent nurſery for ſeamen, and a ſchool for the greateſt nautical improvements,

provements, on account of the number of ſhips and men it employs, and the diſtance and diverſity of the voyages.

It is eaſy to refute the objection, that this liberty of proceeding might be abuſed to the prejudice of the Company's intereſts. In order, however, to prevent the ſtoppage of wages and premiums, the ſeizure of goods, and other difficulties, which would enſue to the ſhips' officers and crews, from this deviation from the ſtrict letter of the Company's inſtructions, we, the five commanders of the ſhips, agreed to let the courſe ſteered be noted as N.W. in the ſhips' journals, and I accordingly followed this method in mine, till the eight of May, after which time, the true courſe was noted down. This gave a difference of full ſixty leagues, which we ought to have ſailed more to the weſtward, if we would afterwards have had to bear away to the eaſtward again.

On the 28th of April, a little after eight o'clock in the evening, we ſaw a ball of fire, about the ſize of a cannon-ball, ſhooting from eaſt to weſt, and which left behind it a broad, undulating, fiery ſtripe, which continued viſible for a quarter of an

hour after the ball had diſappeared, and ſeemed gradually to be driven by the wind to the weſtward; the ſky appeared at that time with patches of lowering and ſtormy clouds, the wind was at S.E. and the thermometer ſtood at 82°.

On the 3d of May we paſſed the line, and the commodore was welcomed in the northern hemiſphere by a ſalute of eleven guns from each ſhip.

On the following day, we loſt the ſettled ſoutheaſterly tradewind, and we met with light and variable airs, calms, and heavy ſhowers of rain, not, however, accompanied with much thunder and lightning; the heat encreaſed conſiderably at the ſame time, although we did not ſee the ſun for ſeveral days, the air being, for the moſt part, very hazy, and the ſky cloudy. The medium height of the thermometer, from the 1ſt to the 9th of May, including both day and night, was 83°, and at noon it was ſometimes 89°. This continued till the 11th, when we met with refreſhing gales from the northeaſt, and afterwards clearer weather, in the north latitude of 6° and 7°.

On the 17th we were in 12½° north latitude,

tude, when we edged away from N.W. by N. to north, as close as wind and weather would permit, in order, if possible, to run in sight of the islands *Corvus* and *Floris*.

Here the northeast and east wind began to blow in fresh gales, frequently with a stormy sky, and much rain, till in the north latitude of 30°, when the wind veered more to the southeast, till in about 40°, when it changed to west, though only for two days; after which it changed again to northeast, with stiff gales and rain, by which our progress was much retarded. The thermometer shewed that we had left the torrid zone, and were approaching our native climate, as it seldom rose, in the warmest part of the day, higher than 65° or 66°, and in the morning, before sunrise, it was at 59° and 60°.

On the 26th of May, we saw a strange sail, for the first time, being a little French frigate, coming from *Nantes*, and going to *St. Domingo*.

On the next day, I went, together with the other captains, on board of the commodore, who had made the signal for our assembling on board the flag-ship; where, after

having formed a council, and finiſhed our matters of buſineſs, we were entertained during the remainder of the day, and returned in the evening, on board of our reſpective ſhips.

On the 29th, I had the pleaſure of entertaining them on board of my ſhip, where we all dined together; and on which occaſion, ſome alterations were made in the ſailing-orders. We were now in that part of the ocean called the graſs-ſea.

On the 1ſt of June, we ſaw, in the afternoon, a fleet of ſixteen ſhips of war, bearing down upon us from the eaſt, who cloſed round us in the evening, and forced us to keep in company with them, till midnight, after which, they again allowed us to continue our voyage. When the day appeared, they ſhewed Engliſh colours; but, from all the circumſtances, it appeared that they were a French fleet, cruiſing to intercept the Engliſh homewardbound Eaſt-Indiamen.

On the 9th, one of our ſailors fell from the mainyard upon the deck, and died ſhortly after, by the fall. He was the third man that

that we had loſt ſince our departure from the *Cape*.

On the 24th, we ſaw an eclipſe of the ſun, of which I could not obſerve either the beginning or the middle, but the end was, according to ſeveral obſervations, in the afternoon, at eleven minutes paſt four o'clock, true time; and as, according to the *Connoiſſance des Temps*, it was to be at *Paris* at forty-ſix minutes paſt five o'clock, which gave a difference in time with us, of one hour and thirty-five minutes, and ſhewed we were in longitude 355° 7′, while, by our reckoning, we were in 1° 47′ eaſt of *Teneriffe*, by which it appeared, that we were 5° 40′ more to the weſtward, than we had computed; this agreed with three obſervations of the diſtances of the ſun and moon, which I had made four days before: and although, on the 2d of July, on ſeeing the *Lizard*-point, we perceived no more than two degrees of weſterly miſreckoning, yet I truſt, that the obſervation approached very near the truth, and that, in ſailing eaſtward with ſtiff gales of wind, we had calculated too little; for three of the other ſhips,

in the diſtance of fifty-five leagues, between the firſt meeting with ſoundings, and the view of the land, computed to have ſailed a degree more than we; and which, on ſeeing the land, was found to be right *.

On the 29th of June, we firſt ſtruck ſoundings, at four o'clock, A.M. in one hundred fathoms, and on the 2d of July, we

* The Dutch manner of navigating, is peculiar to themſelves. They ſteer by the true compaſs, or rather endeavour ſo to do, by means of a ſmall moveable central card, which they ſet to the meridian: and whenever they diſcover the variation has altered 2¼ degrees ſince the laſt adjuſtment, they again correct the central card. This is ſteering within a quarter of a point, without aiming at greater exactneſs. The officer of the watch, likewiſe, corrects the courſe for lee-way, by his own judgment, before it is marked down in the log-board. They heave no log. Their manner of computing their run, is by means of a meaſured diſtance of forty feet, along the ſhip's ſide: they take notice of any remarkable patch of froth, when it is abreaſt of the foremoſt end of the meaſured diſtance, and count half ſeconds till the mark of froth is abreaſt of the after-end. With the number of half ſeconds thus obtained, they divide the number 48, taking the product for the rate of ſailing in geographical miles in one hour, or the number of Dutch miles in four hours. It is not uſual to make any allowance to the ſun's declination, on account of being on a different meridian from that for which the tables are calculated: they, in general, compute the numbers juſt as they are found in the table. From all this, it is not difficult to conceive the reaſon why the Dutch are frequently above ten degrees out in their reckoning. *T.*

ſaw

ſaw the *Lizard*-point, bearing W.N.W. and on the 3d, at ſix o'clock, P.M. we met the States' cruiſing frigates, the *Waakzaamheid*, (the Vigilance), and the *Venus*, the former commanded by Captain MATTHEW SLOOT, and the latter, by Captain JACOB PETER VAN BRAAM, with which laſt we purſued our voyage on the following day, for the haven of our deſtination.

On the 8th of July, we all anchored behind the *Shingles*, as the wind was too much to the northward, to paſs the ſtraits of *Dover*, and to run into the North-ſea. We remained here till the 10th, when the wind coming round to the S.W. and S.S.W. we got under ſail; paſſed the ſtraits in the afternoon; parted from the frigate, and the three other ſhips, on the following day, at four o'clock, A.M. ſteering for the iſland of *Walcheren*, in company with the ſhip *Ganges*; came in ſight of the iſland at noon; and anchored at ſeven o'clock P.M. at the mouth of the paſſage called the *Deurloo*.

The day after, which was the 12th of July, we entered the *Deurloo*, caſt anchor at half paſt nine o'clock, cloſe to the buoy N° 2, and the following day, at noon, before

fore the town of *Fluſhing*, where we were obliged to remain, by calms and contrary winds, till the 22d, before we could get the ſhip as far as the road of *Rammekens*; and on the 23d, we were diſcharged from the Company's ſervice, by the directors RADERMACHER and VAN DE PERRE.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

REGULATIONS AND ORDERS,

Reſpecting the commiſſions and emoluments to be enjoyed by the ſervants of the Company at *Batavia*, and in the undermentioned adminiſtrations, ordained in the council of India, by reſolutions of the 26th and 28th of Auguſt, 1755.

SECTION. I. *Of the Caſhiers.*

ARTICLE I. BY this denomination is hereby ſolely underſtood, the grand caſhier of the Company, holding the general daily caſh, and the caſhier of general receipts; the caſhier of the paymaſter's office being conſidered rather as a diſtributer of wages, and thus not comprehended in the following orders; no more than the keeper of the Company's ſpecie; or the ſenior merchant of the caſtle, who has the keeping of the great treaſury; or the reſpective ſecretaries of any boards, or others, acting as caſhiers to ſubordinate ſocieties, already eſtabliſhed in this city, or hereafter to be eſtabliſhed.

ART. II. The grand caſhier, or the keeper of the daily caſh, ſhall receive of all monies paid into his hands, or which he ſhall pay away, one-half per cent, which ſhall be contributed by the payers and receivers; but the objects ſpecified hereunder, ſhall not be ſubject to the ſaid half per cent, but ſhall be paid, received, and accounted for *in toto*, namely:

1. The ſalaries and houſerents of the members of this government, and their ſecretaries, and of the brigadier, and the two ſenior merchants of the caſtle; and alſo the houſerents of the members of the council of juſtice, and of the reformed clergymen of the city.

2. The

2. The monies transferred, from time to time, to the great treaſury, by warrants from the governor general, or received by him for daily expenditure.

3. All that is paid to the chief of the *ſoldy-comptoir*, or paymaſter's office, for payment of board-wages.

4. All that is furniſhed to the chief *winkelier*, or purveyor, for payment of wages, &c.

5. The monies ariſing from the duties, collected by the collectors of exciſe and cuſtoms, and which are paid into the Company's treaſury.

6. The monies paid out of the treaſury, by reſolution of the government, to the board of *ſchepens* of the city, for city-uſes, cleanſing the canals, &c.

7. The produce of bankrupt-eſtates paid into the Company's hands, by their aſſignees, for the benefit of their European creditors.

8. The capitals taken upon intereſt, from the orphan-chamber, board of dikes and ſluices, commiſſioners of eſtates, churches, and hoſpitals, and the intereſt paid upon them by the Company.

9. The monies remitted by bills of exchange to *Holland*, or to the *Cape of Good Hope*.

10. Loans from individuals to the Company, if any neceſſity ſhould ariſe for negociating ſuch.

11. Transfers of capitals at intereſt.

12. Penſions allowed to the widows of clergymen.

13. Penſions to the ſervants of the Company who have retired.

14. Caſh paid to the Company's ſervants, in lieu of their emoluments.

15. Monies paid to the Company on account of any old debts.

16. Money remitted by the *curator ad lites*, out of the eſtates of the deceaſed ſervants of the Company.

17. Caſh ariſing from ſales out of the different adminiſtrations, including the ſale of liquors, &c. in the proviſion-magazine, unſerviceable goods in the *ambagt-ſkwartier*, and goods belonging to the Company, ſold by the vendue-maſter.

18. Whatever is paid, or remitted, to the hoſpitals, the *ſeminarium theologicum*, and the marine academy.

19. Whatever is paid to, or for the maintenance of, the Indian envoys, ſtate-priſoners, and native princes, together

gether with all others who may be reckoned to belong to them.

20. Poſtages of letters.

21. What is paid to the officers of the native militia, or trainbands, and to the city-officers; namely, to the weighmaſter, ſurveyor, ſuperintendent of the fiſhmarket, ſuperintendent of the ricemarket, aſſizer of the ſhambles, and the governeſs of the houſe of correction for females.

22. What is paid to the writer at *Tangerang*, for purchaſe of *paddee*, &c. for thoſe who lie in garriſon there.

23. What is paid at the *ambagtſkwartier*, the iſland *Onruſt*, and the admiralty-wharf, for the maintenance of ſlaves, &c.

24. The board of the government-ſlaves.

25. The money which the ſervants of the Company receive, for proviſions, upon their departure for Holland.

26. The ſpecie that is delivered to the captains of ſhips, upon leaving India, for the purchaſe of refreſhments, upon touching at foreign ports.

27. Penalties and forfeitures incurred by ſentences of the reſpective courts of juſtice, and paid into the treaſury of the Company.

28. Sales of rice at the *bazar*, for the relief of the inhabitants.

29. Payments to bakers, for bread, &c. furniſhed to the government.

30. Whatever payments are required to be made, to the captains of ſhips, for purchaſe of ſalt-fiſh, *cadjang*, beans, tamarinds, &c. for their crews, upon the failure of ſupply of any of thoſe articles from the Company's ſtores.

31. And although the Palembangers, by reſolution of the 23d of Auguſt, 1748, are liberated from the payment of the aforeſaid one-half per cent, upon the pepper and tin which they furniſh, yet the caſhier ſhall continue to receive the ſame, and it ſhall be carried to the account of thoſe articles, conformable to the tenor of the aforeſaid reſolution.

ART. III. Of all what is not included in the above exceptions, the caſhier ſhall receive the ſaid one-half per cent, and ſhall be bound to keep due note thereof, and ſhall deliver a ſtatement thereof every year to the director general, upon the cloſe of the books, in order that its amount may be divided, among thoſe to whom a ſhare therein

therein has been granted; namely, to the caſhier himſelf, one-fourth; to each of the two ſenior merchants of the caſtle, one-eighth; to the ſecond in the great treaſury, one-eighth; to the *negotie-comptoir*, or board of trade, three-ſixteenths; to the office of the director general, one-eighth; and to the examiners of the bybooks of *Batavia*, one-ſixteenth.

ART. IV. The caſhier of general receipts, ſhall equally receive one-half per cent, upon the amounts of the farmed duties, that is, to be paid by the farmers, ſo that the whole amount of the duties ſhall be made good to the Company. But the ſaid one-half per cent ſhall not be paid—

1. Of the further revenues, which are accounted for at the general monthly offreckoning of the receipts;

2. Nor of the money paid into the Company's grand treaſury.

ART. V. The above half per cent ſhall, at the termination of the year, be divided, two-thirds to the receiver general, and one-third to the caſhier of general receipts.

SECTION II. *Of the Adminiſtrators in general.*

ART. I. In this general denomination are included, not only thoſe who are uſually called warehouſekeepers, or ſuperintendents of the Company's warehouſes, ſtores, and magazines, but likewiſe all thoſe who have any adminiſtration over the Company's effects; as, the chiefs of the admiralty-wharf, of the *ambagtſkwartier*, of the arſenal, of the armoury, and of the ſtables, or the commandant and comptroller of equipment, the *fabriek*, the chief of the artillery, the warden of the armoury, and the ſtablekeeper, all whom ſhall enjoy the following advantages, and be ſubject to the following obligations and reſtrictions, which are common to them all.

ART. II. The common emoluments of all the adminiſtrations of the commercial warehouſes, the wharf, the *ambagtſkwartier*, the proviſion-magazine, the grain-magazine, the medical diſpenſary, the armoury, the artillery-yard, and the ſtables, ſhall conſiſt in the following:

1. That, although the five per cent formerly allowed on purchaſes is wholly aboliſhed, the adminiſtrators ſhall, nevertheleſs, be permitted to be the providers of ſuch goods,

goods, as are wanted in their reſpective warehouſes, and muſt be purchaſed for ſending off, &c. provided the ſamples thereof be laid before the director general, and the prices of them approved of by him.

2. They ſhall all likewiſe have, to be paid by the purchaſers of goods, that are ſold for ready money, out of their adminiſtrations, five per cent upon the amounts, but not upon what is furniſhed, on account of payments to the members of the government, and other privileged perſons, to the different boards, and to the hoſpitals, who ſhall continue to account for what they receive from the reſpective adminiſtrations, according to the preſent cuſtom, twice every year, upon the cuſtomary warrants.

ART. III. Notwithſtanding the uſual annual oath of purgation has been mortified and aboliſhed, yet the adminiſtrators in general, all together, and each one in particular, ſhall be bound diligently to obſerve, and accurately to attend to, the following duties of their offices:

1. That they ſhall have, each in their reſpective adminiſtrations, to act as carefully and economically, as if they were attending to their own individual concerns.

2. That, with reſpect to the goods they furniſh to the Company, they ſhall have ſtrictly to attend to the orders which are given to them, as well in regard to the prices, as to the qualities; and further, on this head, that they ſhall not only be ſatisfied with their juſt dues, but ſhall, as much as lies in their power, and as far as they can in their reſpective departments, take care, that others do not act diſhoneſtly towards the Company.

3. That, in regard to the overweights and overmeaſures, they ſhall not exceed the limitations made on that ſubject, and that in theſe, and alſo in the undermentioned off-reckonings and deficiencies, both at the receipt and delivery, and which are allotted to them as an honourable means of ſubſiſtence, they ſhall have to behave themſelves as perſons of honour and honeſty, without defrauding any one, or exacting, or taking, any thing more than what is juſtly due to them, or charging any one more than is right, much leſs defrauding any one in weights or meaſures, or being guilty of any adulteration, commixtion, or ſubſtitution of goods; neither ſhall they ſuffer, if they can prevent it, any one to be guilty of any of theſe enormities; but, on the contrary, ſhall as carefully watch againſt, and endeavour to prevent them, as they could or might do in their

their own affairs; the whole upon pain, that, whoever ſhall be found to have offended againſt this article, ſhall, without the leaſt favour or reſpect of perſons, be diſmiſſed, and declared incapable of ſerving the Company; and further punithed as ſhall be judged fit and neceſſary, according to the circumſtances of the caſe.

ART. IV. And in order that the aforeſaid adminiſtrators, and eſpecially the warehouſekeepers, be the better able duly to attend to the diſcharge of their ſeveral duties, they ſhall be bound, either at the receipt or diſpatch of goods, to be preſent, as often as their ſervice ſhall be required, without reſpect of days or hours; and for the performance of the ordinary work of their offices, they are required to attend on the four principal workingdays of the week, namely, Mondays, Tueſdays, Thurſdays, and Fridays, from ſeven to eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and from two to five or ſix o'clock in the afternoon, as alſo on the mornings of Wedneſdays and Saturdays at the ſame hours, on the afternoons of which days they ſhall likewiſe be bound to attend, if neceſſary, on the pain of forfeiting one month's wages for every inſtance of neglect, to the benefit of the common purſe of the penniſts.

ART. V. The commandant and comptroller of equipment (*equipagiemeeſter*), the *fabriek*, and the chief of the artillery, ſhall not only be conſidered as adminiſtrators of many of the warehouſes and ſtores in their ſeveral departments, but ſhall likewiſe be reſponſible for the conduct of their ſubordinate adminiſtrators, maſters, and wardens, with the proviſo that they ſhall be at liberty to take ſuch precautions in this reſpect as they may judge proper for their ſecurity and diſcharge, and alſo to make ſuch complaints and repreſentations as may be neceſſary, reſpecting any inattention, neglect, omiſſion, or other evil practices of thoſe inferior officers, which ſhall be immediately attended to and redreſſed.

ART. VI. Finally, all the aforeſaid adminiſtrators, in general, ſhall have to take care, that the quantities ariſing upon the overweights and meaſures, either upon receipt, or delivery, of ſuch goods as the Company reſerve excluſively to themſelves, ſhall not fall into the hands of private individuals, although the diſpoſal of them to ſuch perſons may be more advantageous, but as much as they ſhall have been able to ſave by the allowed overweights

upon

upon ſuch articles, namely, Japan copper, whether in bars, plates, or wire, all other copper, pepper, tin, coffee, ſaltpetre, and the finer ſpices, among which are included long pepper and cubebs, ſhall every year be delivered to the Company; nevertheleſs, if various prices for any of the above articles are given by the Company, the higheſt ſhall be paid to them; yet, with this proviſo, that, with reſpect to the pepper which is delivered to the Company by the adminiſtrators, they ſhall receive for that which they gain by the allowed overweights and offreckonings, in the ſame manner as heretofore, twelve rixdollars per picol, provided that they inſert in the warrant of payment, or annex to it, a ſpecific account, proving that the quantity delivered at that price does not exceed the allowed overweights and offreckonings; and with reſpect to the pepper which they further purchaſe out of the overweights and offreckonings allowed to the commanders of veſſels, they ſhall only have to pay for it, at the rate of nine rixdollars per picol. But all the other goods which they may obtain out of their allowed overweights and meaſures, they ſhall be at liberty to diſpoſe of as they think proper, either by ſale to private perſons, by ſhipping them off to other places, or by delivery to the Company.

SECTION III. *Of the Adminiſtrators in particular.*

ART. I. Beſides the above emoluments, which ſhall be common to all the adminiſtrations, the reſpective warehouſekeepers ſhall further enjoy thoſe that follow, each according to the circumſtances of his office, and to be divided in the manner preſcribed, and ſubject to the reſtrictions added to them.

ART. II. The commercial warehouſes.

By this denomination are underſtood the warehouſes on the weſt ſide, at the water-gate, on the iſlands *Onruſt* and *Kuyper*, and the ſugar and cloth warehouſes, conſtituting five different adminiſtrations, over very different ſpecies of merchandize.

ART. III. The warehouſes on the weſt ſide and at the water-gate ſhall, with reſpect to the advantages, be combined, and the following emoluments, allowed to the four adminiſtrators, ſhall be annually divided among

them in equal portions, each having an equal degree of reſponſibility.

1. The coffee delivered to the Company from the province of *Jaccatra*, ſhall be houſed in theſe warehouſes, according to the orders of the director general, and whether more or leſs ſhall be received at each, the profits upon the whole ſhall be on the common account, and for the common benefit of all the adminiſtrators, and ſhall conſiſt, according as the cuſtom is at preſent, in an allowed overweight, namely, that the coffee received at the rate of one hundred and forty pounds per picol, ſhall be delivered by bales of two picols, or two hundred and fifty pounds, with two pounds for draft, out of which difference the aforeſaid adminiſtrators ſhall have to make good all loſs in weight by drying, during the time that it ſhall lie under their care, likewiſe all damage and waſte, excepting ſuch as may occur by extraordinary circumſtances, or by accidents, which they could not prevent, and reſpecting which, the authority for their being allowed, ſhall depend upon the ſpecial approval of the government.

2. Tea on freight, forwarded to Holland, ſhall henceforward pay one ſkilling, or one-eighth of a rixdollar, per picol, for the trouble which the ſaid warehouſekeepers have concerning it, whether it be received into the warehouſes on the weſt ſide alone, or both in them, and in thoſe at the water-gate, as circumſtances may induce; and, on the other hand, the ſaid adminiſtrators ſhall be reſponſible for the damage and loſs which may happen to the tea, and which might have been prevented by proper care, from the time of the receipt, till that of the delivery.

3. The aforeſaid warehouſekeepers ſhall not have to claim any bonification of offreckonings, or diminutions, beyond the aforeſaid allowed emoluments, upon goods which they ſhall receive in their adminiſtrations, according to the preſent regulation, but ſhall have to anſwer for them, piece for piece, and pound for pound, excepting the ſpices, the underweights of which ſhall, if required, be teſtified upon oath before the ſupreme government, and be in conſequence allowed, according to circumſtances, by ſpecial reſolutions; and of which the ſurplus-weights ſhall be to the advantage of the Company; and reſpecting

reſpecting which, all private trade, and all indirect conduct, is prohibited, upon pain of corporal puniſhment, and of death, according to circumſtances, agreeable to the ſtatutes which, in this reſpect, are left in their full force; as likewiſe the ancient order, that the adminiſtrators of the weſtſide warehouſes, on quitting their employments, or on being appointed to other offices, ſhall take an oath that they have acted with fidelity and honeſty, during the time of their adminiſtration.

ART. IV. The ſugar-warehouſe.

1. All the goods received therein ſhall be delivered out again, free of all deficiency and underweight.

2. Excepting, the long-accuſtomed allowance, of one pound per hundred for draft on the copper in plates, &c. ſheetlead, piglead, and vermillion.

3. And there ſhall be no further emoluments received there, than ſix ſtivers per picol, to be paid by the deliverer of the powder-ſugar, which is delivered to the Company, and ſerving for the purpoſes of trade, that is, of the two ſorts *cabeſſa* and *bariga*; and nine ſtivers upon each picol ſugar-candy, without any overweight or further charge upon the deliverer of any kind or ſort whatever.

4. The approval and valuation of the ſugars which are furniſhed, ſhall nevertheleſs remain, according to the preſent and ancient cuſtom, with the director general.

5. Laſtly, thoſe of the aforeſaid warehouſe ſhall have to take care, that the ſugar furniſhed to the Company, be not adulterated, mixed, or changed.

ART. V. The warehouſes upon the iſlands of *Onruſt*, and *de Kuyper*.

1. Reſpecting the article of pepper, which is one of the chief articles of this adminiſtration, the adminiſtrators ſhall—

a. Have to take care, together with their ſubordinate officers, that, according to ancient cuſtom, the duſt of ſuch pepper as is received unharped, and is harped in their warehouſes, be immediately, that is, on the ſame day that the harping ſhall have been effected, or at fartheſt within the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours, either buried, or thrown away, at the place appointed for that purpoſe, in order that it be not again intermixed with the pepper in the warehouſes.

b. They ſhall likewiſe, excluſive of the undermentioned allowances, not be guilty of any extortion upon receipt or delivery, either by extravagant tares or any other invention; but, with reſpect to the duſtineſs of the pepper, which is occaſioned without their faults, by lying, drying up, and turning over, they ſhall be allowed to continue the former method, namely, to make ſeveral due trials, in order to form from them a calculatory allowance for duſt.

c. Upon their warehouſes becoming empty of pepper, they ſhall henceforward be allowed two per cent at once, and no more, nor any thing upon the ſhipment, for general waſte.

d. On the pepper which is brought from *Bantam* and *Palembang*, by the Company's ſhips, they ſhall have the one-half per cent overweight with which they receive it, and be allowed to deliver it off, pound for pound, without any overweight.

e. On the other hand, on the pepper which is brought by and delivered to them from native veſſels, they ſhall be allowed to take a draft of five pounds upon each weigh of about three hundred pounds, to be borne by the deliverers, agreeable to the reſolution of government of the 11th of Auguſt, 1752, in order to indemnify them for the greater hazard they run by pilferage, waſte, and crumbling, and for the charges they incur towards the deliverers; and on the contrary, they ſhall be anſwerable for all miſconduct of their ſervants and inferiors towards the natives at ſuch receipts.

2. The Cheribon coffee, which is henceforward to be received by the ſhips' commanders at the original places of ſhipment, at the rate of one hundred and thirty pounds per picol, and delivered at the warehouſes here at one hundred and twenty-eight pounds per picol, may be delivered again by the adminiſtrators with an overweight of one pound, or at the rate of one hundred and twenty-ſix pounds; and they ſhall, moreover, upon the warehouſes becoming empty of coffee, be allowed an offreckoning of two per cent, and no more, whether it ſhall have been for a long or a ſhort time under their charge.

3. Saltpetre ſhall henceforward be received here, with two per cent overweight, groſs, and be ſhipped, ſold, or furniſhed, ſimply groſs, without overweight; and upon the

the whole quantity being taken out of the warehouſes, an allowance ſhall be equally made of two per cent for waſte, &c. in this article.

4. The caliatourwood, from *Coromandel*, ſhall be received with one per cent overweight, and the ſapanwood, from *Siam* and *Bima*, together with the ſandalwood, from other places, with one half per cent, and ſhall be delivered neat, without overweight; and upon the whole quantity being taken out of the warehouſes, an allowance of two per cent ſhall, in the ſame manner, be given for waſte.

5. Upon the areca, the adminiſtrators ſhall enjoy an offreckoning of two per cent upon the parcels which are weighed off within the year, and three per cent upon thoſe that remain in the warehouſes beyond that time; and in the ſame manner, in the other adminiſtrations where this article is received, as was granted by the reſolution of government of the 28th of December, 1754.

ART. VI. The new cloth-warehouſes.

1. The adminiſtrator of theſe warehouſes, ſhall receive for every cheſt of opium, without diſtinction as to ſize, delivered out of this adminiſtration to the privileged ſociety, without having any thing to do with thoſe who buy opium from the ſociety, one rixdollar and a half, and no more, which ſhall be paid by the ſociety.

2. As, by reſolution of this government of the 9th of May, 1752, it was determined, that, from that time forward, the public ſales of the Company's goods in the city, ſhould be held at the houſe of the venduemaſter, agreeable to that reſolution, five per cent of their amount ſhall be deducted, to the charge of the Company, and to be divided in the following manner: namely, three per cent to the venduemaſter, and one-half per cent to his auctioneer, provided that they ſhall each be anſwerable, *pro rato*, for the debts of the purchaſers, that is, the former for ſix-ſevenths, and the latter for one-ſeventh; and of the remaining one and a half per cent, one per cent ſhall be given to the ſenior merchants of the caſtle, that is one-half per cent to each; and the other one-half per cent, to the adminiſtrator in the cloth-warehouſe.

ART. VII. The retail-warehouſe.

1. The adminiſtrator in this adminiſtration, ſhall regulate himſelf, in the ſale of goods, by the market-price of the city, and ſhall form a monthly price-current, ſubject

to the approbation of the director general, provided European articles yield an advance of no leſs than thirty, and Indian goods an advance of twenty-five per cent; but the members of the government ſhall be at liberty to pay for ſuch goods as they take out of this adminiſtration, for their uſe, at the rate of two-thirds of the cuſtomary advance which would have been made on the ſale.

2. The particular emoluments of the adminiſtrator, ſhall conſiſt in the per centages for waſte, &c. which he ſhall henceforward be allowed to take, in the ſtead of thoſe ſettled by reſolution of the 16th of January, 1682, and ſhall be as follow, to wit: upon woollens, velvets, and other European manufactures, which are delivered by the ell, and not by whole pieces, four and one-half per cent.

Upon mace, cinnamon, and nutmegs, ſold and furniſhed, ſeven and one-half per cent.

Upon cloves, four and one-half per cent.

Upon colours, drugs, ſtarch, and wares of that deſcription, ſeven and one-half per cent.

3. And although this adminiſtrator ſhall be at liberty to diſpoſe of the ſpices ariſing from the above allowed overweights, among the articles ſold for ready money, yet he ſhall be ſpecially bound not to ſell, either on his own or any other account, any more ſpices, or participate directly or indirectly therein; and he ſhall, moreover, be required to keep a ſtrict watch over ſuſpected purchaſers, even if the ſpices be only fetched by the ſingle pound, and againſt all frauds, as much as may be in his power, agreeable to the reſolution of this government of the 25th of July, 1702.

ART. VIII. The grain-magazine.

The adminiſtrators in this magazine ſhall, with reſpect to the rice, content themſelves with the one hundred pounds allowed upon each laſt, by reſolution of the 16th of October, 1744; and further, upon the paddee, cadjang, beans, peas, wheat, rye, and biſcuit, five per cent and no more: the paddee to be made good by the bundle or ſheaf, in the ſame way, and of the ſame weight, as when received, that is, twenty pounds per ſheaf, or, after deduction of the abovementioned five per cent for waſte, nineteen pounds.

ART. IX. The iron-magazine.

Inſtead of the offreckoning, regulated by the reſolutions

tions of the 17th of October, 1692, and the 25th of October, 1695, the following allowances ſhall be given in this adminiſtration, and which ſhall be the only ſpecial emoluments of it, namely:

four per cent upon iron in bars;
four per cent upon iron-hoops;
ſix per cent upon lockplates;
two per cent upon ſteel;
three per cent upon nails.

And the prohibition of the ſale, for ready money, of iron, ſteel, and nails, as well the licenſed ſale of wrought iron utenſils, out of the iron-magazine, contained in the reſolution of the 23d of Auguſt, 1754, continue both in force.

ART. X. The proviſion-magazine.

1. The barrels of beef, pork, and butter, the leagers, half leagers, whole and half awms of liquid wares, ſhall be accounted for, by pounds and cans, as by the preſent cuſtom, without further offreckoning.

2. In future, likewiſe, all empty caſks, leagers, &c. ſhall be accounted for, excepting the caſks, which are ſold together with their contents, at the preſent cuſtomary quarterly ſales, agreeable to the reſolution of the 23d of Auguſt, 1754, as alſo the beer caſks delivered to members of the government, upon account of conſumption or payment.

3. The adminiſtrators ſhall continue to enjoy the ancient cuſtomary perquiſites, conſiſting of one barrel of Frieſland butter, one leager of French wine, twenty-four bundles of wax candles, and one hundred and forty-four pounds of tamarinds, for both, every year.

4. Upon delivery, or accounting for beer, wine, and other liquors, as likewiſe vinegar, and oil, in as far as the latter is received from other places, but not upon train-oil, and arrack, nor upon the cocoanut-oil purchaſed here, they ſhall be allowed to write off, ſix per cent; and upon receipt, nothing ſhall be ſtated differently from what has been received, either as to quality or quantity, which, together with a due attention to the unadulterated ſtate of both dry and liquid goods, is ſpecially conſidered as part of the duty of their office.

5. They ſhall alſo not receive any thing elſe than good liquors, but ſhall give up the reſt upon receipt, either for ſale, or throwing away.

upon cables and heavy cordage, nor upon timber for maſts, nor upon caſks, anchors, or grapnels, all which remain exempted therefrom.

3. The maſter at *Onruſt*, ſhall retain, as a perquiſite for himſelf, the providing of the boxes for copper, out of the remnants of wood, at the uſual price of fourteen ſtivers apiece.

4. The wages of the caulkers employed under the maſter-carpenter, at the admiralty-wharf, being aboliſhed, fifty able menſlaves of the Company, ſhall be employed in that work, who ſhall remain night and day upon the wharf, and for whom a place ſhall be appropriated, while no more ſhall be charged for each of the ſaid ſlaves than *f.*27 1, for clothing, per annum.

5. The monthly wages of the ſlaves appointed by the ſaid reſolution of the 2d of June, 1752, for the ſervants of the admiralty-wharf, to wit:

for the bookkeeper of equipment	12
for the under-bookkeeper	6
for the deputy of the commandant	6
for the firſt journeyman-carpenter, at the admiralty-wharf	6
for the ſecond ditto	4
for the firſt journeyman of the train	5
for the ſecond ditto	3
for the firſt journeyman-ſmith	4
for the firſt journeyman-cooper	3
for the firſt journeyman-mapmaker	3
for the firſt journeyman-ſailmaker	4
for the ſecond ditto	2
for the mate of the wharf	6
for the boatſwain of ditto	4

ſhall be withheld, if it be found that the abovementioned number of ſlaves be not actually employed at that place, in the ſervice of the Company.

6. The number of hired ſlaves, at the iſland *Onruſt*, ſhall proviſionally be fixed at four hundred, and the reſt ſhall be fetched away; and the number of the Company's own ſlaves ſhall be kept at two hundred and fifty.

SECTION IV. *Of what the ſeveral Adminiſtrators ſhall have to pay out again.*

ART 1. *a.* All the adminiſtrators hereunder named, but

timber and nails uſed under his direction, in the ſervice of the Company, and which he ſhall have to deliver to the Company at fifty per cent advance, in order that if any timber or nails be found to have been otherwiſe diſpoſed of by him, they may be aſcertained to have been obtained in an unlawful manner.

2. To the maſter-bricklayer, alſo five per cent upon the materials uſed under his direction, in the ſervice of the Company, to be delivered in the ſame manner to the Company.

3. To the maſter-ſmith, plumber, and brazier, beſides the ſettled per centages for waſte, namely, thirteen per cent upon iron, ſteel, and lockplates, and ten per cent upon copper and lead, five per cent on the metals, &c. uſed, equally to be delivered, with an advance of fifty per cent, to the Company.

4. But as the emoluments of the maſter-plumber and brazier are rather trifling, and thoſe of the maſter-bricklayer are very conſiderable, the latter ſhall pay, out of the benefits upon his perquiſites, two hundred rixdollars to the maſter-plumber, and one hundred rixdollars to the maſter-brazier.

5. The maſter-gunpowder-maker, ſhall be allowed to charge twelve pounds tare for ever double bag of ſaltpetre, agreeable to the reſolution of the 16th of January, 1748.

ART. XIV. The admiralty-wharf.

The ſervants in this department ſhall likewiſe continue to enjoy a part of the emoluments granted to them, both at the wharf and at the iſland *Onruſt*, by the reſolution of the 2d of June, 1752, namely:

1. The maſter at *Onruſt*, and the maſter-carpenters, coopers, and ſmiths, ſhall, each in their reſpective departments, have five per cent upon what they work up, and an hundred per cent advance thereon; while the maſter-cooper, ſhall have to make good to the maſter-mapmaker, one-third of his ſhare.

2. The maſter-ſailmaker, and the ſuperintendent of the rope-warehouſe ſhall alſo have five per cent, to be delivered to the Company at invoice-prices, and to be divided; one-half to the commandant, one-ſixth to the vice-commandant, one-ſixth to the maſter-ſail-maker, and one-ſixth to the ſuperintendent of the rope-warehouſe; with this proviſo, that the ſaid five per cent ſhall not be taken upon

ART. 11. All fees that ſhall be given, beſides the above, by the aforeſaid adminiſtrators, to European, or other ſervants, writers, &c. in their employ in the warehouſes, ſhall depend wholly upon their good will, in order that thoſe inferior officers may be the more attentive, properly to perform their ſervice; the more ſo, as they have to anſwer for their conduct, and are reſponſible for every thing.

SECTION V. *Of the great Winkelier.*

1. The payment of the monthly wages ſhall henceforward be allowed to be made wholly in ready money, inſtead of half in money, and half in goods, as was formerly cuſtomary; but the rixdollar of forty-eight heavy ſtivers ſhall be carried to account, at ſixty-four light ſtivers, according to ancient practice.

2. Inſtead of the ſix ſtivers per rixdollar, formerly deducted, upon the half of the wages paid in goods, in order to receive that half likewiſe, in ſpecie, three ſtivers ſhall henceforward be deducted, per rixdollar, upon the whole.

3. Of theſe three ſtivers, two ſhall be carried to account of the Company, and the remaining one is to be for him, and his ſecond, namely, two thirds for the former, and one third for the latter, for their further ſupport; and nothing more ſhall be charged or deducted, with regard to the pay of the Company's ſervants.

Given at *Batavia*, in the caſtle, this 28th of Auguſt, anno 1755.

No. II.

GENERAL REGULATION,

Reſpecting the commiſſions, and emoluments, of the Company's ſervants, and ſundry orders to be obſerved at the ſeveral out-factories.

SECTION I. *Of the Factories in general.*

ART. 1. The reſpective caſhiers ſhall enjoy one half per cent, upon all monies paid in monthly payments, upon

upon warrants; namely, for cooley-hire, purchaſe of materials, and other neceſſaries for daily uſe, and whatever has relation thereto; but the ſaid half per cent, ſhall be wholly borne by the reſpective providers of goods, or receivers of money.

ART. II. The adminiſtrators and maſters of the working people, ſhall, each in his reſpective department, enjoy five per cent, either in overweight, overmeaſure, or in money, from the provider, upon the purchaſe of all ſmall articles, required for the ſervice of the marine department, repairs of veſſels, and likewiſe for the neceſſary repairs and additions to the public works; and for ordinary conſumption, provided they charge nothing for loſs in weight or meaſure; but upon goods, on which the ſaid five per cent is not enjoyed, they may charge five per cent to the Company, provided, that, in accounting for the uſe made of the aforeſaid goods, they ſtate the real quantities employed.

ART. III. The governors, and directors, alſo commandants, and ſeconds in governments, directorſhips, or commanderies, but no inferior chiefs or ſervants, ſhall be allowed to take what they want, for their own uſe, out of the Company's warehouſes, upon paying fifty per cent advance upon European, and thirty per cent upon Indian commodities, ſpices excepted, provided they make a moderate uſe of this privilege.

ART. IV. To the reſpective adminiſtrators, warehouſekeepers, or ſhips' officers, who deliver goods at *Batavia*, ſhall be allowed ſuch deficiencies as are fixed by this regulation, together with the offreckonings, ſettled by reſolution of the 15th of Auguſt, 1752, and amplifications thereof, provided they do not gain any thing by the purchaſe, as it is the intention, that only one of theſe advantages, and not both, ſhall be enjoyed at the ſame time.

ART. V. The reſpective maſters ſhall further be allowed, for waſte, thirteen per cent upon the iron worked up, eight per cent upon the ſteel and lead worked up, and five per cent upon the copper worked up, provided that what is wrought be weighed by commiſſioners.

ART. VI. The chiefs of the reſpective factories, and the comptrollers of equipment, at thoſe places whither ſhips are diſpatched, to *Batavia*, or to other places in India, ſhall be allowed to ſhip, for their own account, in a ſhip of 150 feet, the quantity of two laſts; in a ſhip of 136 feet, the quantity of one laſt and a half; and in a

ſhip

ſhip of 130 feet, the quantity of one laſt; in ſugar, rice, arrack, or any other produce of the country, or articles of trade, which are not prohibited; with the faculty, in thoſe factories where piecegoods are purchaſed as mentioned below, for each laſt ſo allowed, to put on board, namely, from *Coromandel*, one package of the ſize of ten corgees ſalempores, and from *Bengal*, and other places (*Surat*, and the other factories where the Company reſerve to themſelves the excluſive trade in piecegoods, excepted), two packages of the ſame ſize; the whole, however, under ſuch reſtrictions, as are detailed in the amplication of the regulation of the year 1743, reſpecting the luggage of the ſeamen, dated the 16th of September, 1745, and the poſterior order, relative to the export and import of piecegoods, dated the 29th of March, 1754.

SECTION II. *Of* AMBOYNA.

ART. I. The two firſt ſervants of the Company in this government, ſhall enjoy—

Five per cent upon the ſale of cottons, and other goods, ſold by auction, for guarantee of the money; two thirds to the firſt, and one third to the ſecond in command.

ART. II. The collective ſervants of the Company, as undermentioned, ſhall have twenty per cent, overweight, upon the cloves collected, provided they deliver them to the Company, at the purchaſe-prices; and the ſame ſhall be diſtributed in the following proportions, viz:

	100th parts.
to the governor	40
to the ſecond	12
to the captain commandant	4
to the captain lieutenant	2
to the lieutenants and enſigns	2
to the chief of *Saparoua*	7
to the chief of *Hila*	7
to the fiſcal	6
to the chief of *Haroukо*	3
to the chief of *Larike*	3
to the chief of *Bouro*	2
to the ſecretary of the council of polity, the garriſon book-keepers, the caſhier, and the purveyor, each 2, thus	8
to the reſident of *Manipa*	1

to

(97)

to the ſecretary of the council of juſtice . .	1
to the writer of the commercial ledger . .	1
to the writer of the military ledger . . .	1
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SECTION II. *Of* BANDA.

ART. I. The two firſt ſervants of the Company in this government, ſhall enjoy five per cent upon the ſale of cottons, and other goods, ſold by auction, for guarantee of the money.

ART. II. The collective ſervants of the Company, as undermentioned, ſhall have ſeven per cent, overweight, upon the nutmegs collected, provided they deliver them to the Company at the purchaſe prices; and the ſame ſhall be diſtributed in the following proportions, viz:

	100th parts.
to the governor	42
to the ſecond	14
to the captain	4
to the captain lieutenant	2
to the lieutenants and enſigns	4
to the chief of *Pulo Ay*	8
to the fiſcal	8
to the chief of *Wayer*	3
to the ſecretary of the council of polity . .	3
to the garriſon-book-keeper	3
to the reſident of *Ourien*	3
to the firſt clerk of the council of polity, to the writer of the commercial ledger, and caſhier . . . . . to the writer of the military ledger, and purveyor . . . . . to the ſecretary of common pleas, &c. each, one and a half, thus	6
	100

ART. III. Upon the nutmegs ſhipped off, ſix per cent ſhall be written off, for loſs in weight by drying; and what is profited thereby, ſhall, under the reſtriction mentioned reſpecting the overweights, be one half for the benefit

benefit of the governor, and the other half for the benefit of the perſon in whoſe keeping the nutmegs ſhall have been, till ſhipped off to *Batavia*.

ART. IV. The chief adminiſtrator, together with the chiefs of *Lontboir*, *Pulo Ay*, and *Wayer*, ſhall, with regard to the mace and nutmegs collected by them reſpectively, be allowed the following charges:

For receiving, treading down, and embaling of a whole or an half *ſockel* * of mace, twelve ſtivers.

For ſhipping off ditto, ſix ſtivers.

For every hundred ſockels, one piece of bagging, and one pound of ſealing-wax.

For each ſockel, a mat; and twelve per cent for the loſs by treading down; likewiſe, five bundles of rattans of 30 ps. each, to bind round them.

For receiving and preparing with lime, of 1000 pounds nutmegs, eight ſtivers.

For garbling of 1000 pounds nutmegs, three gilders.

For ſhipping off 3000 pounds nutmegs, two gilders eight ſtivers.

For burning of 1000 pounds nutmegs, eight ſtivers.

For preparing 1000 pounds nutmegs, one barrel of lime.

ART. V. Beſides which, the chief of *Lontboir* ſhall have, for the keeping of an orembay, and the neceſſary ſlaves, *f.*120 per annum, for which, however, the ſhed for the orembay, ſhall be kept free of expence to the Company.

For every laſt of goods received at the factory, *f.*2 8, for diſcharging the ſame, for which he ſhall alſo provide the neceſſary craft.

For whitewaſhing, plaiſtering, painting, and cleaning of the Company's buildings, ſixty gilders per annum.

For bamboos, for daily conſumption, *f.*36 per annum, and *f.*24 for eſtabliſhing a guardhouſe at *Batoe Hollanda*, for the convenience of the people, ſtationed to look out for the ſhips that arrive, beſides 1000 pieces of atap, which the Company furniſh.

ART. VI. In the ſame manner, the chief of *Pulo Ay* may charge:

For keeping of an orembay, and the neceſſary ſlaves,

* A kind of ſeron, weighing about 160lb.

*f.*292,

*f.*192, for which the ſhed ſhall be kept free of expence to the Company.

For every laſt of goods received at the factory, *f.*2 8, for diſcharging the ſame, for which he ſhall equally provide the neceſſary craft.

For whitewaſhing, plaiſtering, painting, and cleaning the Company's buildings, juſt as at *Lontboir*, *f.* 60.

For bamboos, for daily uſe, *f.*36, per annum.

For the eſtabliſhment of a guardhouſe, at the weſt rock, for the convenience of the watchmen, as at *Lontboir*, excluſive of *f.*1000 pieces of atap, *f.*24 per annum.

For keeping the ſewers in repair, and the ciſterns clean, *f.*36, per annum.

ART. VII. The reſident of *Wayer*, ſhall alſo have:

For keeping an orembay, in the ſame manner as at *Lontboir*, *f.*120.

For every laſt of goods received at the factory, *f.*2 8, for diſcharging the ſame, providing the neceſſary craft.

For whitewaſhing and cleaning the Company's buildings, *f.*36.

For bamboos, for daily uſe, *f.*24, per annum.

ART. VIII. The reſident of *Ourien*, ſhall have:

For whitewaſhing, plaiſtering, &c. of the fort, *f.*24, per annum.

For bamboos, for daily uſe, *f.*19 4.

ART. IX. The commiſſioners annually ſent to the ſoutheaſtern, and ſouthweſtern iſles, ſhall have, to defray their expences, five per cent upon the ſale of piece-goods, and upon the purchaſe of goods, and of ſlaves; likewiſe, when the number of ſlaves required, for the Company, are procured, they ſhall each be allowed to bring with them three or four ſlaves for themſelves: and they may carry backwards and forwards, and trade in ſuch articles as the Company do not traffic in, without prejudice to the Company.

ART. X. The ſecretary of the council of polity ſhall receive, for regiſtering, and acquitting the paſſes of the veſſels belonging to free inhabitants and natives, twelve ſtivers for a greater paſs, and two ſtivers for a leſſer paſs.

ART. XI. Inſtead of what was before allowed to the governor, out of the import-duties, he ſhall henceforward receive out of them, *f.*240 per month, for table-money.

ART. XII. And, likewiſe, for the ſuperintendence of the affairs and money of the orphanchamber, one-half per cent of the intereſts of the capitals lent out by that body *.

SECTION IV. *Of* TERNATE.

ART. I. The two firſt ſervants of the Company in this government, ſhall have five per cent upon the ſale, by auction, of piecegoods and other articles, for guarantee of the money;

And one per cent upon the gold collected, ſhall be divided between the governor and the collector.

ART. II. The governor ſhall, moreover, receive *f.*2,400 per annum, to defray his expences, in entertaining the native princes.

ART. III. The ſecretary ſhall have twenty-four ſtivers for the greater, and ſix ſtivers for the leſſer, paſſes.

SECTION V. *Of* MACASSER.

ART. I. The two firſt ſervants of the Company in this government ſhall have five per cent upon the ſale of piecegoods, &c. ſold by auction, for guarantee of the money.

ART. II. The governor ſhall, moreover, receive in one ſum, three thouſand gilders per annum, in order to defray his expences on entertaining the native princes and nobles; and no proviſions, or neceſſaries, ſhall be charged in account to the Company, as uſed on ſuch occaſions.

ART. III. Of the overmeaſure of grain, the Company ſhall be made good for one ganting, one ganting and a quarter of $7\frac{1}{7}$lb. and out of the other quarter, ſhall be made good the waſte, and the remainder ſhall be divided between the governor, the head-adminiſtrator, and the *diſpenſier* or purveyor, and the latter ſhall not be allowed to bring in any undermeaſure.

SECTION VI. *Of* JAVA'S NORTHEAST COAST.

ART. I. The Company's civil ſervants ſhall collectively

* The proprietors of the nutmeg-plantations in *Banda* have, generally, been adventurers, with little or no capital; who, favoured by the governors, have purchaſed the plantations, by borrowing one-half of the purchaſe-money of the orphanchamber, and leaving the remainder upon mortgage of the land.

receive

receive five per cent upon the farms of the cuſtomduties, and other royalties.

ART. II. The diſtribution thereof, ſhall be made in the following manner, viz:

	100th parts.
At *Samarang*;	
to the governor	30
to the head adminiſtrator	10
to the two merchants	10
to the four junior merchants	8
to the tranſlator	2
At *Soeracarta*;	
to the chief	10
to the ſecond	6
to the military book-keeper	2
to the tranſlator	2
At *Sourabaya*;	
to the chief	10
to the adminiſtrator	5
to the fiſcal	3
to the tranſlator	2
	100

ART. III. The governor ſhall, moreover, likewiſe retain what the ſtrand-regents together contribute to him, to the amount of one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen Spaniſh dollars.

ART. IV. The particular emoluments of the reſidents at the ſubordinate factories, *Tagal*, *Damak*, *Joana*, *Rembang*, *Japara*, and *Griſſee*, ſhall conſiſt in what they can, by good conduct and economy, ſave out of the following allowances:

1. Of the allowed 100 pounds overweight upon every coyang of rice, purchaſed for the Company, according to the reſolutions of the 30th of November, 1747, and the 9th of July, 1754, as no loſs may be brought to account upon grain.

2. Of the *f.*5, fixed for charges upon every laſt of rice ſhipped off, and the further fixed charges, and freights.

3. The expedition money for the paſſes, provided it do not exceed the amount of the ſtamp required for ſuch paſs; the paſſes from *Tagal* and *Rembang*, to the oppoſite ſhore, remain, however, fixed at five rixdollars.

SECTION VII. *Of* BANJERMASSING.

The reſident here, ſhall receive five per cent upon the pepper purchaſed.

SECTION VIII. *Of* TIMOR.

ART. I. The chief of this ſettlement ſhall have, inſtead of what was before allowed to him out of the duties of import and export, in one ſum, two thouſand gilders per annum, for defrayment of his expences.

ART. II. Upon the piecegoods ſold here by auction, the chief and his ſecond ſhall have five per cent for guarantee of the money, two thirds to the former, and one third to the latter.

SECTION IX. *Of* JAPAN.

ART. I. The Company's ſervants here ſhall have, for defrayment of their heavy expences, five per cent upon the whole of both ſales and purchaſes, which ſhall be diſtributed as follows, viz:

	100th parts.
to the chief going away	44
to the chief coming on	22
to the merchant warehouſekeeper . . .	14
to the junior merchant, commercial book-keeper	10
to the penniſts	10

ART. II. The chief ſhall further receive, as a compenſation for the extraordinary charges which he is obliged to incur every year, in clothes and otherwiſe, upon the journey to the court of *Jedo*, three thouſand eight hundred gilders per annum.

SECTION X. *Of* CHINA.

ART. I. The ſupercargoes ſhall, henceforward, not charge any more for commiſſion, than two per cent upon the purchaſe of goods, and one-half per cent upon the gold collected; but nothing upon ſales, or upon ſpecie; and the ſaid commiſſions ſhall be divided, as ſhall be every year ſettled by the inſtruction, and the fiſcal and ſecretary ſhall receive a portion double to that of the penniſts.

ART.

ART. II. The ſupercargoes, and further ſervants, are allowed to bring with them, on their return, one thouſand picols of tea, at the freight of two and a half rix-dollars per picol, neat tea; and on going, they ſhall be allowed to take with them, from here, the 60 laſts as before allowed, namely:

the director	20 laſts.
the firſt ſupercargo, as ſenior merchant	13
the ſecond, as merchant	7
the third, ditto	4
the fourth, as junior merchant	3
the fifth, ditto	2
the ſixth and ſeventh	3
the eighth and ninth	3
the reſt	5
	60 laſts.

SECTION XI. *Of* COCHINCHINA *.

ART. I. The ſupercargoes ſhall only charge, for commiſſion, five per cent, upon the purchaſe of goods; but nothing upon ſales, or upon ſpecie.

ART. II. The diſtribution thereof, ſhall be made agreeable to the inſtructions given with them.

ART. III. The ſupercargoes are allowed to take with them, from here, the number of laſts before allowed, namely:

the firſt, as merchant	7 laſts.
the ſecond, if a merchant	5
if a junior merchant	4
the third, as junior merchant	3

SECTION XII. *The Voyage between* SURAT *and* CHINA †.

The ſupercargo of the ſhip that goes from *Surat* to *China*, ſhall, together with the director, equally and jointly, receive five per cent upon the goods purchaſed at *Surat*, but not upon the tin, or other goods, taken in on the paſſage; neither ſhall any thing be received upon the

* No trade has, for many years, been carried on to *Cochinchina*, by the Dutch.

† This voyage has equally been long abandoned.

ſale, which ſhall be under the joint management of this ſupercargo, and thoſe in *China*.

SECTION XIII. *Of* MALACCA.

ART. I. The Company's qualified ſervants ſhall, henceforward, have one fourth part of the ſix per cent cuſtom-duty, not including the ſtamp, anchorage, and paſſage duties.

ART. II. The diſtribution thereof, ſhall be made in the following manner, namely:

	100th parts.
to the governor	40
to the ſecond	15
to the fiſcal	10
to the ſhebandar, or receiver	10
to the chief of the military	5
to the winkelier	5
to another junior merchant	5
to the ſecretary of the council of juſtice	2½
to the comptroller of equipment	2½
to the writer of the commercial ledger	2½
to the diſpenſier	2½
	100

ART. III. The governor ſhall, moreover, receive for every picol of tin purchaſed, one gilder, including that of *Pera*.

ART. IV. The commiſſioners to either ſhore of the ſtraits, ſhall have five per cent upon the purchaſe and ſale of goods, alſo one per cent upon the gold they collect, and they ſhall defray their own travelling expences.

SECTION XIV. *Of* SUMATRA'S WEST COAST.

ART. I. The commandant and both the adminiſtrators ſhall have five per cent upon the goods ſold, upon credit, to the Padang merchants, each in equal proportions, provided they guarantee the debts; but if the firſt mentioned declines to have any ſhare therein, which ſhall be left to his choice, then both the adminiſtrators ſhall divide the whole equally between them.

ART. II. Upon the ſame condition, the reſident of

Pul

Pulo Chinco, ſhall have five per cent upon the goods ſold by him, upon credit, to the merchants.

ART. III. The reſident of *Baros*, ſhall be allowed to deduct five per cent from the firſt quality benzoin and camphor, purchaſed by him, provided he remain anſwerable for the goodneſs of the article.

SECTION XV. *Of* BENGAL.

ART. I. Upon the purchaſe of opium, a commiſſion ſhall be charged of five per cent, which ſhall be divided between the director, the head adminiſtrator, and the chief at *Patna*, in the following manner, viz:

To the director, four tenths; to the head adminiſtrator, two tenths; to the chief at *Patna*, three tenths; and to the ſecond there, one tenth.

Item. Upon the ſale of goods ſold by auction, five per cent, for guarantee of the money, two-thirds to the director, and one-third to the ſecond.

ART. II. The firſt in the cloth-warehouſe, ſhall have one per mil of the amount of all the piecegoods ordered at *Hougly*, which ſhall be carried to account of charges on merchandize.

ART. III. The materials for packages ſhall be charged in account, at what they really coſt, and five per cent ſhall be received upon them, by thoſe who have to provide them; but their account ſhall be exhibited, upon any alteration in the prices, or, at leaſt, once every year, to the council of polity.

ART. IV. To the reſidents at the mint, is allowed the hiring of two peons, one palankeen, and one ſet cahars, provided that for the ſame no more than *f.*400 be charged by each, for one year, which ſhall be carried to account of mint-charges.

ART. V. To the two firſt ſervants at *Caſſimbazar*, is allowed the overweight upon the ſilk collected by them; two-thirds, and one-third.

ART. VI. The ſervants at *Patna* ſhall equally enjoy five per cent upon the materials uſed in packages, in the ſame manner as is ſettled by ART. III.

ART. VII. For the national viſits at *Hougly*, the director ſhall, each time, be allowed to charge to the Company five or ſix hundred gilders.

ART. VIII. The fiſcal ſhall have one-half of all inter-

cepted and confiſcated contraband goods, provided he ſatisfy the informers; and if the veſſels, guards, and ſervants employed in the revenue-ſervice, amount to much more than three thouſand gilders, the excedent ſhall be borne by him.

SECTION XVI. *Of* COROMANDEL.

ART. I. The fiſcals ſhall henceforward have one-half of all intercepted and confiſcated contraband goods, provided they ſatisfy the informers, and pay the neceſſary guards and ſervants out of their own pockets.

ART. II. Upon nilly, caliatourwood, and whatever elſe the adminiſtrators do not purchaſe themſelves at fixed prices, but which is provided by others, they ſhall receive from the provider five per cent, either in overweight, overmeaſure, or in money; further, one per cent more upon caliatourwood, becauſe it muſt be ſhipped off with that allowance for draft; beſides which, two per cent ſhall be reckoned for loſs in weight by drying, and two per cent for ſawing, and the loſs occaſioned thereby; which is all that ſhall be allowed to be written off upon thoſe articles.

ART. III. For materials for packing, provided that the packages be duly furniſhed, the warehouſekeeper ſhall charge:

For a bale of committers, penaſcoes, boelangs, moorees, doepetys, ſailcloth, pattamarapoes, camboys, chintzes, tepoys, and the like, three dungarees of eight cobidos, ſix goenys, eight pounds of cordage, and two pounds of yarn; and if embaled in oilcloth, three gilders for the oilcloth, one gilder for cotton, and two ſtivers for ſealing-wax and oil.

For a bale of Guinea ſtuffs, ſalempores, parcalles, dungarees, betellees, chiavonys, &c. four dungarees, ſix goenys, nine pounds of cordage, and two pounds of yarn, or for the whole, ten gilders; item, for what is embaled in oilcloth *f.*4 10, for cotton, *f.*1 4, and for ſealingwax, &c. two ſtivers.

For a cheſt to pack chintzes, four Chineſe planks, and one pound of nails.

For packs of fiſhſkins, &c. four goenys, ſix pounds of cordage, and one pound of yarn.

For caſes of ſpices, upon opening and cloſing them, $\frac{1}{4}$ pound of nails, and $\frac{1}{16}$ dungarees.

For

For chefts of copper, ½ pound of nails, and for fealing of each cheft, eight pennings; item, two pennings for fealing of the bags.

For an oilcloth of eight cobidos, *f.*2 10.

For the goenys corpays, or covering-cloths which are uſed in the warehouſes, annually, at *Negapatnam*, *f.*200.

For the goeny-bags for yearly conſumption, *f.*500 at *Negapatnam*.

For ſtraw, to lay under the rice and pepper, annually, *f.*100; the charges of houſing and delivering, ſhall be charged in the ſame manner as heretofore.

ART. IV. The caſhiers of the ſouthern factories, ſhall charge—

for a hog of 100 pounds	*f.*10	0
and in the northern part of *Coromandel* . .	8	0
for an ox of 200 pounds	15	0
for each goat	1	5
for firewood, at *Negapatnam*, and *Portonovo*, per 1000	6	0
at *Sadraſpatnam*, per bundle . .	0	3
at *Palliacatta*, per bundle	0	2
in North *Coromandel*, per thony .	24	0

ART. V. The diſpenſier, upon purchaſing the oil, may take five per cent for himſelf, from the provider, either in meaſure or in money, charging the real price to the Company, and he ſhall, therefore, make good all undermeaſure, while the price muſt be given in, when neceſſary, or, at leaſt, once a year, to the council of polity; but it ſhall not be allowable, without expreſs orders from this government, to pay more than one pagoda of *f.*4 16, per ſeven meaſures, weighing 28 pounds.

ART. VI. The comptroller of equipment may furniſh the coir in the ſame manner as the diſpenſier of the oil, but not at a higher rate than 7 pagodas per 480 pounds.

ART. VII. The gunner may bring to account—

for a bundle of ſtraw	*f.*0	6
for 2½ tok poenak	0	10
for a buffalo	14	0
for charcoal, for making 100 pounds of gunpowder	7	0

ART. VIII. For the articles conſumed every year in the warehouſes, may be charged and written off, as follows;

for

	for goenys, carpays, or covering-cloths.	for little goeny-bags.	for ſtraw to lay under the rice and pepper.
at *Maſulipatnam*	*f.*100	*f.*100	*f.*20
at *Sadraſpatnam*	150	100	20
at *Palliacatta*	100	100	20
at *Portonovo*	50	60	10
at *Jaggernaikpoeram*	50	60	10
at *Bemelipatnam*	50	60	10.

ART. IX. The chief at *Portonovo*, and the caſhier there, may divide together what they can ſave out of the payment of the duties.

SECTION XVII. *Of* CEYLON.

ART. I. The head adminiſtrator, and the warehouſe-keepers, ſhall have five per cent upon the piecegoods ſold by auction, for guarantee of the money, two-thirds to the former, and one-third to the latter.

ART. II. The Company's ſervants ſhall have one-fourth of the import and export duties at *Colombo*, *Punto Gallo*, and at *Trinconomale*, but at no other places, which ſhall be diſtributed in the following manner, viz:

Of thoſe of *Colombo* and *Punto Gullo*

	100th parts
to the governor	24
to the head-adminiſtrator	8
to the deſſave of *Colombo*	3
to the major	3
to ſix merchants, each 3, thus	18
to twelve junior merchants at *Colombo*, each 1½, thus	18
to the comptroller of equipment at *Colombo*	1½
to the commandant of *Punto Gallo*	8
to the deſſave of *Punto Gallo*	3
to the ſecond of *Punto Gallo*	3
to one captain and five junior merchants, at *Punto Gallo*, each 1½, thus	9
to the comptroller of equipment at *Punto Gallo*	1
	100

Of thoſe of *Trinconomale*,

to the chief	50
to the ſecond	20
to the fiſcal	15
to the chief of the military	15
	100

ART.

ART. III. The governor ſhall have five, and the commiſſioners for farming the pearlbanks three, per cent, upon the amount thereof, provided they bring no charges to account, and make good their own expences; alſo upon the chancos-fiſhery, the governor ſhall have five, and the chief of *Manaar*, or *Tulucorin*, three per cent.

ART. IV. The governor ſhall alſo receive upon the areca warrants, one-fourth rixdollar per ammonam.

ART. V. On the other hand, all emoluments which were formerly enjoyed, either as coſtumado, pareſſe, or for any favours, offices, or titles, ſhall entirely ceaſe. Yet when titles of honour are beſtowed upon any of the natives, they ſhall pay ſomething for cuſtom, excluſive of a reaſonable charge for the act, to thoſe of the ſecretary's office, and a certain amount ſhall be fixed for each dignity, which ſhall be for the benefit of the poor of *Ceylon*. No dons, however, ſhall be created than among the proper caſtes, and thoſe who may now enjoy the title of don among the inferior caſtes, and eſpecially among the Pareas, ſhall be deprived of it.

ART. VI. The deſſave of *Colombo* ſhall, in particular, enjoy:

1. Small fines, not exceeding the amount of five rixdollars.

2. The dekkums *, which the inhabitants have, from ancient times, been bound to contribute, conſiſting of a few baſkets of lingaleſe ſugar, piſang, and other trifles, not exceeding the value of nine or ten rixdollars.

ART. VII. The chief of *Caliture* ſhall receive for the ferry there, five, ſix, or ſeven rixdollars per month, out of which the ferryman and rowers ſhall be maintained.

ART. VIII. The chief of *Negombo* ſhall enjoy:

1. The cuſtomary overmeaſure upon the areca, which is bought in ſmall quantities, out of which he ſhall make good the waſte; and the quarter rixdollar, formerly given to him upon each ammonam, ſhall be aboliſhed.

2. Five per cent upon the oil, upon furniſhing it to the Company at the purchaſe-price.

ART. IX. The chief of *Hangwelle* ſhall receive a rent of four rixdollars per annum, for a grove of cocoanut-trees, at *Old Hangwelle*.

* A ſpecies of tribute, equivalent to capitation-money.

ART.

ART. X. The chief of *Jaffnapatnam* ſhall enjoy:

1. Small fines, not exceeding the amount of ſix rixdollars; item, the forfeitures, detailed in the order reſpecting the narrowing or deſtroying of roads, being one-half rixdollar for the broad, and one-quarter rixdollar for the narrow, roads.

2. The contributions which the inhabitants of the diſtrict of *Wanny* yearly give to the deſſave out of their crop of nilly, excluſive of the tithes to the Company, as practiſed from time immemorial.

ART. XI. The thombo-keeper (receiver of the revenues), at *Jaffnapatnam*, ſhall take the ſeveral fees for regiſtering of acts of appointment of native officers, &c. ſpecified below—(then follows a ſpecification of ſuch fees and offices, comprized under eight heads).

ART. XII. The ſecretary at *Jaffnapatnam* ſhall receive the ſeveral dues upon all acts and documents appointed by the liſt of fees of the year 1709, renewed in 1744; as likewiſe ſome trifling fees for the acts of native ſervants, and licenſes granted there, according to ancient practice.

ART. XIII. The commandant of *Punto Gallo* ſhall enjoy the revenues of the village of *Himmene* granted to him, twelve pounds of fiſh per day for his table, according to the conditions of farm; and the pingos *, given by the chiefs of the villages, one pingo per week, together with ſuch other pingos as may be preſented voluntarily by others.

ART. XIV. The deſſave of *Mature* ſhall have:

1. What has of old been granted to him by the Company, conſiſting in the revenues of a village for proviſions, and the table-perquiſites, for which ſuch qualified ſervants, miniſters, &c. as come there ſhall be lodged and entertained; item, now and then a few trifles from individuals, of the value of two or three, or at the moſt ſix or ſeven, rixdollars.

2. Now and then ſuch ſmall fines of five or ſix rixdollars as may be impoſed upon natives of conſideration who miſbehave themſelves, and who may not, according to the laws and cuſtoms of the country be puniſhed with the cane or chiambok.

* Contributions towards furniſhing the table of the chief.

ART.

ART. XV. The ſecretary at *Punto Gallo*, ſhall have, beſides his fees for preparing of papers, and the profits of the office of venduemaſter, three pounds of fiſh per day, appointed to be given to him as chief of the fiſhers, by the conditions of the farm.

ART. XVI. The ſuperintendent of the diſtrict of *Punto Gallo*, ſhall have fifty rixdollars per annum, for travelling-expences, the paſſage-money at *Bentote*, two pounds of fiſh per day, ſuch occaſional pingos as do not amount in value to more than one-quarter rixdollar, &c.

ART. XVII. The chief at *Tutocorin* may keep for himſelf two pieces of cotton, of thoſe which ſhall have been preſented to him, by the merchants, regents, and other natives, as perquiſites, or fees.

ART. XVIII. To the chief of *Calpetty* is granted:

1. For each country-veſſel that arrives from *Coromandel*, four rixdollars, and from *Colombo*, *Jaffnapatnam*, or *Manaar*, two rixdollars.

2. For ſigning the paſſes of each country-veſſel that goes to *Coromandel*, *Jaffnapatnam*, or *Manaar*, one rixdollar.

3. For each of the four thonys of the Mooriſh fiſhers, and inhabitants there, that go out annually with paſſes, according to cuſtom, to fiſh, towards *Narecare*, two rixdollars.

4. For every thony laden with dried fiſh that goes from *Calpetty* to *Putulang*, one-half rixdollar.

5. For every thony going from *Calpetty* to *Putulang*, and which belongs to people of *Coromandel*, two rixdollars, for the firſt time.

6. The profits of the Company's garden, which have of old been given to the chiefs, for the purpoſe of lodging and entertaining the Company's ſervants who paſs by here, amounting to ten or twelve rixdollars per month.

7. Upon a good fiſhery, two or three rixdollars every year from each of the four thonys.

8. Two-thirds of the fines, the other third being for the benefit of the poor.

9. The Mooriſh, or Gentoo fiſhers, who are free from feudal ſervice, ſhall give to him every year, at the new year, a preſent conſiſting of cottons, or three or four rixdollars.

10. When areca-nuts are brought to *Putulang*, and delivered

livered to the Company, the merchants ſhall give two ſmall baſkets of thoſe nuts as a preſent.

11. Alſo one baſket of ſingelee-ſeed, when brought to *Putulang*.

12. The boatmen that come from the coaſt, ſhall give, according to ancient cuſtom, a ſmall part of their cargo, alſo a baſket with rice or nilly.

13. The fiſhers ſhall give, according to ancient cuſtom, eight pounds of fiſh per day; and, laſtly, when a thony comes from *Putulang*, with grain or other proviſions, they ſhall give, as a preſent, a bunch of 100 betel-leaves, and two rolls of jaggree-ſugar.

ART. XIX. The chief of *Manaar* ſhall enjoy:

1. The uſual contribution, for renewal of the paſſes of all the country-veſſels which paſs through the ſtraits there, in order to lodge and entertain ſuch of the Company's ſervants as may travel that way.

2. Of the certificates which are given by the ſecretary there for ſome of the Coromandel ſlaves brought by the boatmen, one-half rixdollar per head.

3. For the beaſts of burthen, ſold by the inhabitants there to thoſe of *Jaffnapatnam*, four ſtivers.

4. For permiſſion to the coaſt-boatmen, or to the inhabitants, for the free purchaſe of ſingelee-ſeed in the village of *Bengale*, from three to ſix rixdollars, according to the quantity intended to be purchaſed.

5. Fines, of from three to ſix rixdollars, and not higher.

6. The boatmen of other places, on paſſing *Manaar*, ſhall give, according to cuſtom, ſomething out of their cargo, as a preſent.

ART. XX. Servants ſent out of the iſland, or going into the interior parts, ſhall, according to the order of the 18th of October, 1748, receive double wages, during the time of their commiſſion, and no more; excepting, however, thoſe who are deputed to the pearl-fiſhery, to whom nothing extraordinary ſhall be given.

ART. XXI. The commandant of *Jaffnapatnam* ſhall receive:

1. Upon the death, miſconduct, or diſmiſſion of a majoraal, cajaal, or pattangatje*, and the appointment of

* Titles of native chiefs of villages, of whom the majoraal is the chief.

new

new ones, ten rixdollars from a majoraal, five from a cajaal, and ſo on, in proportion.

2. When permiſſion is given for the exportation of cocoanuts, or palm-laths, the exporters ſhall give, according to cuſtom, one-half rixdollar; in order to encourage the importation of nilly from the oppoſite ſhore.

3. When any coaſt-boatmen, arriving at *Punto Pedro*, with a cargo of nilly, requeſt to break bulk, on account of the want of grain there, or for other reaſons which compel them thereto, they ſhall pay, for an acknowledgment, twenty-five rixdollars for each veſſel.

ART. XXII. The reſpective fiſcals of this government ſhall, henceforward, have one-half of all the intercepted and confiſcated contraband goods, provided they ſatisfy the informers, and pay the neceſſary guards and ſervants out of their own pockets.

SECTION XVIII. *Of* MALABAR.

The commandant ſhall have one per cent upon all goods imported and exported by private perſons, to be reckoned upon the ſales of the former, and invoices of the latter.

SECTION XIX. *Of* SURAT.

ART. I. The director ſhall have:

1. One-fourth per cent upon all monies paid or received, for purchaſe or ſale, from the ſeller or buyer.

2. One per cent upon all goods imported and exported by private perſons, to be reckoned upon the ſales of the former, and invoices of the latter.

3. One-half per cent upon all privileged goods.

But, on the other hand, the daily charges of the durbar, ſhall be made good by himſelf.

4. He ſhall receive ſix thouſand gilders at once, every year, and no more, for the native peons and ſervants, including their board-wages, while the director is abſent from the lodge.

ART. II. The ſecond ſhall receive one-fourth per cent upon all monies which are diſburſed for the purchaſe of goods.

ART. III. The fiſcal ſhall have:

1. One-half per cent upon all goods imported and exported

ported by private perſons, to be reckoned upon the ſales of the former, and invoices of the latter.

2. Alſo one-half per cent upon all privilege goods.

3. One-half of all intercepted and confiſcated contraband goods, provided he ſatisfy the informers, and pay the neceſſary guards and ſervants out of his own pocket.

ART. IV. The military ſhall collectively receive—

125 pounds of pepper every year
120 maunds (or *f.*30 for) firewood
10 ditto (or 6 for) ſalt and } per month.
10 pots (or 12 for) vinegar

The commanders of veſſels, the ſmith, the cooper, the provoſt, and the gunner, ſhall receive in the ſame proportion as the military, or ten ſtivers per man, per month.

Each chamber ſhall have, for night-uſe, ſix pounds of oil per month.

Neither ſeamen or ſoldiers, and much leſs the native ſoldiers, ſhall be allowed any extra wages or board.

ART. V. The warehouſekeeper ſhall have, upon all weighable goods that are purchaſed, the overweight, which muſt be made good by the deliverer, namely—

upon cotton, five pounds per candil, or two-thirds per cent;
upon cotton-yarn, one per cent;
upon indigo, one and a half per cent;
upon wheat, two per cent;
upon caſhoo, one and a half per cent;
upon ſealingwax, one per cent;
upon ſoap, two per cent;
upon poetsjok, galls olibanum, falſe amber, borax, and ſuch goods as are imported from abroad, nothing; but upon all others in proportion.

2dly, For weigh-money, ſeven ſtivers and a half per candil, of all weighable goods bought and ſold.

3dly, What he can ſave out of the undermentioned allowances:

1. For keeping in repair the tent for the piecegoods, with its appurtenances, *f.*825 per annum.

2. For 2000 Bengal goeny-bags, ſo as they are uſed, *f.*525.

3. For charges upon receipt of goods for the ſubordinate factories, when received by water, *f.*1 10, for ſix bales

bales of piecegoods, and twelve bales of cotton-yarn, or indigo.

4. For ditto, when received by land, *f.*1 10, for thirty-two of the former, and ſixty-four of the latter.

5. For charges upon examining the goods that come from the ſubordinate factories, *f.*11 4—for every package that is really opened.

6. For charges upon removing the goods from the lodge or warehouſes to the tent, *f.*1 10—in the ſame manner as by No. 3.

7. For ditto, when removed again for ſome cauſe or other, to the warehouſes, *f.*1 10—in the ſame manner as by No. 4.

8. For charges upon chiapping the goods, fifteen ſtivers for every package that is opened and chiapped.

9. For charges upon weighing the packs, bales, and boxes, 32 for *f.*1 10.

10. For charges upon ſhipping ditto, *f.*1 10—for ſix bales of piecegoods, and twelve bales of cotton-yarn and indigo.

11. For charges upon landing, ſorting, weighing, and entering of the commodities imported, eighteen ſtivers and twelve pennings per candil of 690 pounds.

12. For charges upon unloading of cheſts, boxes, &c. and carrying them into the latty, *f.*1 2 8.

13. For charges upon weighing out the commodities imported, either out of the latty, or out of the warehouſes, *f.*1 10.

14. For charges upon conveying of goods out of the latty into the warehouſes, and houſing and ſtowing of them there, *f.*1 10.

15. For conveying of cheſts and boxes from the latty to the warehouſes, one with another, for each, *f.*1 2 8.

16. For charges on garbling 100*lbs.* nutmegs, nine ſtivers and ſix pennings.

17. For charges incurred at the annual viſitation and inventory of the warehouſes, *f.*22 10.

18. For charges upon transferring of warehouſes, *f.*45.

19. For charges upon weighing and receiving indigo, poetsjok, falſe amber, olibanum, myrrh, borax, gum, galls, &c. eleven ſtivers and four pennings per 100 pounds.

20. For all other ſmall charges relative to his department, and not included in the above, *f.*19 per annum.

21. For packing and embaling of every bale, one with another, provided they are not too ſmall, and that with reſpect to the largeſt, no package ſhall exceed 500 pounds in weight.

Againſt which he ſhall have to pay out of his own pocket—

a. The native weighers;

b. A native, for the purpoſe of keeping note of the cooleyhire, &c.

ART. VI. The ſecretary ſhall have, beſides the ſettled fees for the preparing of documents—

for the ſea-letter of a ſhip or veſſel of more than 800 candil, *f.*75;

for ditto, under 800 candil, *f.*37 10;

of which, however, he ſhall give one-third to the firſt ſworn clerk.

ART. VII. The factors, or chiefs of the ſubordinate factories, ſhall have what they can ſave—

1. Out of the three hundred gilders per month paid for ordinary and extraordinary charges, in which, however, are not included the cuſtomary annual preſent, paper, pens, and medicines, nor the charges of the durbar, which laſt are to be borne by the broker, or agent, and the others by the Company.

2. Out of the charges in the invoices, or properly charges upon merchandize, which are fixed at one and a half per cent.

3. Out of the charges upon packing and embaling the goods ſent off, which are to be regulated in the ſame manner as is detailed in ART. V. No. 21. with reſpect to the warehouſekeeper at *Surat*.

Of all which emoluments they ſhall have to give one-third to the ſeconds in their reſpective factories.

ART. VIII. The comptroller of equipment ſhall have—

1. What he can ſave for himſelf upon receiving;

a. For the monthly expences of the Company's veſſels, or the wages, proviſions, &c. of the ſeamen ſerving therein, including candles and other ſmall articles, viz.

For fourteen hands employed therein, during the rainy ſeaſon, or from the 1ſt of July, to the middle of Auguſt, *f.*142 10 per month.

For

For thirty-two hands, from the end of Auguſt till the ſhips arrive, including the ſchooner to look out, *f.*414 per month.

For ſixty-five hands, during the time the ſhips are here, or from their arrival till the end of May, *f.*840 per month.

And the laſtmentioned *f.*840 is to be calculated as follows:

for a ſchooner with ten hands . . .	*f.*130	10
for four veſſels with nine hands, each *f.*117 or	468	
for a horry with eight hands	103	10
for a country-boat with eleven hands .	138	
	*f.*840	

8. For keeping the ſame under cover as the Company are accuſtomed, viz.

for a ſchooner, *f.*90—every year
for a horry, *f.*30—ditto
for a country-boat, &c. *f.*30—ditto.

2. For keeping in repair the ciſtern-ropes in the Company's garden, *f.*36 per annum.

3. Five per cent upon the expences of keeping in repair, the leathern bags for the ciſterns, the leathern pipes for the fire-engine, and fifty fire-buckets, and for repairing the roofs, &c. of the Company's outhouſes, &c. provided he charges only the real coſt, and renders a yearly account thereof to the council of polity.

4. For the bamboos, brooms, earthen pots, &c. required for the ſervice of the Company's garden and wharf, 65 rupees, or *f.*97 10.

5. For the ballaſt wanted, viz.

for a horry of 20 laſts, *f.*15.
for one of 15 ditto, 12.

6. For heightening the Company's garden, as allowed by letter of the 20th of Auguſt, 1754, *f.*37 10 per annum.

7. For baſkets for putting on board the ballaſt, to each veſſel, *f.*6 15.

8. For ſieves for the ballaſt, *f.*4 10 per annum.

9. For all other goods wanted in his department, either for the equipment of veſſels, or for the reparation of the Company's buildings in the outer town, according

to the rates fixed by a price-current thereof, which ſhall be annually framed on the 1ſt of February, by the council of polity.

10. He ſhall likewiſe have, or elſe the perſons who go out to drag for anchors, one-fourth of the value of the anchors and grapnels belonging to private merchants, which ſhall be recovered, but nothing upon thoſe belonging to the Company.

And, on the other hand, he ſhall be bound—

1ſt, To render a proper account every year.

2dly, To keep every thing in due order.

3dly, To charge nothing for cooley-hire, &c. but to have all labour done by the ſeamen in the ſervice of the Company.

ART. IX. The diſpenſier, or purveyor, ſhall have what he can ſave upon being paid—

1. For the monthly keep of a horſe, *f.*22 10.

2. For keeping a carriage, *f.*18 per month.

3. For keeping a draught-ox, *f.*15 per month.

4. For the monthly charges of the ſtable, agreeable to the letter of the 20th of Auguſt, 1754, *f.*21.

5. For providing the offices with ſealingwax, ink, ſand, and tape, *f.*5 per month.

6. For keeping in repair the great ciſtern before the lodge, with the appurtenances thereof, alſo according to the ſaid letter of the 20th of Auguſt, 1754, *f.*97 10 per annum.

7. For keeping in repair all the water-bags for the draught-oxen; item, the leathern buckets, ropes, &c. belonging thereto; *f.*60 per annum.

8. For keeping the fire-engine in order, together with the leathern pipe, and buckets, the real coſt ſhall be charged, and he ſhall receive thereon five per cent, alſo, agreeable to the ſaid letter.

9. For charges to the keepers of the church, for brooms, baſkets, pots, &c. *f.*27 per annum.

10. For tinning and repairing the kitchen-utenſils of the director, penniſts, and military, *f.*27 per four months.

11. For ſtarch, for binding of books, *f.*15 per annum.

12. For heightening and ſmoothing the ſtreets in the city, according to the abovementioned letter of the 20th of Auguſt, 1754, *f.*37 10 per annum.

13. For keeping the roofs, &c. of the Company's own and hired buildings in repair, repairing the hearths and

and chimnies, &c. the real coſt ſhall be charged, and he ſhall receive thereon five per cent, with the ſame clauſe as is inſerted in No. 3. of the laſt article, with reſpect to the comptroller of equipment.

14. For every ox, or cow, which he furniſhes to the ſhips for refreſhment, including all charges, *f.*18.

15. For every baſket of greens, *f.*1 13 12.

16. For all other goods required in his department, the ſame as the comptroller of equipment, by ART. VIII. No. 9.

And, on the other hand, he ſhall be bound, to keep every thing in due order, and to render account annually to the council of polity.

ART. X. The head-ſurgeon ſhall receive for board of the ſick in the hoſpital, nine ſtivers per day per head, provided that nothing more be charged to the Company for them, and that he provide the cribs in the hoſpital for the ſervice of the ſick.

ART. XI. Thoſe who are now and then employed in convoying the country-veſſels to *Cambaya*, *Baroche*, *Baunagra*, &c. and command, for that purpoſe, the Company's ſchooners and horrys, on account of the number of pirates ſwarming in theſe ſeas, ſhall have one-fourth of the freight which they can, on ſuch occaſions, earn by the Company's veſſels, according to the allowance granted by letter of the 20th of Auguſt, 1751.

In the caſtle at *Batavia*, the 31ſt of May, 1755.

No. III.

REGULATION

Reſpecting the receipt and delivery of ſhips' cargoes, as well at *Batavia*, as at the reſpective out-factories, with what relates thereto,

ART. I. The commanding officers of ſhips ſhall, to prevent ill treatment on one ſide, and unfounded complaints on the other, be always themſelves preſent at the receipt of goods on board their ſhips out of the Company's warehouſes, or delivery thereof into them, and look to what they receive, as well with reſpect to qua-

lity as to quantity, for the commanders ſhall be equally liable for the inferior quality, or bad condition of the goods, as for any deficiency in the quantity; and if, by indiſpoſition, or for other ſufficient reaſons, they are not able to be themſelves preſent, they ſhall appoint thereto a lieutenant or mate, or other perſon in whoſe fidelity and attention they can confide. And even if they, or, as beforeſaid, thoſe who may be placed in their ſtead, declare that they will receive any thing upon the word and good faith of thoſe who have to ſhip them, yet it ſhall not be allowed them ſo to do.

ART. II. When they receive any thing, it ſhall accurately be noted down, and ſpecially inſerted in the bill of loading, that the ſhipment is made by groſs or neat weight, by weight, meaſure, or tale; likewiſe what tare is reckoned upon each box, bag, &c. and how much has been weighed at once, in order that care may be taken at the delivery, that no goods be required of them in any other mode than they may have received them.

ART. III. Each weigh ſhall not be taken at more than five or ſix hundred pounds, and the ſcale ſhall rather preponderate in favour of the goods than of the weights, and the overweights noted in the bills of loading ſhall be accounted for.

ART. IV. Gold and ſilver, either in bullion or in coin, ſhall be delivered to the ſhips' commanders in bars, or in ſpecie, by tale and by weight, and likewiſe be ſo delivered out by them, although it ſhall be conveyed, as cuſtomary, in cheſts, which ſhall be locked and ſealed, and of which the keys ſhall be ſealed up ſeparately, and ſent with them, provided that at the delivery out, care be taken that as many bars or pieces be placed at once upon the ſcale, as at the receipt, and which ſhall equally be inſerted in the bills of loading.

ART. V. In the ſame manner the commanders of ſhips ſhall receive iron, copper, tin, tutenague, lead, ſugar, grain, pepper, and other weighable articles, by their net weights, and deliver them out ſo again.

ART. VI. All kinds of piecegoods muſt equally be weighed by ſingle packages, and deſcribed upon the outermoſt goeny, on the ſide, where the pieces and aſſortment are not ſpecified, in order that the packages, cheſts, and bales, of piecegoods, be not only delivered reſpectively to the ſhips' commanders, and to the warehouſekeeper,

houſekeeper, by tale, and by aſſortment, but likewiſe by weight.

ART. VII. But all packages, bales, cheſts, and boxes, with coarſe and fine cottons, gold and ſilver, cloth and lace, velvets, woollens, and other manufactures, ſilk, and ſilk cloths, ſtationary, curioſities, toys, as likewiſe the baſkets and caſks of camphor, colours, nails, &c. the bottles or jars of quickſilver; and in ſhort, all ſuch goods, which, according to the order included in ART. XXI. are packed up, and properly embaled, as well as appearing outwardly in good condition, ſhall only be weighed by groſs weight, and the weight ſpecified thereon, and ſo delivered to the ſhips' commanders, who ſhall nevertheleſs have leave, if any one of thoſe packs, bales, or other package, appear in the leaſt ſuſpicious to them, to have them opened, in order, by examination, to find out what may be the reaſon thereof, although it ſhall be ſufficient for their reſponſibility, that they deliver them unopened and well conditioned, by groſs weight, according to the bill of loading, or note of weight, to be given with each veſſel.

ART. VIII. And in caſe ſuch bales, caſes, &c. as have been carefully and properly ſtowed, and which appear outwardly in good condition, that is to ſay, that the weight agrees, and the bagging, cordage, and ſeals of the packages, are ſound and unbroken, any articles be found defective, or ſhort, the amount thereof, and the loſs thence enſuing, ſhall be for account of the packers or diſpatchers, namely, one-half for the adminiſtrators, and one-half for the commiſſioners in the warehouſes.

ART. IX. But if the packages be not found in good condition, or that they do not agree in groſs weight, with the groſs weight when ſhipped, or that they have not been carefully and properly ſtowed, then the commanders of the veſſels ſhall be liable for what is ſpoiled or wanting, and ſhall be charged on account for the ſame, at the ſelling-price.

ART. X. Yet the warehouſekeepers, or adminiſtrators, ſhall in no wiſe be allowed to receive the damaged bales, &c. unopened into their warehouſes; but they ſhall be obliged, immediately on their arrival, to open, unpack, and examine them, in the preſence of the ſhip's commander, and of commiſſioners ſpecially appointed thereto, who ſhall make an exact and detailed report of the reſult, in order that the ſhip's commander may be accordingly

made liable, or liberated from being reſponſible for the damage and loſs.

ART. XI. In the ſame manner they ſhall not be at liberty to open any ſound or undamaged packages, &c. by themſelves, upon pain of being made anſwerable for whatever may be found ſhort, or ſpoiled, but the ſame ſhall equally be done in the preſence of the ſhip's commander, if he can be found, and of ſpecial commiſſioners, who ſhall have to weigh them immediately on arrival, and note down, if they find any difference with the groſs weight, according to the note of ſhipment, and upon diſcovering any diminution, or damage, they ſhall make an affidavit thereof, which ſhall be laid before, or ſent up to, this government, together with the note of ſhipment.

ART. XII. The commiſſioners ſhall thus ſtand as umpires between the receiver and deliverer; and no others ſhall therefore be appointed to that office, than perſons of unqueſtioned honour, who ſhall, at the ſame time, poſſeſs ſufficient knowledge and ability to diſtinguiſh truly, whether each party be properly dealt by, and whether the articles, which the adminiſtrators may chooſe to conſider as defective or damaged, are really, and *bona fide*, defective and damaged.

ART. XIII. With reſpect to the ſhipment and delivery of the four chief ſpices, viz. cloves, nutmegs, mace, and cinnamon, the orders ſucceſſively iſſued on that ſubject, ſhall continue to be obſerved.

ART. XIV. When moiſt or wet cloves, or nutmegs, are landed, all the caſes ſhall be ſeparately weighed by commiſſioners appointed thereto, who ſhall ſpecify, in their report, how much more they weigh than by the invoice, and how much the tares of the caſes are more or leſs, then ſuch cloves or nutmegs ſhall be ſpread out, for twice the ſpace of ſix hours, in the ſun, to dry, and the day after the drying has been completed, they ſhall be reweighed, and put into the caſes again, and the real underweight, if ſuch be found to be the caſe, ſhall be calculated, and acted upon accordingly; they ſhall afterwards be placed upon ſtands, in dry warehouſes, with ſalt, and not water, in the troughs placed under them; moreover, the ſhips' commanders ſhall be required to render an account how the ſaid moiſture occurred, and the deciſion ſhall be referred to the council of India, together with ſuch conſiderations as may occur on the ſubject; without any prejudice to the proſecution of the

fiſcal,

fiſcal, and immediate indemnification at the ſelling-prices, if any fraud be found to have been committed therein.

ART. XV. But with reſpect to wine, ſpirits, and other liquids, in caſks, it is hereby ordered, that no caſks ſhall be delivered to the ſhips, or ſent from here, but what contain the following quantity of cans, and are branded accordingly, namely:

a whole leager	400 cans	of ten *muts* each can.
a half ditto	200 ditto	
a whole awm	100 ditto	
a half ditto	50 ditto	
a beer-caſk	110 ditto	

ART. XVI. The above caſks ſhall be delivered to the ſhips' commanders, in good condition, and full, who ſhall be allowed for carrying them over, ſuch diminution as is ſettled by the regulation reſpecting the offreckoning of underweights, &c. dated the 15th of Auguſt, 1752.

ART. XVII. But the diminutions upon caſks, allowed by the abovementioned regulation to the reſpective adminiſtrators, are hereby annulled, and, inſtead thereof, they ſhall only be required to make good;

	At *Batavia* and *Ceylon*.	At the other Factories.
for one whole leager . . cans	363	360
for one half ditto	180	180
for one whole awm	90	90
for one half ditto	45	45
for one caſk of beer	100	100
for one barrel of beef . pounds	420	400
for one ditto of pork	340	320
for one ditto of butter	320	310
and for one pot of Bengal butter, at *Batavia*, and other places where it is brought direct from *Bengal*, 10 pounds leſs, and at factories which receive it from *Batavia*, or at ſecond hand, 20 pounds leſs, than it has been ſhipped for from *Bengal*, which is at preſent, 150 pounds, thus . .	140	130

ART. XVIII. What is given to the ſhips for their conſumption, ſhall be accounted for by the commanders, in the ſame manner as detailed above, with regard to the reſpective factories, excluſive of *Ceylon*, without any furtheroff reckoning.

ART.

ART. XIX. And in order that the ſhips' commanders may not allege that they have received bad liquor for good, without foundation, they ſhall have, upon receipt thereof, to taſte the liquor themſelves, together with the commiſſioners.

ART. XX. No caſks ſhall be unladen before they have been examined, guaged, and taſted, while lying in the tier, by commiſſioners acquainted with the articles, and who ſhall give a declaration of the ſtowage and condition thereof; for if the goods be found not to have been properly ſtowed in the hold, the ſhip's commander ſhall be anſwerable for the damage accruing thereby; and nothing ſhall be written off, for loſt, broken, or damaged goods, unleſs it appear, by ſuch a declaration, that they have been properly ſtowed, and that the XXIVth article hereof has been ſtrictly followed.

ART. XXI. At the packing up of the goods, which the ſhips' commanders, agreeable to ART. VII. receive and deliver by groſs weight, not only two ſpecial commiſſioners ſhall be preſent, but the warehouſekeepers ſhall likewiſe have to put into each pack, caſe, or cheſt, a note ſigned by them, and by the commiſſioners, ſpecifying the quantity of goods actually packed therein; and it will be ſufficient, that the adminiſtrators render account according to thoſe notes, although a larger quantity may appear upon the invoice, provided they give immediate advice of ſuch difference, where and how it behooves.

ART. XXII. For further ſecurity, they ſhall have to ſeal all packs, cheſts, and caſes of finer wares, namely, the cheſts and caſes with a croſs-cord, and the packs or bales by means of an inner bag under the goeny, as has been cuſtomary of old.

ART. XXIII. And if in ſuch packs, caſes, or cheſts, any thing be found defective or ſhort, the indemnification thereof ſhall be borne by the warehouſekeeper, or warehouſekeepers, together with the commiſſioners, of the place where the ſhipment was made, each one half, agreeable to ART. VIII.

ART. XXIV. Upon the diſpatch of the goods from the ſhore, after the perſon that receives them there has ſigned a receipt for them, in the ſhipment-book of the warehouſe, a ſealed and ſigned note ſhall be given to each lighter or boat, in which the weight, the number, and marks, and numbers of the packs, cheſts, and caſes, ſhall be

be ſeparately ſpecified; and if any thing be found upon reweighing on board, and confrontation with the note of ſhipment, not to agree therewith, or that it appears that any thing have become wet, been pilfered, or damaged in any way, then the perſon who may have the command on board, to whom the notes of ſhipment are directed, ſhall not only inſtantly give intimation thereof, to his captain, and to the people on ſhore, in order that the cauſe of ſuch damage or deficiency be immediately diſcovered; but likewiſe, he ſhall, if neceſſary, have a ſufficient declaration drawn up by the officers on board, reſpecting the ſituation of the goods; and ſuch commanding officer, ſhall, if guilty of neglect or ſilence in ſuch caſes, be anſwerable for the loſs which the Company may incur in conſequence.

ART. XXV. The ſame ſhall take place upon redelivery of the goods from on board; when the firſt lieutenant, or mate, or he that fills that ſtation, ſhall duly weigh off to the quartermaſters or headmen of the lighters, or boats, all packs, cheſts, and caſes, which are diſcharged, and make an accurate note thereof, which ſhall be ſigned by the perſon who delivers out the goods, and by him that receives them, ſealed, and ſo addreſſed to the adminiſtrator or warehouſekeeper, into whoſe charge the goods are to be committed; and it ſhall, therefore, be part of the duty of the adminiſtrators or warehouſekeepers, when every thing is delivered to them conformably to the note of diſcharge, to put thereto the word "received," over their ſignature, and upon diſcovering any difference between the contents of the note, and the number, weight, or condition of the packages, &c. to give immediate advice thereof to the ſenior merchants, or head-adminiſtrators, or ſuch as are thereto appointed, as likewiſe, in both caſes, to keep copies of the notes, in the warehouſes; and the quartermaſters, or headmen, of the lighters, or boats, ſhall be anſwerable for the defects which ſhall appear in the goods.

ART. XXVI. Saltpetre from *Bengal* muſt be ſhipped in double goeny-bags, and the goenys ſhall be delivered to the ſhips' commanders, not by bundles, but by tale, and be ſo inſerted in the bills of loading.

ART. XXVII. The commiſſioners in the warehouſes, and thoſe who receive goods, ſhall, upon their ſhipment by country-boats or veſſels, to be carried on board; firſt

firſt attentively examine the ſame, whether they are not leaky, and whether they are perfectly in a fit ſtate for conveying the goods; and finding any thing wrong, in this reſpect, they ſhall make the ſame known to the chief in command, in order that the ſame be provided for, upon pain that, if they neglect doing ſo, they ſhall be anſwerable for the conſequences, equally with the warehouſekeeper, and the comptroller of equipment who hires or provides the craft.

ART. XXVIII. Reſpecting the ſtowage within board, the ſhips' commanders ſhall have to take care, that the leaſt valuable goods be placed, under the cookroom, under the butlery, and near the mainmaſt; thoſe that are moſt valuable, as, gold and ſilver cloths, laces, &c. out of the hold, in the cabin; and that the pots of butter and caſks of oil be ſo ſtowed, that, upon any thing breaking, other goods may not be damaged thereby; and further, to take all poſſible precautions to prevent leakage, according to the tenor of the inſtructions of the aſſembly of ſeventeen on that head, dated the 13th of Auguſt, 1728, which ſhall always be conſidered as an appurtenance hereto; upon pain, that if the contrary take place, they ſhall be obliged to make good all the loſs, or damage, that may accrue thereby.

ART. XXIX. Due time ſhall be given to the ſhips' commanders after receipt of their cargoes, to be able to examine whether they have actually received what they muſt ſign bills of loading for; which it ſhall be the buſineſs of the ſenior merchants of the caſtle to attend to, at this place, and of the reſpective chiefs, and head adminiſtrators, at the out-factories.

ART. XXX. The ſhips' commanders, their officers, and crews, and the adminiſtrators, or warehouſekeepers, and their ſervants, ſhall not only behave towards each other with all proper and practicable civility and good manners, but ſhall alſo act with good faith and equity towards each other, inſomuch, that, neither ſhall any fraud or deceit be practiſed on either ſide, nor any attempt be made, or occaſion or conſent be given thereto.

ART. XXXI. And if any one act otherwiſe, either on ſhore, or on board, as, filling up of liquors with water, moiſtening the pepper, ſpices, cochineal, or other dry articles, or placing in or near them, oil, or wet goods, of any kind, the ſame ſhall be ſubject to corporal puniſhment, according to the circumſtances of the caſe.

ART.

ART. XXXII. But eſpecially and more ſeverely ſhall be puniſhed, thoſe who may make uſe of falſe meaſures, weights, beams, or ſcales, or even ſimply be in poſſeſſion of ſuch falſe inſtruments in their adminiſtrations; or thoſe who meaſure or weigh falſely, with good weights and meaſures. And the Commiſſioners themſelves ſhall not be excepted or exempted from the ſame penalties, if they can be proved to have had knowledge thereof, and not to have prevented, or given information of the ſame.

ART. XXXIII. And in order that the ſhips' commanders may be aſſured that they ſhall not be liable to make good any deficiency that may ariſe from a difference between the weights uſed in one factory, and thoſe uſed in another, which might prove of great prejudice to them, particularly with regard to copper and tin, a fifty pounder of the weights by which they receive thoſe metals, ſhall always be put into a ſeparate box in their preſence, ſealed, and given with them; and at the factory whither they are bound, the ſame ſhall be opened in their preſence, compared with the weights there uſed, and upon diſcovery of any difference, the delivery ſhall be made in proportion thereto; after which it ſhall again be directly ſealed up, and ſent back.

ART. XXXIV. Moreover, all meaſures, weights, beams, and ſcales, which the adminiſtrators have in uſe, or in their adminiſtrations, ſhall be narrowly examined twice every year, and compared with the ſtandards kept by the ordinary maſters of aſſize, and ſpecial commiſſioners, who, upon finding any thing wrong, ſhall directly ſeal up whatever is defective, and give due information thereof, at the proper place.

ART. XXXV. And the commiſſioners deputed for ſuch ſemeſtral examination, ſhall have always to be mindful to examine whether the meaſures, weights, beams, and ſcales, are mended, or furniſhed with rings, &c. and to make mention, in their written report, both of the quantity and condition thereof; and in particular to ſet down whether the meaſures, weights, &c. are duly aſſized, of which notice ſhall always be taken, for their information of what they have to do, in the warrants iſſued to them for that purpoſe.

In the caſtle of *Batavia*, the 20th of Auguſt, 1753.

No. IV.

No. IV.

An account of the returns made to the United Provinces from the Eaſt-Indies, from the time the Dutch firſt traded thither, down to the year 1724, ſpecifying the number of ſhips every year, the invoice-amounts of their cargoes, and (from 1613 to 1713) the particular ſums for which the different chambers were intereſted therein:

Years.	Ships.	
1597	3	the *Maurice*, the *Hollandia*, and the *Duifken* (the *Pigeon*), arrived, the 10th of Auguſt, in the Texel, under the direction of Cornelius Houtman; but little profit was made upon this firſt adventure.
1599	4	laden with mace, nutmegs, cloves, cinnamon, and pepper.
1600	2	laden with ſpices.
	2	others with full cargoes.
1601	7	with full cargoes of pepper, &c.
	3	with mace, nutmegs, and cloves.
	4	with pepper, &c.
1603	5	moſtly laden with pepper, likewiſe ſome cloves, and mace, and alſo cubebs.
	3	with full cargoes of nutmegs, mace, and cloves.
	2	with full cargoes of pepper, &c.
1604	9	with full cargoes of ſpices, pepper, &c.
1605	7	with full cargoes of ſpices, cinnamon, &c.
	1	carack, a prize, valued at *f.*4,000,000.
1606	4	with full cargoes of cloves, &c.
	3	with full cargoes of pepper, &c.
1607	3	with full cargoes of pepper, &c.

(No. IV. continued.)

Years.	Ships.		Totals.
1608	5	with full cargoes of pepper, &c.	
	1	with a full cargo of cloves.	
1609	4	with full cargoes, conſiſting of ſpices, damaſks, &c.	
1610	1	with a full cargo of nutmegs and mace.	
	3 or 4	uncertain.	
1611	5	with full cargoes, conſiſting of pepper, indigo, ſilk, cotton-yarn, diamonds, &c.	
1612 } 1613 }	8 or 9	uncertain.	
		thus far the invoice-values of the cargoes are not exactly aſcertained; but are calculated, viz.	
		77 ſhips, each at leaſt *f.*100,000	*f.*7,700,000. 0. 0.
		the carack valued at	4,000,000. 0. 0.
		12 or 13, uncertain	1,400,000. 0. 0.
			*f.*13,100,000. 0. 0.

		Amſterdam.	Zeland.	Delft.	Rotterdam.	Horn.	Enkhuizen.	
1614	2	268,963. 18. 4.	164,562. 5. 12.	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	433,526. 4. 0.
1615	5	360,509. 0. 3.	. . . .	127,180. 11. 10	23,982. 6. 12.	. . . .	. . . .	511,672. 4. 9.
1616	5	341,166. 8. 7.	32,448. 16. 14.	. . . .	192,448. 12. 9.	. . . .	. . . .	566,063. 17. 14.
1617	4	207,497. 16. 10.	189,488. 0. 0.	39,786. 17. 8.	. . . .	136,414. 9. 3.	. . . .	573,007. 4. 0.
1618	8	681,142. 13. 1.	378,760. 16. 7.	. . . .	. . . .	56,526. 2. 10.	189,114. 7. 1.	1,305,543. 19. 3.
1619	5	310,273. 18. 6.	301,675. 2. 1.	461,997. 16. 9.	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	1,074,046. 17. 0.
1620	6	489,864. 0. 3.	214,262. 15. 11	. . . .	233,009. 0. 1.	. . . .	. . . .	913,136. 15. 15.
1621	6	772,653. 1. 4.	118,121. 7. 8.	. . . .	. . . .	203,255. 12. 13.	. . . .	1,094,030. 1. 9.
1624	8	743,188. 2. 14.	675,313. 9. 8.	. . . .	. . . .	150,298. 19. 9.	228,100. 0. 0.	1,776,992. 4. 15.
1623	8	645,024. 15. 11.	230,360. 6. 6.	229,606. 13. 0	250,933. 9. 12.	. . . .	245,984. 5. 0.	2,301,909. 9. 13.

(No. IV. continued.)

Years.	Ships.	Amsterdam.	Zealand.	Delft.	Rotterdam.	Horn.	Enkhuizen.	Totals.
1624	6	364,812. 13. 13.	109,310. 18. 14	358,711. 18. 2.	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	832,835. 10. 13.
1625	4	716,696. 15. 14.	266,763. 17. 11.	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	983,460. 13. 9.
1626	10	1,167,735. 19. 3.	. . . .	112,224. 15. 8.	293,421. 18. 6.	263,193. 0. 14.	89,443. 5. 0.	1,926,018. 18. 15.
1627	7	904,166. 19. 5.	610,609. 11. 13.	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	233,322. 15. 12.	1,748 099. 6. 14.
1628	7	1,127,590. 13. 12.	431,033. 4. 12.	337,771. 7. 14.	88,622. 3. 4.	65,349. 14. 3	. . . .	2,050,367. 3. 13.
1629	7	663,865. 7. 4	294,731. 5. 1	. . . .	121,606. 14. 12	. . . .	52,059. 13. 8	1,132,263. 0. 9.
1630	9	1,196,787. 5. 7.	581,424. 16. 3	373,482. 7. 3	298,409. 19. 15.	91,110. 15. 8.	. . . .	2,541,215. 4. 4.
1631	7	947,576. 3. 6	289,880. 10. 13	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	269,212. 2. 9.	1,506,668. 16. 12.
1632	7	1,228 832. 17. 2.	800,700. 3. 12.	. . . .	. . . .	70,239. 2. 6.	. . . .	2,099 772. 3. 4.
1633	7	1,182,428. 15. 8	347,905. 13. 10	. . . .	166,063. 15. 8.	165,010. 17. 10.	. . . .	1,861,409. 2. 4.
1634	7	956,525. 11. 5.	563,489. 15. 9	194,399. 13. 8.	. . . .	. . . .	232,854. 18. 14	1,947.269. 19. 4.
1635	6	1,443,827. 16. 6	401,775. 0. 5	204,433. 14. 4.	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	2,050,036. 10. 15.
1636	8	1,094,387. 8. 10	524,355. 0. 11.	. . . .	136,413. 10. 11.	140,193. 8. 7.	. . . .	1,895,349. 8. 7.
1637	8	1,557,838. 11. 9.	721,867. 6. 14	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	393,494. 12. 3.	2,673,200. 10. 10.
1638	7	1,051,973. 0. 10.	270,730. 10. 9	168,440. 11. 7.	. . . .	178,926. 9. 13	. . . .	1,670 070. 12. 7.
1639	8	1 513.732. 14. 14	1,149,549. 6. 10	. . . .	416,130. 11. 10.	. . . .	. . . .	3,079.412. 13 2.
1640	10	1,284,035. 5. 7.	568,744. 18. 10	136,684. 10. 8.	. . . .	227,599. 18. 12	325,340. 8. 4	2,842 405. 1. 9.
1641	10	1,605,562. 13. 12.	753,087. 13. 6	. . . .	152,701. 9. 7	98,571. 17. 1	296,193. 4. 1.	2,906,116. 17. 11.
1642	9	2.210,289. 14. 5.	865.531. 3. 13	. . . .	. . . .	409,370. 16. 4	. . . .	3,485.191. 14. 6.
1643	10	1,345.763. 18. 10.	658,376. 19. 1	359,071. 12. 3.	249,587. 0. 10	474,009. 13. 0.	241,073. 1. 13.	3,227,882. 5. 5.
1644	7	715,048. 19. 9.	766,942. 8. 15	. . . .	. . . .	330,927. 12. 15	257,747. 8. 14.	2,070,666. 10. 5.
1645	8	1,672,108. 19. 5.	877,639. 5. 6	372,058. 3. 0	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	2,921,806. 7. 11.
1646	9	1,102,668. 11. 6.	602.816. 0. 10.	. . . .	307,569. 19. 5	289,925. 14. 14	226.630. 3. 15	2,529,610. 10 2.
1647	10	1,120,414. 11. 8.	524,888. 10. 14	185,699. 17. 12.	. . . .	173,704. 12. 9.	146.324. 18. 6.	2,151,032. 11. 1.
1648	12	803,982. 11. 11.	513,239. 13. 11.	239,629. 18. 10.	203,836. 7. 3	166,022. 15. 13	146,919. 1. 8.	2,073,630 8. 8.
1649	9	1.214,552. 9. 4	560,270. 3. 2	155,877. 11. 9	312,406. 1. 5.	. . . .	. . . .	2,243,106. 5. 4.
1650	9	874,191. 13. 1.	415,688. 0. 7	. . . .	251,574. 2. 10	110,152. 17. 7	194,810. 15. 8.	1,946 417. 9. 1.
1651	11	1,253,949. 6. 10.	519,393. 16. 5	133,504. 19. 15.	257,232. 6. 8	246,007. 18. 0	189,902. 14. 7.	2,699,991. 1. 13.
1652	11	1,528,155. 18. 10	791.708. 15. 8	. . . .	267,612. 11. 3	225,960. 8. 8	. . . .	2,813,437. 13. 13.
1653	16	2,574,846. 18. 2.	1,344,125. 3. 0.	133,278. 5. 10.	231,029. 6. 13	117,080. 14. 4	144,878. 12. 10.	4,745,239. 0. 7.

(No. IV. continued.)

Years.	Ships.	Amsterdam.	Zealand.	Delft.	Rotterdam.	Horn.	Enkhuizen.	Totals.
1654	4	190,325. 1. 15.	88,122. 7. 5.	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	100,587. 10. 7	379,034. 19. 12.
1655	10							
among which one hired ship		1,208,540. 0. 1.	664,688. 14. 11.	288,282. 8. 12.	. . . .	305,601. 0. 9.	. . . .	2,467,112. 4. 2.
1656	10	1,525,189. 7. 4.	480,982. 6. 12.	151,041. 18. 0.	315,985. 18. 15	. . . .	238,714 11. 5	2,711,914. 2. 4.
1657	10	1,511,190. 13. 8.	831,680. 7. 11.	166,721. 18. 6	323,848. 4. 4	190,414. 5. 5.	. . . .	3,023,855. 9. 2.
1658	10	1,142,519. 6. 11	694,267. 13. 1	146,872. 9. 7	191,940. 9. 9	361,516. 12. 12.	466,158. 3. 3.	3,003,274. 14. 11
1659	10	651,923. 3. 6.	349,988. 8. 11.	202,700. 7. 12	142 837. 1. 5	213,762. 3. 10.	221,571. 11. 2	1,782,782. 15 14.
1660	11	1,494,086. 15. 8	691,669. 6. 0.	221,080. 9. 10	247,719. 10. 13	264,335. 13. 0	276,426. 16. 8	3,195,318. 11. 7.
1661	9	1,189,941. 13. 10	561,654. 12. 4	. . . .	169,187. 10. 0.	213,006. 16. 6.	. . . .	2,133,790. 12. 4.
1662	9	1,723,990. 7. 15.	819,038. 9. 3	371,968. 6. 3.	. . . .	. . . .	439,432. 12. 0.	3,354,428. 15. 5.
1663	10	1,760,642. 16. 1.	829,553. 4 11.	. . . .	333,979. 10. 7.	400,718. 11. 13.	. . . .	3,324,894. 3. 0.
1664	12	1,371,413. 4. 3.	679,467. 15. 14	255,106. 6. 5.	. . . .	. . . .	222,837. 10. 11	2,528,824. 17. 1.
1665	13	1,904,663. 10. 0.	919,297. 17. 13.	. . . .	386,122. 12. 2	438,407. 15. 3.	. . . .	3,648,491. 15. 2.
1666	7	645 846. 8. 15	317,114. 0. 13.	88,721. 1. 5	. . . .	. . . .	72,498. 18. 7	1,124,180. 9. 8.
1667	12	1,453,344. 2. 15.	817,793. 7. 9	195,537. 10. 15	266,545. 12. 13.	123,269. 17. 0.	262,569. 16. 4	3,119,060. 7. 8.
1668	16	1,801,499. 7. 14	578.864. 18. 1.	209,943. 14. 7	170,219. 1. 0.	268,129. 0. 14	127,026. 9. 6.	3,155,682. 11. 10.
1669	19	2,481,008. 6. 9	817,469. 13. 12.	218,138. 14. 13	205,520. 9. 7	160,989. 14. 15.	143,353. 18. 12.	4,026,480. 18. 4.
1670	19	2,545.996. 0. 15.	1,233,897. 17. 2.	213,638. 9. 1	312,624. 10. 3	281,732. 3. 1.	436,260. 15. 0.	5,024,149. 15. 6.
1671	18	2,444.344. 6. 7.	1,423,060. 11. 1	298,488. 12. 8	374.168. 14. 1.	248,480. 13. 7.	397,871. 8. 6.	5.186,414. 5. 14.
1672	15	1,558,550. 9. 14	1,134,039. 0. 11.	308,392. 19. 12.	373,660. 18. 11.	253,777. 17. 13	395,576. 16. 7.	4,023,998. 3. 4.
1673	7	383,636. 4. 1.	302,854. 13. 11	256,423. 18. 15.	168,643. 6. 9.	213,744. 3. 6.	263,014. 1. 1.	1,688,316. 7. 12.
1674	9	727,692. 1. 15.	535.570. 12. 8	135,167. 13. 13	126,099. 6. 12.	127,950. 15. 5	183,534. 9. 15.	1,836,015. 0. 4.
1675	14	1,836,355. 14. 7	792,691. 17. 14	210,177. 2. 8.	216.086. 19. 12	235,973. 16. 7.	258,232. 1. 8.	3,549,517. 12. 8.
1676	15	1,955,847. 3. 9.	1,030,463. 2. 4	280,655. 4. 6.	327,262. 3. 4	307,597. 11. 4	225,831. 5. 13.	4,127,656. 10. 8.
1677	15	1,726,825. 16. 14	808,003. 11. 12	206,847. 6. 10.	222,753. 18. 4	324,697. 4 11.	286,355. 5. 1	3,575,483. 3. 4.
1678	11	1,347,176. 3. 8	937,556. 14. 7.	70,019. 6. 1.	. . . .	. . . .	104,986. 10. 13.	2,459,738. 13. 13.
1679	12	1,751,877. 14. 13.	1,074,196. 3. 8.	238,738. 10. 9.	337,618. 12. 2	251,737. 12. 11	235,435. 19. 3	3,889,604. 12. 14.
1680	11	1,576,821. 3. 6.	1,031,788. 11. 11.	225,653. 15. 11	178,942. 16. 5	203,830. 13. 8.	169,539. 13. 13.	3,386,576. 14. 6.
1681	13	2,540,946. 9. 9.	1,230,987. 8. 0.	306,094. 9. 12.	307,233. 8. 6.	364,043. 16. 12.	361,591. 16. 6.	5,110,897. 8. 13.

Vol. III.

M M

(No. IV. continued.)

Years.	Ships.	Amsterdam.	Zealand	Delft.	Rotterdam.	Horn.	Enkhuizen.	Totals.
1682	8	1,355,035. 1. 8.	1,204,411. 13. 6.	152,418. 15. 11.	152,956. 14. 9.	60,186. 15. 5.	62,181. 6. 5.	2,987,190. 6. 12.
1683	11	2,475,988. 11. 14.	1,402,839. 4. 13.	243 603. 7. 6.	186,817. 1. 11.	363,856. 17. 0.	236,203. 14. 13.	4.909,308. 17. 9.
1684	15	2,782,907. 3. 5	1,272,335. 16. 2	187,805. 4. 9	338,017. 7. 1.	124,115. 9. 5.	315,209. 14. 7.	5,080,390. 14. 13.
1685	14	1,997,904. 19. 15.	927,539. 12. 7.	323,155. 0. 6.	207,750. 8. 5.	353,916. 10. 5	383,462. 14. 5.	4,193,729. 5. 11.
1686	16	2,848,720. 0. 2.	1,228,999. 17. 9.	349,336. 15. 3.	386,280. 11. 0.	372,569. 12. 0.	382,737. 8. 6.	5,568,644. 4. 4.
1687	16	3,013,458. 9. 2.	1,513,916. 17. 13	363,086. 17. 6.	350,271. 12. 15.	256,808. 19. 4.	133,396. 19. 4.	5,630,939. 15. 12.
1688	15	2,240,434. 2. 6.	987,468. 18. 14.	248,269. 13. 4	246,062. 19. 5	267,544. 19. 5.	316,051. 9. 3.	4,305,812. 2. 5.
1689	15	1,581,579. 1. 13	920,969. 10. 10.	105,177. 11. 6.	108,527. 12. 3.	108,138. 13. 9.	268,503. 10. 8.	3,092,896. 0. 1.
1690	17	1,746,796. 15. 14	869,583. 5. 14.	298,653. 6. 1.	285,491. 6. 6	323,446. 19. 3.	315,497. 1. 3.	3,839,468. 14. 4.
1691	8	1,932,475. 4. 9.	272,916. 15. 1.	95,953. 8. 9.	93,758. 13. 4	. . . . .	. . . . .	2,400,104. 1. 7.
1692	12	2,259,859. 17. 15.	1,039,366. 7. 10.	172,991. 19. 8.	282,820. 2. 0.	290,783. 9. 8.	201,056. 15. 8.	4,246,878. 11. 1.
1693	15	1,331,735. 1. 8.	722,817. 16. 0.	327,673. 10. 0	299,630. 0. 8.	331,559. 2. 8.	322,820. 13. 0.	3,336,236. 3. 8.
1694	12 &	1,078,685. 5. 0 132,928. 13. 0.	618,515. 16. 8. 74,064. 1. 8.	242,049. 9. 0. for goods brought the year before without invoices	240,279. 9. 8.	408,750. 3. 0.	193,653. 18. 8.	2,988,926. 16. 0.
1695	15	2,069,033. 13. 8 including likewise some goods sent, in 1694, by two ships without invoices	3,607,638. 9. 0.	387,080. 8. 0.	366,015. 13. 8.	339,725. 4. 8.	384,974. 14. 0.	5,154,468. 2. 8.
1696	12	1,720,271. 13. 8.	885,450. 17. 0.	222,581. 2 8.	243 037. 13. 8.	230.459. 1. 8.	250.443. 2. 8.	3,532,243. 10. 8.
1697	19	2,912,099. 6. 0.	1,634,621. 15. 8.	209,661. 13. 0.	218,010. 1. 0.	286,523. 18. 8.	229,600. 14. 8.	5,410,517. 2. 8.
1698	19	2,598,196. 6. 8.	1,548,221. 10. 8.	273,623. 3. 8	280,528. 5. 8.	243,578. 11. 0.	419,108. 3. 8.	5,373,256. 0. 8.
1699	17	2,828,111. 8. 8.	1,290,616. 7. 0	276,386. 3. 0.	283,711. 17. 8.	238,545. 13. 0.	403,918. 7. 8.	5,321,289. 16. 8.
1700	28	2,815,959. 3. 0.	1,238,698. 17. 0.	335,608. 15. 0.	285,369. 2. 8.	409,087. 8. 8.	214,018. 0. 0.	5,298,741. 6. 0.
1701	20	3,198,095. 17. 8.	1,432,345. 11. 0	418,426. 16. 8.	415,665. 8. 0.	406,020. 0. 8.	423,148. 18. 0.	6,293,702. 11. 8.
1702	21	3,206,217. 16. 0. and wine from the Cape of Good Hope, being the first time it appears to have been brought to Holland	1,774,559. 13. 8.	424,769. 15. 0.	337,288. 8. 8.	558,061. 12. 8.	425,064. 12. 8.	6,785,961. 18. 0. 470. 0. 0.
1703	18	2,962,482. 2. 8.	1,402,590. 5. 0	377,141. 6. 8.	542,129. 16. 8.	419,362. 11. 8.	473,[illegible]41. 15. 8.	6,177,447. 17. 8.
1704	21	2,591,608. 4. 0	1,467,323. 3. 0.	281,646. 5. 0.	314,989. 4. 0.	433,752. 8. 8.	202,[illegible]76. 13. 0.	5,382,195. 17. 8.
1705	18	2,491,158. 4. 8.	1,112,687. 10. 8.	267,738. 16. 0	236,098. 14. 8.	216,270. 14. 0.	269,403. 13. 8.	4,603,357. 13. 0.
1706	17	2,389,630. 4. 8.	1,061,372. 19. 8.	434,229. 4 0.	237,285. 3. 8.	388,589. 5. 8	108,552. 19. 0.	4,719,599. 16. 0.
1707	15	1,962,528. 18. 0.	1,033,210. 15. 0	228,980. 10. 8.	378,239. 5. 8.	261,508. 13. 0.	384,063. 3. 0.	4,248,531. 5. 0.
1708	18	2,581,829. 16. 8.	1,308,016. 19. 8.	284,542. 7. 0	394,443. 14. 0.	245,485. 8. 8.	405,410. 10. 0.	5,219,728. 13. 8.

(No. IV. continued.)

Years.	Ships.	Amsterdam.	Zealand.	Delft.	Rotterdam.	Horn.	Enkhuisen.	Tons.
1709	18	2,633,246. 0. 0.	1,650,919. 10. 8.	305,523. 9. 8.	237,289. 15. 8.	414,643. 18. 8.	235,816. 9. 8.	5,477,439. 3. 8.
1710	21	3,193,911. 11. 0.	1,379,463. 14. 0.	225,081. 18. 8.	238,539. 18. 0.	301,610. 6. 8.	394,390. 10. 0.	5,732,997. 18. 0.
1711	20	2,605,571. 8. 8.	1,222,526. 4. 8.	511,212. 7. 0.	273,202. 13. 8.	260,255. 5. 0.	439,107. 7. 8.	5,311,869. 6. 0.
1712	21	3,047,948. 13. 8.	1,680,537. 7. 8.	281,885. 5. 8.	561,182. 10. 8.	252,183. 16. 0.	288,084. 16. 8.	6,111,822. 9. 8.
1713	17	2,088,900. 18. 8.	1,124,550. 2. 0.	320,912. 4. 0.	332,943. 9. 8.	534,355. 17. 8.	342,980. 12. 8.	4,684,643. 4. 0.
1714	21	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	5,260,127. 14. 8.
1715	27	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	7,730,000. 9. 0.
1716	28	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	6,825,290. 7. 8.
1717	28	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	7,299,511. 13. 0.
1718	24	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	about	7,175,000. 0. 0.
1719	30	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	about	8,352,000. 0. 0.
1720	26	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	about	7,600,000. 0. 0.
1721	34	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	about	10,235,000. 0. 0.
1722	26	besides six ships lost near the Cape, and six in Table-bay		. . .	. . .	. . .		not ascertained.
1723	29	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	about	8,800,000. 0. 0.
1724	31	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	.	not ascertained.

MM 2

No. V.

ACCOUNT of the number of ſhips ſent out by the Eaſt-India Company of Holland, the number of men, and the amount of ſpecie they carried, the number of ſhips returned, the proceeds of ſales, and the dividends on the ſtock, from 1720 to 1729.

Years.	Ships ſent out.	Crews.	Specie carried out.	Ships returned.	Proceeds of Sales.	Dividends per ct.
1720	36	8,205	*f.*4,125,000. 0.	26	19,597,874*f.* 12*s.* 0*p.*	40
1721	40	8,000	6,825,000. 0.	34	14,985,072. 13. 0.	33 1/3
1722	41	7,400	7,075,000. 0.	26	19,494,365. 19. 0.	30
1723	38	7,785	6,887,000. 0.	29	16,247,505. 17. 0.	12 1/2
1724	38	6,425	7,419,000. 0.	31	20,577,447. 9. 0.	15
1725	35	6,250	7,412,500. 0.	36	19,385,441. 10. 0.	20
1726	38	6,850	7,675,000. 0.	32	21,312,626. 8. 0.	25
1727	40	6,400	8,091,994. 0.	36	18,564,986. 17. 0.	20
1728	34	5,800	5,558,100. 0.	28	20,322,402. 0. 0.	15
1729	34	6,390	4,525,000. 0.	25	18,100,116. 12. 9.	25
total in ten years .	374	69,505	65,593,594. 0.	303	188,587,839. 17. 9.	236
average for one year .	37 to 38	6,950	6,559,359. 8.	30 to 31	18,858,783. 19. 12.	23 3/5

No. VI.

STATEMENT of the original capital ſtock of the general united Eaſt-India Company of Holland, eſtabliſhed in 1602, ſpecifying the reſpective proportions in which each of the ſix chambers were originally intereſted in it.

Amſterdam . . .	*f.*3,674,915.
Zealand	1,333,882.
Delft	470,000.
Rotterdam . . .	177,400.
Hoorn	266,868.
Enkhuizen . . .	536,775.
together .	*f.*6,459,840.

divided into 2,153 actions, or ſhares, of *f.*3,000. each
and 1 ditto of 840.

No. VII.

ACCOUNT of the dividends upon the ſtock of the Eaſt-India Companies of Holland, from 1604 to 1780;—and of the revolutions in the value of the ſtock, from 1723 to 1780.

The Company of diſtant countries, and the Company of Magellan united, divided, in	1604	125 per cent.
	1605	55
	1607	10
	1608	10
	1613	4½
which balanced their accounts		204½
The Company concerned in the equipment of fourteen ſhips in 1602, divided, in	1605	15 per cent.
	1606	75
	1607	40
	1608	20
	1609	25
	1611	50
	1612	37
	1614	3
which balanced their accounts		265

The above dividends were, however, made by the general United Eaſt-India Company, eſtabliſhed in 1602, to whom the liquidation of the affairs of the former Companies was committed, and who began and continued the dividends upon their own ſtock, as follows:

Years.	Months.	Per ct.		
1610	in April	75	in mace	
	in Nov.	50	in pepper	
	15 ditto	7½	in bankmoney	
1611				
1612	in March	30	in nutmegs	at 19, 20, & 22 ſkillings per *lb.*
1613				
1614				
1615				
1616				
1617				

1618

Years.	Months.	Perct.		
1618				
1619				
1620	in April	37½	in bankmoney	
1621				
1622				
1623	in Nov.	25	in cloves	at 60 ſtivers pr. *lb.*
1624				
1625	in Aug.	20	in bankmoney	
1626				
1627	in March	12½	in bankmoney	
1628				
1629	in Jan.	[illegible]	in bankmoney	
1630				
1631	in Jan.	17½	in bankmoney	
1632				
1633	in June	12½	in bankmoney	
	in Dec.	20	in djtto	
1634				
1635	in March	20	in bankmoney	
	15 May	12½	in cloves	at 80 ſt. per *lb.*
	20 Aug.	12½	in ditto	ditto
1636	1 March	25	in ditto	ditto
	1 Nov.	12½	in ditto	ditto
1637	1 March	15	in ditto	ditto
	1 Nov.	25	in ditto	ditto
1638	1 Oct.	10	in capalete	at 40 ſt. per *lb.*
	1 Dec.	25	in bankmoney	
1639				
1640	1 Jan.	15	in cloves	at 80 ſt. per *lb.*
	1 Nov.	25	in bankmoney	
1641	15 Feb.	15	in cloves	at 80 ſt. per *lb.*
	1 Nov.	25	in ditto	at 50 ditto
1642	15 Dec.	50	in bankmoney	
1643	1 Feb.	15	in cloves	at 50 ſt. per *lb.*
1644	1 Nov.	25	in ditto	ditto
	1 Dec.	20	in bankmoney	
1645				
1646	1 Jan.	22½	in bankmoney	
	1 Dec.	25	in ditto	
1647				
1648	1 Jan.	25	in bankmoney	
1649	1 Jan.	30	in ditto	

Years.	Months.	Per ct.	
1650	1 Jan.	20	in bankmoney
1651	1 Jan.	15	in ditto
1652	1 Jan.	85	in ditto
1653	1 Jan.	12½	in ditto
1654	15 June	15	in ditto
1655	1 Jan.	12½	in ditto
1656	1 Dec.	27½	in ditto
1657			
1658	1 Dec.	40	in bankmoney
1659	1 Dec.	12½	in ditto
1660	1 Nov.	40	in ditto
1661	15 Nov.	25	in ditto
1662			
1663	15 Nov.	30	in bankmoney
1664			
1665	15 Jan.	27½	in bankmoney
1666			
1667			
1668	1 June	12½	in bankmoney
1669	1 July	12½	in ditto
1670	2 June	40	in ditto
1671	1 June	45	in ditto
	20 July	15	in ditto
1672	2 June	15	in ditto
1673	1 June	33	in obligations on the province of Holland
1674			
1675			
1676	1 Feb.	25	in bankmoney
1677			
1678			
1679	1 Jan.	12½	in obligations on the general Company, repayable at the option of the Company, with 4 per ct. intereſt per annum; afterwards reduced to 3 per ct.
1680	1 Jan.	25	in ditto
1681	1 Jan.	22	in ditto
1682	1 July	33⅓	in ditto
1683			
1684			
1685	1 Feb.	40	in bankmoney
1686	1 May	12	in ditto

Years.	Months.	Perct.	
1687	15 April	20	in bankmoney
1688	15 April	33⅓	in ditto
1689	15 April	33⅓	in ditto
1690	15 April	40	in ditto
1691	1 Aug.	20	in ditto
1692	15 April	25	in ditto
1693	1 April	20	in ditto
1694	1 April	20	in ditto
1695	1 Nov.	25	in ditto
1696	1 June	15	in obligations on the ſeveral chambers, at 3½ per cent. per ann. repayable by inſtalments, and finally to be reimburſed in 1740.
1697	1 June	15	in ditto
1698	1 June	15	in ditto
	15 Sep.	15	in bankmoney
1699	1 June	20	in ditto
	1 Dec.	15	in ditto
1700	15 July	25	in ditto
1701	20 May	20	in ditto
1702	15 May	20	in ditto
1703	16 May	25	in ditto
1704	16 June	25	in ditto
1705	25 May	25	in ditto
1706	1 May	25	in ditto
1707	15 April	25	in ditto
1708	1 May	25	in ditto
1709	15 May	25	in ditto
1710	1 May	25	in ditto
1711	15 May	25	in ditto
1712	1 May	15	in ditto
1713	1 May	30	in ditto
1714	1 May	33⅓	in ditto
1715	1 April	40	in ditto
1716	1 May	40	in ditto
1717	1 May	40	in ditto
1718		40	in ditto
1719		40	in ditto
1720		40	in ditto
1721		33⅓	in ditto
1722		30	in ditto

Years.	Per ct.		Prices of the ſtock. from	to
1723	12½	in bankmoney	654 per cent	631 per cent
1724	15	in ditto	603	654
1725	20	in ditto	614	660
1726	25	in ditto	658	563
1727	20	in ditto	560	658
1728	15	in ditto	655	612
1729	25	in ditto	628	679
1730	25	in ditto	715	650
1731	25	in ditto	692	742
1732	25	in ditto	779	711½
1733	25	in ditto	644	788
1734	25	in ditto	754	647
1735	25	in ditto	645	714
1736	20	in ditto	756	675
1737	15	in ditto	532	586½
1738	15	in ditto	585	534
1739	15	in ditto	494	572
1740	12½	in ditto	506	403
1741	12½	in ditto	391	439
1742	12½	in ditto	403	350
1743	12½	in ditto	350	434
1744	15	in ditto	407	464½
1745	15	in ditto	470½	420
1746	20	in ditto	368	450
1747	20	in ditto	434	369
1748	20	in ditto	366	455
1749	25	in ditto	423	495
1750	25	in ditto	489	594
1751	25	in ditto	603	575
1752	25	in ditto	580	546½
1753	20	in ditto	559½	534
1754	20	in ditto	555½	507½
1755	20	in ditto	515½	407½
1756	20	in ditto	404½	446
1757	20	in ditto	555½	507½
1758	15	in ditto	458	396
1759	15	in ditto	386½	417
1760	15	in ditto	414	378
1761	15	in ditto	390	335
1762	15	in ditto	323	379
1763	15	in ditto	407	353½

Years.	Per ct.		Prices of the ſtock,	
			from	to
1764	15	in bankmoney	374 per cent	406 per cent
1765	17½	in ditto	406	585
1766	20	in ditto	593	546
1767	20	in ditto	580½	503
1768	20	in ditto	518	455
1769	20	in ditto	472	410
1770	15	in ditto	412	325
1771	12½	in ditto	314	386
1772	12½	in ditto	369	326
1773	12½	in ditto	323	363
1774	12½	in ditto	336	363
1775	12¼	in ditto	340	357
1776	12¼	in ditto	340	359
1777	12¼	in ditto	355	384
1778	12¼	in ditto	380	340
1779	12¼	in ditto	357	322
1780	12¼	in ditto	328	323

No. VIII.

A STATEMENT of the various articles, and quantities of each, ſold at the Dutch Eaſt-India Company's ſales, from 1775 to 1779.

Articles.	1775.	1776.	1777.	1778.	1779.
pounds of cinnamon	400,000	400,000	400,000	350,000	300,000
pounds of cloves	400,000	400,000	400,000	234,271	400,000
pounds of nutmegs	250,000	250,000	250,000	264,189	250,000
pounds of mace	90,000	100,000	80,000	85,000	80,000
bags of black pepper	8,297	10,667	10,000	9,546	12,300
pounds of white pepper	84,993	84,998	52,355	88,991	34,427
pounds of candied ginger	10,346	11,232	11,257	10,064	10,881
candied nutmegs	900	1,000	900	800	1,871
pounds of cowries	125,437	69,286	44,357		51,984
bottles of ſoy				120	120
pounds of ſaltpetre	2,374,083	1,286,217	2,568,315	2,350,000	3,098,838
pounds of ſundry dying woods	645,231	743,842	806,123	622,125	645,200
pounds of indigo	11,364	12,261	9,460	11,256	10,538
pounds of turmeric	60,000	70,000	65,625	60,875	61,250
pounds of powder-ſugar	340,657	936,975	533,918	636,006	498,289
pounds of tin	540,000	840,000	177,450	379,705	484,442
pounds of zinc	209,101	200,061	337,520	34,199	162,200
pounds of cardemom	13,654	12,997	6,370	7,070	6,783

(No. VIII. continued.)

Articles.	1775.	1776.	1777.	1778.	1779.
pounds of camphor	40,253	50,372	27,060	29,200	26,301
pounds of borax	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	4,000
pounds of benzoin	1,496	3,625	8,980	18,625	8,625
pounds of caſhoo	8,000	4,000	1,200	1,500	2,500
pounds of dragons-blood	990	1,000	2,496		3,142
pounds of ſundry gums	18,184	21,410	18,431	14,762	15,828
pounds of long pepper	10,000	15,000	16,500	9,011	17,000
pounds of cubebs	10,000	10,000	8,875	6,850	12,500
pounds of rhubarb and other roots	101,027	107,562	80,415	57,246	58,174
pounds of ſago	21,603	17,812	18,348	17,706	15,607
pounds of ſtar-aniſe		6,157	5,434	3,431	3,096
mother-of-pearl ſhells		7,000	4,295	9,016	7,614
ounces of oil of cinnamon		240	160	160	160
ounces of oil of mace	320	360	240	120	320
ounces of oil of cloves		256	256	64	320
ounces of oil of nutmegs	320	384	200	320	
carats of diamonds	970½	549	1,339	130½	41
pounds of binding rattans	3,528	3,918	37,500	18,750	18,750
pounds of tamarands			50,000	120,000	12,000
awms of Cape wine	59	58	52	24	52
leagers of arrack		45	17		39

(No. VIII. continued.)

Articles.	1775.	1776.	1777.	1778.	1779.
pounds of raw ſilk	58,388	72,271	122,321	81,498	57,313
pounds of ſilk thread	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	13,050
pounds of cotton yarn	78,687	77,090	90,750	71,717	108,733
pounds of Java coffee	6,176,000	5,539,250	4,256,250	4,000,000	3,710,641
pounds of tea	3,703,904	3,786,284	3,921,588	1,893,329	1,848,545
cheſts of china-ware	2,557	2,066	2,098	875	1,431
pieces of ſilk	3,715	7,225	9,928	8,676	6,136
pieces of muſlin, cottons, &c.	308,449	244,200	299,395	326,075	385,650
pieces of handkerchiefs	2,700	4,060	3,000	6,278	5,433
pieces of nankeen	35,125	34,911	47,006	24,186	27,910

No. IX.

Abſtract of the *Herbarius Vivus*, or Herbal, of HENRY BERNARD OLDELARD, ſuperintendent of the Company's garden at the *Cape of Good Hope*, in the year 1695.

ABUTILON africanum, foliis, rugoſis, et ſiliculis lanuginoſis.

Abſinthium africanum fruteſcens, foliis latioribus.

Alium africanum, flore purpuraſcente.

1 Aloe africana arboreſcens, montana, non ſpinoſa, folio longiſſimo plicatili, flore rubro.

2 Aloe africana arboreſcens, floribus albicantibus fragrantiſſimis.

3 Aloe africana cauleſcens, foliis ſpinoſis, maculis ab utraque parte albicantibus notatis.

4 Aloe africana breviſſima, craſſiſſimoque folio, flore ſubviridi.

5 Aloe, africano flore glabro, rigidiſſimo, flore ſubviridi.

6 Aloe africana flore rubro, folio maculis ab utraque parte albicantibus notato.

7 Aloe africana, flore rubro, folio, triangulari, et verrucis ab utraque parte albicantibus notato.

8 Aloe africana, folio in ſummitate triangulari, margaritifera, flore ſubviridi.

9 Aloe africana margaritifera, minor.

10 Aloe africana foliis glaucis, margine et dorſi parte ſuperiore ſpinoſis, flore rubro.

11 Aloe africana, foliis glaucis, margine et dorſo integro ſpinoſis.

12 Aloe africana cauleſcens, foliis glaucis, caulem amplectentibus.

13 Aloe africana, folio triangulari longiſſimo, floribus luteis et fœtibus.

14 Aloe africana cauleſcens, foliis magis glaucis caulem amplectentibus, et in mucronem obtuſiorem deſinentibus.

15 Aloe

15 Aloe africana cauleſcens, foliis minus glaucis, caulem amplectentibus, dorſi parte ſuperiore ſpinoſa.
16 Aloe africana cauleſcens foliis glaucis, caulem amplectentibus latioribus, et undequaque ſpinoſis.
17 Aloe africana cauleſcens, foliis glaucis, caulem amplectentibus, dorſo integro ſpinoſo.
18 Aloe africana cauleſcens, foliis glaucis brevioribus, caulem amplectentibus, foliorum parte interna et externa non nihil ſpinoſa.
19 Aloe africana cauleſcens, foliis glaucis breviſſimis, foliorum ſummitate interna et externa non nihil ſpinoſa.
20 Aloe africana cauleſcens perfoliata, glauca et non ſpinoſa.
21 Aloe africana, glabro folio, minutiſſimis cavitatibus donato.
22 Aloe africana humilis, ſpiris inermibus et verrucis obſita.
23 Aloe africana humilis Arachnoidæa.
24 Aloe africana humilis, foliis ex albo et viridi variegatis.
25 Aloe africana humilis, folio non nihil reflexo, floribus ex albo et rubro variegatis.
26 Aloe africana humilis, folio in ſummitate triangulari et rigidiſſimo, marginibus albicantibus.
27 Aloe africana erecta, triangularis, et triangulariſolio viſcoſo.
28 Aloe africana erecta, rotunda, folio parvo et in acumen rigidiſſimum exeunte.
1 Alaternoides africana, Ericæ foliis, floribus albicantibus et muſcoſis.
2 Alaternoides africana, Telephini legitimi nuperati folio, flore viridi.
3 Alaternoides africana, Lawri ſerrate folio.
4 Alaternoides africana, Chamæmeſpili folio rigidiore et minore, floribus albicantibus.
5 Alaternoides africana, Roris marini latiori et piloſiori folio, flore cæruleo.

Althæa africana veſicaria.

Amygdalus africana nana, flore incurvato roſeo ſimplici, folio Mali perſici anguſtiore.

1 Anæmoſpermos africana, foliis Cardui benedicti, florum radiis intus ſulphureis.

2 Anæmoſpermos

2 Anæmoſpermos africana, foliis Plantaginis, flore ſulphureo.
3 Anæmoſpermos africana, Jacobææ maritimæ foliis, flore ſulphureo.
1 Apocynum africanum erectum, villoſo fructu, Salicis folio lato, glabro.
2 Apocynum africanum erectum, Salicis folio lato, ſubhirſuto.
3 Apocynum africanum erectum, Salicis folio lato, glabro anguſto.
4 Apocynum africanum humile, aizoides, ſiliquis erectis.
5 Apocynum africanum erectum, ſubhirſutum, foliis, undulatis.
6 Apocynum ſcandens africanum Vincæ pervincæ foliis, ſubincanum.
7 Apocynum africanum ſcandens, Aſphodeli radice, anguſtiſſimo folio.
8 Apocynum africanum ſcandens, Lapati folio.
Arum æthiopicum florigerum et fructum ferens, radice magna orbiculari.
Arum africanum, flore albo odorato.
Arum maximum ægyptiacum, quod vulgo Colocaſſia audit.
1 Aſclepias africana aizoides.
2 Aſclepias africana, longioribus foliis minus dentatis.
3 Aſclepias africana, flore pulchre fimbriato.
Argyrodentros africana, foliis ſericis et argenteis.
Aſparagus ſylveſtris africanus aculeatus.
Aſphodelus africanus, anguſtis foliis luteis, minor.
Aſplenium africanum ramoſum, maximum, caulibus ſplendentibus.
1 After africanus, Jacobææ foliis, flore aureo.
2 After africanus, Stæchatis foliis, flore aureo.
3 After africanus ramoſus, Hyſopi foliis, floribus corymbis.
4 After africanus ramoſus, floribus albis.
5 After africanus, Helegriſi folio, flore rubro.
6 After africanus fruteſcens, foliis anguſtis, et plerumque conjunctis.
7 After africanus fruteſcens, ſplendentibus parvis et reflexis foliis.
8 After africanus fruteſcens, Lavendulæ folio, flore purpureo.
9 After africanus annuus, Senecionis foliis.

10 Aster africanus fruteſcens, foliis Senecionis craſſioribus.

Aſteroplatii Carpos africana fruteſcens, Crithmi marini foliis.

Aſtragalus africanus odoratus, flore luteo.

1 Bellis africana, florum pediculis pene aphylis foliis inciſis.

2 Bellis africana, florum pediculis folioſis, foliis anguſtis et integris.

3 Bellis africana, capitulo aphyllo luteo, Coronopi folio, caulículis procumbentibus.

4 Bellis africana, Capitulo aphyllo luteo, foliis et caulículis junceis erectis.

1 Bryonia africana glabra, foliis in profundas lacinias diviſis, fructu minori.

2 Bryonia africana lacinçata, tuberoſa radice, floribus herbaceis.

Calendula, ſive Caltha africana humilis, flore intus albo, floris violaceo ſimplici.

1 Campanula africana annua, hirſuta, latis ſerratiſque foliis, flore magno violaceo.

2 Campanula africana annua, glabra, ſerrato folio, flore pallido.

3 Campanula africana annua, hirſuta, parvo anguſtoque folio, flore pallido violaceo.

4 Campanula africana, annua, anguſtifolia, flore purpuraſcente, major.

5 Campanula africana annua, anguſtifolia, flore purpuraſcente, minor.

6 Campanula africana fruteſcens, aculeoſa, flore violaceo.

7 Campanula africana minor, Erini facie, flore violaceo, caulículis erectis.

8 Campanula africana minor, Erini facie, flore violaceo, caulículis procumbentibus.

Camphorata africana umbellata, fruteſcens.

Canna.

Cardamine africana trifolia (dicitur etiam Naſturtium) foliis ternis, facie Chriſtophorianæ.

Centurium majus africanum, laciniatum, flore aureo, odorato.

1 Centurium minus africanum, Lini foliis et facie, flore amplo ſuave rubente.

2 Centurium

2 Centunculus minus africanum, arboreſcens, latifolium, flore ruberrimo.
3 Centunculus minus africanum, arboreſcens, anguſtiſſimum, flore ruberrimo.
4 Centurium minus africanum, arboreſcens, tulipiferum.
Cheirantos africana, flore luteo.
1 Chryſanthemum africanum Stoebes, foliis anguſtioribus.
2 Chryſanthemum africanum repens, floreaphylo, Coronopi folio.
Chryſanthemoides Oſteoſpergon africanum, odoratum, ſpinoſum et viſcoſum.
Ciſtus humilis aizoides maritimus africanus, flore rubello.
1 Colutea africana annua, foliis parvis mucronatis, veſiculis compreſſis.
2 Colutea africana annua, foliis cordatis, et veſiculis minus compreſſis.
3 Colutea africana, Sennæ foliis, flore ſanguineo.
4 Colutea africana humilis, flore ſanguineo, Crotolariæ ſiliquis.
1 Coma aurea africana fruticans, foliis Linariæ anguſtis, major.
2 Coma aurea africana fruticans, foliis Linariæ anguſtis, minor.
3 Coma aurea africana, Linariæ foliis glaucis et lanuginoſis.
4 Coma aurea africana fruticans, omnium maxima, foliis tomentoſis et incanis.
5 Coma aurea africana fruticans, Ericæ folio.
6 Coma aurea africana fruticans foliis glaucis, et in extremitate trifidis.
7 Coma aurea africana fruticans, foliis Crithmi marini.
8 Coma aurea africana fruticans, foliis inferioribus inciſis, ſuperioribus dentatis.
1 Conyza africana arboreſcens incana, floribus purpuroviolaceis, foliis Salviæ odore, odore Salviæ et Roris marini.
2 Conyza africana humilis, foliis anguſtioribus nervoſis, floribus umbellatis.
3 Conyza africana fruteſcens, foliis Salviæ, odore camphoræ.

4 Conyza africana fruteſcens, foliis Ericæ hirtatis et incanis.
5 Conyza africana, fruteſcens, foliis Roris marini.
6 Conyza africana, Senecionis flore.
Cotula africana, calyce eleganti cæſio.
1 Cotyledon africana fruteſcens, foliis orbiculatis, limbo purpureo cinctis.
2 Cotyledon africana, teretifolia, flore pulcherrimo.
3 Cotyledon africana, foliis oblongioribus, floribus umbellatis fibroſa radice.
4 Cotyledon africana fruteſcens, folio longo et anguſto, flore flaveſcente.
5 Cotyledon africana fruteſcens, flore umbellato coccineo.
1 Cytiſus africanus argenteus, flore atro purpureo.
2 Cytiſus africanus hirſutus, anguſti-folius.
3 Cytiſus africanus herbaceus, floribus rubris.
1 Echium africanum fruteſcens, foliis piloſis.
2 Echium africanum perenne, Lycopſis facie.
1 Elichryſium africanum lanuginoſum, latifolium, calyce floris argenteo et ampliſſimo.
2 Elichryſium africanum tomentoſum, fruteſcens, calyce argenteo.
3 Elichryſium africanum lanuginoſum, anguſtiſſimo folio, calyce floris argenteo et ampliſſimo.
4 Elichryſium africanum tomentoſum, fruteſcens, floris calyce aureo.
5 Elichryſium africanum tomentoſum, fruteſcens, Coris folio.
6 Elichryſium africanum incanum, tomentoſum, foliis ſubrotundis.
7 Elichryſium africanum umbellatum, odoratum luteum.
8 Elichryſium africanum fruteſcens, anguſtis et longioribus foliis, incanis.
9 Elichryſium africanum latifolium, fœtidum, capitulo aureo.
10 Elichryſium africanum luteum, Polii folio.
11 Elichryſium africanum tomentoſum, incanum, anguſtifoliùm floribus rubris.
12 Elichryſium africanum latifolium, fœtidum, capitulo aureo.
13 Elichryſium africanum fruteſcens, foliis Crithmi marini.

14 Elichryſium

14 Elichryſum arboreum africanum, Roris marini folio.
15 Elichryſum africanum, Plantaginis folio.
16 Elichryſum africanum fœtidiſſimum, ampliſſimo folio.
17 Elichryſum africanum inodorum, glabrum, Conopi folio.
Ephemerum africanum annuum, flore bipetalo.
1 Erica africana viridis, anguſtiſſimis foliis, floſculis in capitulum congeſtis.
2 Erica africana, floſculis ſubhirſutis, ſecundum ramulos diſpoſitis.
3 Erica africana incana, foliis anguſtiſſimis.
4 Erica africana, capillaceo brevique folio, flore rotundiori purpureo.
5 Erica africana, folio minimo, flore rotundiori albido.
6 Erica africana, Coris folio, flore oblongo ſpicato.
7 Erica africana, Coris folio, flore oblongo, purpureo, e foliorum alis prodeunte.
8 Erica africana, Coris folio, flore breviori.
9 Erica africana, Coris folio, floribus veſicariis.
10 Erica africana, juniperifolia, flore oblongo ſpicato.
11 Erica africana, juniperifolia, flore oblongo umbellato.
Evonymus africanus, folio lucido ſerrato.
Fabago africana arboreſcens, flore ſulphureo, fructu rotundo.
Ferula africana galbanimifera, fruteſcens, Myrrhidis foliis.
1 Filicula africana maxima ramoſa, pinnulis tenuibus diſſectis.
2 Filicula africana, in acutas diviſa lacineis.
1 Filix africana maxima ramoſa, pinnulis irenatis.
2 Filix africana dentata, Lonchitidis facie.
3 Filix africana ramoſa, pinnulis Lonchitidis.
Fœniculum africanum, foliis in ſummitate atro rubentibus, ſeminibus anguſtis et longioribus.
Frutex africanus aromaticus, flore ſpicato, exiguo.
Frutex æthiopicus, Portulacæ folio, flore ex albido vireſcente.
Frutex africanus, Eriæ folio, glutinoſus, flore ſpicato albo.
Galega africana, floribus majoribus, et filiquis craſſioribus.

1 Geniſta africana fruteſcens, Ruſci aculeati foliis.
2 Geniſta africana fruteſcens, anguſtis foliis.
3 Geniſta africana, Lavendulæ folio.
4 Geniſta africana juncea, floribus cæruleis, foliis minimis.
5 Geniſta africana minima, foliis Myrthi, in exquiſitum micronem deſinentibus.
6 Geniſta africana, Roris marini foliis, flore aureo.
7 Geniſta africana arboreſcens, argentea lanugine, pubeſcens.
8 Geniſta africana fruteſcens, ſpicata purpurea, foliis anguſtiſſimis.
9 Geniſta africana fruteſcens, foliis Torton-Raire, flore purpureo.
10 Geniſta africana, Laricis foliis longioribus et lanuginoſis.
11 Geniſta africana, Laricis, foliis craſſioribus et hirſutis.
12 Geniſta africana fruteſcens ſpicata, Laricis foliis.
13 Geniſta africana fruteſcens capitate.
14 Geniſta africana lutea, ſpicata, Laricis foliis.
15 Geniſta africana fruteſcens, capitulis lanuginoſis, Laricis breviſſimo folio.
16 Geniſta africana fruteſcens, capitulis lanuginoſis, Laricis incanit foliis.
17 Geniſta africana, camphoratæ folio, floribus luteis minimis.
18 Geniſta africana, foliis Gallii.
19 Geniſta africana, Doryenii facie.
20 Geniſta africana arboreſcens, Styracis folio, flore cæruleo.

1 Geranium africanum arboreſcens, Ibiſci folio rotundo, Carlinæ odore.
2 Geranium africanum fruteſcens, Malvæ folio, laciniato, odorato, flore purpuraſcente.
3 Geranium africanum, Alchimillæ hirſuto folio, floribus albidis.
4 Geranium africanum arboreſcens, Alchimillæ hirſuto folio, floribus rubicundis.
5 Geranium africanum, Betonicæ folio laciniato et maculato, floribus incarnatis.
6 Geranium africanum, folio procumbente, floribus parvis eleganter variegatis.
7 Geranium africanum noctu olens, tuberoſum et nodoſum, et Aquilegiæ foliis.

8 Geranium

8 Geranium africanum noctu olens, Aquilegiæ folio, flore incarnato rubente.
9 Geranium africanum noctu olens, flore ruberrimo, Anemones folio anguſtiori.
10 Geranium africanum noctu olens, flore rubro, Anemones folio anguſtiori.
11 Geranium africanum noctu olens, radice tuberoſa, foliis Paſtinacæ incanis, lanuginoſis, flore pallido flaveſcente.
12 Geranium africanum noctu olens, radice tuberoſa, foliis Paſtinacæ anguſtioribus.
13 Geranium africanum noctu olens, tuberoſum, Vitis foliis hirſutis.
14 Geranium africanum minus, Coriandri folio, floribus incarnatis.
15 Geranium africanum, uvæ, criſpæ folio, floribus exiguis rubellis.
16 Geranium africanum majus, Coriandri folio, floribus incarnatis.
17 Geranium africanum, Altheæ folio, parvo flore.
18 Geranium africanum, foliis plerumque auratis, floribus ex rubro purpuraſcentibus.
19 Geranium africanum, Myrrhidis folio, flore albicante, radice rapacea.
20 Geranium africanum, foliis inferioribus Aſari, ſuperioribus Staphydis agriæ maculatis, ſplendentibus et acetoſo ſapore.
21 Geranium africanum, Aſtragali folio.
22 Geranium africanum fruteſcens, folio ocaſſo et glauco, acetoſoſapore.

Globularia africana fruteſcens, Thymelææ folio, lanuginoſo.

Hæmanthus africanus, ſive Tulipa africana, flore albo.

Hyacinthus africanus, flore cæruleo, umbellato, tuberoſus.

1 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, Abrotani folio.
2 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, Horminì folio.
3 Jacobæa africana, Sonchi folio.
4 Jacobæa africana, Denſis leonini folio.
5 Jacobæa africana, Abſinthii folio.
6 Jacobæa africana foliis integris, undulatis et criſpis.
7 Jacobæa africana laciniata, latifolia, flore purpureo.

8 Jacobæa africana laciniata, anguſtifolia, flore purpureo.
9 Jacobæa africana, radice tuberoſa.
10 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, foliis inciſis et ſubtus cinereis.
11 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, foliis Abſinthii umbelliferi, incanis.
12 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, Coronopi folio.
13 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, Lavendulæ folio latiori.
14 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, folio longo et glauco.
15 Jacobæa africana, Hederæ terreſtris folio, repens.
16 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, craſſis ſuccolentis foliis.
17 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, foliis rigidis et hirſutis.
1 Jaſminum africanum, foliis ſolitariis, floribus vulgatiori ſimilibus.
2 Jaſminum africanum, Ilicis folio, flore ſolitario, ex foliorum alis proveniente, albo.
1 Ketmia africana, Populi folio.
2 Ketmia africana, Populi folio, ſubtus incano, et caule vireſcente.
3 Ketmia africana veſicaria, folio tripartito, flore purpureo.
4 Ketmia africana veſicaria, fruticans, et erecta, Alni foliis latioribus et majoribus, flore ſpirali ſulphureo.
5 Ketmia africana fruteſcens, foliis mollibus et incanis, flore ſpirali ſulphureo.
6 Ketmia africana veſicaria, uvæ criſpæ foliis, flore ſpirali ſulphureo.
1 Laurus africana minor, Querci folio.
2 Laurus inodora africana, fructu globoſo Lauri ſerratæ, odoratæ Stapelianæ ſimilis.
3 Laurus africana.
Leonurus perennis africanus, Sideritidis folio, flore phœniceo majore villoſo.
1 Leucoium africanum, cæruleo flore, latifolium, hirſutum.
2 Leucoium africanum, cæruleo flore anguſto Coronopi folio, majus.
3 Leucoium africanum, cæruleo flore, anguſto Coronopi folio, minus.
1 Lilio-Narciſſus africanus humilis, longiſſimis foliis, polyanthos ſaturato colore purpuraſcens.

2 Lilio-

3 Lilio-Narciſſus africanus platicaulis humilis, flore purpuraſcente odorato.
1 Lothus africana annua, hirſuta, floribus luteis.
2 Lothus africana frutescens, flore ſpicato rubicundo.
Lychnis Pſeudo-melanthio ſimilis africana, glabra, anguſtifolia, flore eleganter rubello.
Lycium æthiopicum, Pyracanthæ folio.
Malva africana frutescens, flore rubro.
1 Melianthus africanus.
2 Melianthus africanus minor, humifuſus, foliis Pimpinellæ criſpæ.
3 Melianthus africanus minor, fœtidus.
Myrthus africana humilis, foliis Myrtilli crenatis, cauliculis nigricantibus.
Narciſſus africana, Polyanthos.
Olea africana humilis, ſylveſtris, folio duro, ſubtus incano.
Oreoſelinum aizoides arboreſcens, Liguſtici foliis et facie, flore luteo.
1 Ornithogalum africanum, luteum, odoratum, foliis cepaceis, radice tuberoſa.
2 Ornithogalum africanum, flore viridi, alteri innato.
3 Ornithogalum africanum, Plantaginis roſeæ folio, radice tuberoſa.
1 Oxus bulboſa africana rotundifolia, caulibus et floribus purpureis amplis.
2 Oxus bulboſa africana rotundifolia, virentibus floribus amplis, purpureis.
3 Oxus bulboſa æthiopica, ſive africana minor, folio cordato, flore ex albido purpuraſcente.
Petaſites africanus, Calthæ paluſtris folio, radice flaveſcente craſſa.
Phalangium africanum ramoſum, floribus albis, petalis reflexis.
1 Phaſeolus africanus hirſutus bituminoſus, ſiliquis bullatis, flore flaveo.
2 Phaſeolus africanus, parvo fructu, non nihil albicante.
3 Phaſeolus africanus perennis minor, flore ſuave rubente.
Planta lactaria africana.
Pimpinella africana ſaxifraga maxima.
Polypodium africanum maximum, acutiſſime diviſum.

1 Polygala

1 Polygala africana fruteſcens angustiſſima, major.
2 Polygala africana fruteſcens, anguſtiſſima, minor.
3 Polygala africana, Lini folia, magno flore.
4 Polygala africana fruteſcens, Buxi folio, maxima floro.
5 Polygala africana arborea myrtbifolia, floribus albis, intus purpureis.
Portulaca africana ſemper virens, flore rubicundo.
1 Pſeudo-dictamnus africanus, Hederæ terreſtris folio.
2 Pſeudo-dictamnus africanus, foliis ſubrotundis ſubtus incanis.
Ranunculus africanus ſeu æthiopicus, foliis rigidis, floribus ex luteo vireſcentibus.
Rapuntium africanum minus, anguſtifolium, flore violaceo.
Ricinus africanus maximus, caule geniculato rutilante.
Salix africana, anguſtis et longiſſimis foliis, ſubtus incanis.
1 Salvia africana fruteſcens, Scorodoniæ foliis, flore violaceo.
2 Salvia africana fruteſcens, folio ſubrotundo, glauco, flore magno aureo.
1 Scabioſa africana arboreſcens maxima, foliis rugoſis, et crenatis integris.
2 Scabioſa africana fruteſcens, foliis rigidis, ſplendentibus, et ſerratis, flore albicante.
3 Scabioſa africana, capitulo oblongo, flore albo.
Scilla africana, flore viridi parvo, bulbo ampliſſio.
1 Sclarea africana præcox annua.
2 Sclarea africana fruteſcens, Helianthemi folio.
1 Sedum africanum fruticoſum, Ericæ folio.
2 Sedum africanum arboreſcens, incanum, foliis orbiculatis.
3 Sedum africanum majus arboreſcens, foliis rotundioribus glaucis, limbo purpureo cinctis.
4 Sedum africanum umbellatum album, folio viridi anguſto, mucronatum, flore albo.
5 Sedum africanum annuum, Centaurii minoris facie, flore aureo.
Senecio africanus arboreſcens, Ficoidis folio et facie.
Sideroxilum africanum, Cerafi folio.

1 Siſyrinchium

1 Siſyrinchium æthiopicum ſeu africanum majus, anguſti folium, floribus albis.
2 Siſyrinchium æthiopicum ſeu africanum majus, latifolium, floribus albis, hexapetalis lineis purpureis ſtriatis.
3 Siſyrinchium æthiopicum ſeu africanum minus, latifolium, flore hexapetalo albo.
4 Siſyrinchium africanum, flore ex phœniceo ſuave rubente.
5 Siſyrinchium africanum, foliis Gladioli parvis et longis, palleſcente flore.
6 Siſyrinchium ramoſum æthiopicum ſeu africanum, foliis plicatis nervoſis et incanis, radice tuberoſa phœnicea.
7 Siſyrinchium majus, flore luteo macula notato.
8 Siſyrinchium minus anguſtifolium, flore minore, variegato.

1 Solanum pomiferum fruteſcens africanum ſpinoſum, nigricans, Boraginis flore, foliis profunde laciniatis.
2 Solanum lignoſum africanum ſemper virens, laurinis foliis.

1 Spartium africanum fruteſcens, Ericæ folio.
2 Spartium africanum fruteſcens, Ruſci folio, caule amplectente.

1 Spiræa africana, foliis cruciatim poſitis.
2 Spiræa africana odorata, floribus plane rubentibus.
3 Spiræa africana odorata, foliis piloſis.

Staphilodendron africanum ſemper virens, foliis ſplendentibus.

1 Tanacetum africanum fruticans, multiflorum, foliis Tanaceti vulgaris decuplo minoribus.
2 Tanacetum africanum arboreſcens, foliis Lavendulæ, multifido folio.

1 Tetragono carpos africana, radice magna oneroſa et carnoſa.
2 Tetragono carpos africana frutican, foliis longis et anguſtis.

1 Thymelæa Linifoliæ ſimilis africana, floribus pallidis, odoratiſſimis.
2 Thymelæa Linifoliæ ſimilis africana, foliis lucidis latioribus et obtuſis.
3 Thymelæa africana, foliis Lini, floribus in capitulum congeſtis.

4 Thymelæa africana, Roris marini folio, anguſtiſſimo breviori.
5 Thymelæa africana, Roris marini folio, anguſtiſſimo longiori.
6 Thymelæa africana, Roris marini folio, floribus longioribus.
7 Thymelæa africana, Sanamundæ facie, Ericæ foliis anguſtiſſimis.
8 Thymelæa africana, Torton-Raire ſimilis, floribus in capitulum congeſtis.
9 Thymelæa africana, foliis Ruſci.
10 Thymelæa africana fruteſcens, Jaſmini flore, foliis Polygalæ.
11 Thymelæa africana anguſtifolia, Jaſmini flore.
1 Tithymalus aizoides africanus, ſimplici ſquammato caule.
2 Tithymalus aizoides africanus, caule ſquammato, Clamænerii folio.
3 Tithymalus arboreus africanus.
4 Tithymalus arboreus æthiopicus ſeu africanus, Mezerei germanici folio, flore pallido.
5 Tithymalus aizoides africanus, validiſſimis ex tuberculorum internodiis provenientibus.
1 Trifolium africanum fruticans, flore purpuraſcente.
2 Trifolium africanum fruticans, folio anguſtiore, flore rubicante.
3 Trifolium africanum fruticans, foliis incanis, flore luteo.
Tulipifera arbor africana.
1 Valeriana africana fruticans, foliis longis et anguſtiſſimis.
2 Valeriana africana, foliis anguſtis, flore macula rubicante notato.
3 Valeriana africana fruticans, foliis Ericæ.
1 Vitis idæa æthiopica ſeu africana, Myrthi Tarentini folio, flore atro purpureo.
2 Vitis idæa æthiopica ſeu africana, Buxi minoris folio, floribus albidis.

The preceding are all natives of, and, in general, peculiar to, Africa; then follow thirty-ſix different ſorts of fig-trees, all called Hottentot figs, viz.

1 Ficoides africana, folio Plantaginis undulato, micis argenteis aſperſo.

2 Ficoides

2 Ficoides africana acaulos, latiſſimis craſſis et lucidis foliis conjugatis, flore aureo amplißimo.
3 Ficoides africana erecta, Ocimaſtri folio, micis argenteis aſperſo, flore roſeo magno.
4 Ficoides africana erecta ramoſa, Tripolii folio, flore aureo magno.
5 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana, folio anguſtiori.
6 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana minor, multicaulis, flore intus rubente, extus incarnato.
7 Ficoides africana, folio enſiformi dilute virenti, flore aureo, brevi pediculo inſidente.
8 Ficoides africana, folio enſiformi obſcure virenti, flore longo pediculo inſidente.
9 Ficoides africana, folio enſiformi varie inciſo, aureo flore pediculo inſidente.
10 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana procumbens, folio triangulari enſiformi.
11 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana, triangulari folio longiſſimo, fructu multu capſulari, flore luteo, major.
12 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana, triangulari folio longiſſimo, fructu multu capſulari, flore luteo, minor.
13 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari longiſſimo, flore aureo.
14 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari longiſſimo, flore purpureo.
15 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari longiſſimo, flore carneo.
16 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana major, procumbens, triangulari folio, fructu maximo eduli.
17 Ficoides africana, folio longo triangulari incurvo, purpureo caule.
18 Ficoides africana, folio longo triangulari recurvo, floribus umbellatis obſoleti coloris, externe purpureis.
19 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari recurvo, flore flaveſcente.
20 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari lanceato.
21 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari incurvo et dentato.
22 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari, obtuſo, in geminos aculeos abeunte, flore aureo.

23 Ficoides

23 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari, apice rubro, caule purpurascente.

24 Ficoides seu Ficus aizoides africana minor erecta, triangulari folio viridi, flore intus aureo, foris purpureo.

25 Ficoides seu Ficus aizoides africana minor erecta, folio triangulari glauco, flore luteo.

26 Ficoides africana fruteſcens, perfoliata, folio triangulari glauco, punctate cortice lignoſo, tenui, candido.

27 Ficoides africana erecta, folio triangulari glauco, punctis obſcurioribus notato.

28 Ficoides africana humilis, folio triangulari glauco, bullato, flore luteo.

29 Ficoides africana humilis, folio triangulari glauco, dorſo aculeato, flore luteo.

30 Ficoides africana erecta, folio triangulari glauco et brevi, flore carneo.

31 Ficoides africana humifuſa, folio triangulari longiori, glauco flore flaveſcente.

32 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana, folio tereti, procumbens, flore purpureo.

33 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana, folio tereti, procumbens, flore coccineo.

34 Ficoides africana, folio tereti, in villos radiatos abeunte.

35 Ficus africana, oculeis longiſſimis et foliatis, naſcentibus exfoliorum aliis.

36 Ficoides africana repens, et læte virens, flore purpureo.

Next, numerous exotics, which have been introduced into the country from Europe, Aſia, and America, viz.

Abies.

Acacia americana, foliis coluteæ Scorpioides leguminoſæ, ſiliquis echinatis.

Acetoſa hortenſis.

Allium ſativum, et hortenſe.

Alnis rotundifolia, et glutinoſa, viridis.

Aloe americana ſobolifera.

Althea indica, ſeu Roſa ſinenſis.

Amygdalus.

Ananas, ſive Carduus braſilianus, foliis Aloes.

Apium hortenſe, ſeu Petroſelinum vulgo.

Arundo ſaccharifera.

Aſparagus

Aſparagus ſativa, et hortenſis.
Beta rubra, et alba, radice Rapæ.
Batatas.
Braſſica rubra, et alba, capitata et non capitata, et florigera.
Camphoraria, ſeu arbor camphorifera, ex que camphora officinarum prodit.
Cannabis ſativa, et erratica.
Carduus benedictus, ſive Cnicus ſylveſtris hirſutior.
Caryophyllus.
Caſſia cinnamonea, ſeu Cinnamomum, ſive Canella ceylanica.
Caſtanea ſylveſtris.
Cepa vulgaris.
Cerafus varii generis.
Chærephyllon ſativum.
Cicer ſativum.
Cinaria hortenſis, foliis non aculeatis.
Clematis hederacea indica, foliis ſubrotundis, flore rubente.
Corylus ſativa.
Criſti pavonis.
Cucumis vulgaris.
Cucumis dictus flos paſſionis.
Cucurbita laginaria et rotunda.
Cupreſſus ramis expanſis.
Cyanus ſegetum hortenſis, flore albo, cæruleo, etc.
Cytiſus arvenſis.
Datura, ſeu Stramonia indica major fœtida, porro ſpinoſo, oblongo.
Faba leguminoſa.
Ficus communis indica, etc.
Ficoides ſeu Ficus americana, Cerei effigie, ſpinoſa et anguloſa.
Fœniculum vulgare.
Fragaria ferens fragra rubra.
Frumentum indicum ſaraſenicum.
Foela Moegri.
Foela quater horas.
Foela Aros branco.
Gramen vulgare, item bulboſum et ſparteum hollandicum.
Groſſularia multiplici acino, ſive non ſpinoſa, hortenſis, rubra et albat.

Guajana

Guajana alba dulcis, ſive Gujava promifera mica.
Hordeum vernum et hybernum.
Hyacinthus albus, ex hollandia ablatus.
Intybus ſativa, latifolia et criſpa.
Juniperus vulgaris, baccis parvis.
Katsjapiring.
Kajoe amaas.
Lactuca vulgaris capitata, et non capitata.
Leucoium album, purpureum, flavum.
Lilium, ſon Corona imperialis.
Majorana vulgaris.
Malus domeſtica, varias denominationes ejus.
Malus cydonia, fructu oblongo et leviori.
Malus citria.
Malus limonia acida et dulcis.
Malus arantia indica, fructu omnium maximo, pompelmoes dicto, medulla partim palleſcente, partim rubeſcente.
Malus arantia luſitanica, ſeu pomum ſinenſe.
Malus punica, ſive Granata.
Malum ſyriacum ſeu creticum.
Meliſſa hortenſis, odore citri.
Melo hiſpanicus.
Mentha hortenſis criſpa.
Meſpilus germanica, folio laurino non ſerrato.
Morus, fructu nigro.
Myrthus communis italica, et latifolia romana.
Napus ſativa.
Narciſſus albus, magno odorato flore.
Naſturtium indicum, flore luteo dilutiore.
Nux juglans, ſeu Regia vulgaris.
Ocyum latifolium maculatum vel criſpum.
Olea ſativa.
Pæonia, flore pleno rubro minore.
Palma dactylifera, Dactylus vulgo.
Papaver hortenſe.
Paſtinaca ſativa, radice alba.
Pepo indicus reticulatus, ſeminibus albis et nigris, major.
Perſica malus vulgaris, fructu molli et albo, item fructu quali ſanguineo.
Pinus ſylveſtris.
Piper indicum ſive balecutium, propendentibus filiquis, oblongis, recurvis, rubris.

Piſtacia

Piſtacia indica, ſeu perſica, fructu racemoſa.
Prunus.
Pyrus ſativa.
Quercus vulgaris, brevibus pediculis.
Raphanus niger major rotundus, et Raphanus minor oblongus.
Raphanus ruſticanus.
Roſa centifolia, frutice ſpinoſo, rubra, alba, etc.
Roſmarinus hortenſis.
Ruta hortenſis.
Sabina.
Salvia.
Sambucus vulgaris.
Secale hybernum ſive majus.
Spinachia, ſemine non ſpinoſo, et ſpinoſo.
Tamariſcus fruticoſa.
Targon hortenſis.
Triticum hybernum.
Tulipa.
Vitis vinifera.
Viola martia.

It is added, that all theſe trees, plants, herbs, and flowers, were to be found in the garden of the Company.

No. X.

SKETCH of the Life of REINIER DE KLERK, late Governor General for the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, abſtracted from ARY HUYSERS' *Life of R. de Klerk. Amſterdam*, 1788.

"I have made thee a name, like the name of the great men that are on the earth." 1 Chronicles, ch. xvii. ver. 8.

REINIER DE KLERK was born at *Middleburgh*, the capital city of the province of *Zealand*, on the 22d of November, 1710. His parents were honeſt and induſtrious, but humble tradeſpeople, and their ſon was firſt

deſigned for the ſame line of life; but to which not having any inclination, he entered, in his fifteenth year, in the naval ſervice of Holland, and went upon a cruize, on board of one of the frigates, ſent to look out for the homewardbound Eaſt-Indiamen. The year afterwards he went his firſt voyage to India, as a common ſailor, in which ſtation he performed another voyage afterwards; and, in the year 1731, he went out, for the laſt time, as third mate, and never again returned to Holland.

At *Batavia*, he was ſpeedily promoted to the rank of firſt lieutenant, and to the command of a country-veſſel, in which he went ſeven voyages to *Padang*, on the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*. On that coaſt, he was frequently employed to command the troops and veſſels, which were ſent to the aſſiſtance of the kings of *Baros* and *Sorkan*, two allies of the Company, who were ſubject to continual vexation and oppreſſion from the king of *Acheen*, and in theſe expeditions he conducted himſelf with ſuch bravery and conduct, as to acquire the title of *the brave hero*, in the letters and congratulations of the Indian princes. But he was frequently afflicted with illneſs, chiefly paralytical, from the great unhealthineſs of *Baros*, *Sorkan*, and the ſurrounding country.

His meritorious ſervices did not fail to be reported to the government at *Batavia*, and laid the foundation of his future greatneſs. At this period of his life an anecdote is related of him, which ſhews his early ambition and perſeverance in aſpiring to the higheſt dignity in India. The comptroller of equipment, at *Padang*, was ſaying jocularly to him, "DE KLERK, you will certainly "be one day commandant of *Batavia*," (or chief of the military there, an office of great truſt and importance) not conceiving that even this elevation was within the compaſs of a hope; upon which our hero replied, "'Tis "not that I want, but I am ſeeking for the door to the "governor generalſhip."

In the year 1737, he left the ſea ſervice, and was made junior merchant, and chief of *Lampong Toulang Bauwang*. The motives that induced the then governor general, VALKENIER, to ſend him to this place, were, that DE KLERK being thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of *Sumatra*, would be the fitteſt perſon to adjuſt ſome diſputes that had ariſen between the kings of *Bantam* and *Palembang*, about their reſpective boundaries. The man-

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ner in which he ſettled them deſerves being recorded. He went up the river of *Lampong*, which is very broad, and runs far inland, in an armed veſſel, as far as *Mangala*, a village ſo called by the inhabitants. Here lay the fleets of both nations, and he moored his veſſel between them; and endeavoured, as umpire, to ſettle their differences, but in vain: he remained fourteen months in this ſituation; and, at the end of that time, he was allowed to build a houſe of bamboos, upon the ſhore, for the accommodation of himſelf and his followers. He ſoon availed of this circumſtance, to bring matters to a concluſion; and by cannon, the preſent *ratio ultima regum*, he made the contending parties ſoon agree. He ſecretly got, one night, from on board his veſſel four pieces of artillery, which he placed at each angle of his houſe, behind a breaſtwork of bamboos. At daybreak, hoiſting the Dutch flag, he fired a ſalute from theſe guns. The aſtoniſhment of both parties, who were very jealous of the Company's gaining a footing there, and who had, therefore, waited ſo long before they would allow him to ſleep on ſhore, may eaſily be conceived. But DE KLERK, who knew their diſpoſition, and, that once intimidated, they would be humble and conceding, ſent word, by the meſſengers that came to him from both kings to know the reaſon of this hoſtile appearance, that he was determined to enforce a ſpeedy adjuſtment; and, as he could not anſwer to his employers to be longer detained by their frivolous conduct, he hoped they would ſpeedily agree, without a more ſerious interference on his part; the diſputes reſpecting the boundaries were ſoon ſettled to mutual ſatisfaction; and the limits then laid down between the two empires, continue ſtill the ſame. DE KLERK afterwards built a fort, on the ſame ſpot where his bamboo houſe had been erected; he named it *Valkenoog* (Hawkſeye), in alluſion to the name of the governor general; and the Company have ever ſince remained in quiet poſſeſſion of it.

Returning, in the year 1741, to *Batavia*, he found the country ſtill in commotion, the conſequence of the revolt of the Chineſe, and which had, in the preceding year, brought on the dreadful event related in volume i. page 263. The deſperate Chineſe ſtill continued their ravages even in the neighbourhood of *Batavia*, and a great number of them yet maintained themſelves at *Bacaſſie*. A body

of troops were ſent againſt them, with whom the junior merchant, DE KLERK, went as ſecretary. The expedition ſucceeded in no farther than in driving the rebels higher up the country; and the war was transferred to the northeaſt coaſt of *Java*. Thither DE KLERK followed the operations of war, in the ſame year, 1741; and he ingratiated himſelf exceedingly with the two commiſſaries appointed to attend to the proſecution of it; eſpecially with the firſt of them, Mr. VERYSSEL, partly from that gentleman having been commandant of the admiralty-wharf at *Batavia* while DE KLERK was in the ſea-ſervice, and who was, conſequently, acquainted with his meritorious conduct, and partly on account of his knowledge in the affairs of the natives, and his enterpriſing ſpirit; of which an inſtance occurred ſhortly afterwards, which procured him great reputation. Commiſſary VERYSSEL entertained ſecret views of making himſelf maſter of the perſon of the general who commanded the auxiliary army of the emperor of *Java*, deſtined to act in concert with the Company againſt the Javaneſe and Chineſe inſurgents, but who did more harm than good to the Dutch. He gave the powder and ſhot that were furniſhed to him by the Company, to the enemy; and when his troops, and thoſe of the Company, were conjointly engaged, it plainly appeared that they fired in the air. This conduct had been reported at the court of the ſoeſoehoenam, and the emperor had long known the evil diſpoſition of his general; he, accordingly, wanted much to be rid of him; but he had not the courage to make the attempt himſelf, and committed this dangerous buſineſs to the execution of Commiſſary VERYSSEL, who was equally at a loſs how to attempt it. It happened, however, that this general, who was a prince of the blood, and couſin to the emperor, came and encamped with his large army, computed to amount to one hundred thouſand men, near *Somarang*. This opportunity was not to be neglected; but the commiſſary was at a loſs upon whom to fix to begin the dangerous experiment of enticing the imperial general, who was as little inclined to the Dutch, as he was ambitious of ſitting on the throne of his relation, into the power of the Company. He conſulted DE KLERK on the ſubject; "I "know of no one able to fulfil your intentions," was the anſwer; "but if I may be made uſe of, my life, at leaſt,

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" is devoted to the ſervice of the Company." He accordingly ſet out, accompanied by ſome native ſervants, carrying the preſents, which conſiſted of two cheſts of opium, velvets, fine cloths, &c. Upon reaching the tent of the Javaneſe commander, DE KLERK, in a ſoothing and complimentary ſpeech, endeavoured to perſuade the general to pay a viſit to the commiſſary at *Samarang*, offering himſelf and his attendants as hoſtages, to remain in the camp; to this, after ſome heſitation, the general agreed; and, going to *Samarang*, he was received with great ceremony and pomp, and with every mark of honour and friendſhip, without perceiving any reaſon for ſuſpicion or ſigns of reſerve in any of the members of the Dutch government. On his return in the evening, DE KLERK was liberated, and ſent back with counter-preſents to the commiſſary. By this means the general was lulled into a fatal ſecurity, and he was ſoon induced to pay a viſit to the commiſſary at *Samarang* without taking any precautions for his ſafety. This time, however, he had no ſooner entered the fort, than he was told that he was a priſoner, and he was immediately put on board a ſhip, and ſent to *Batavia*, whence he was exiled to *Ceylon*, where he died.

The fortitude and addreſs which DE KLERK had manifeſted on this occaſion, gained him great reputation; and he was ſent to command at *Sourabaya*, the eaſternmoſt poſſeſſion of the Company in *Java*, which was, at that juncture, a poſt of truſt and importance. The prince of *Madura*, who pretended to be a friend of the Company, had nearly gained poſſeſſion of the whole of the dominions of the emperor, and it became neceſſary to ſtop him in his career of aggrandizement. DE KLERK was, therefore, directed to deliver a letter from the commiſſary to the prince, and to deſire of him to reſtore to the emperor his capital city of *Cartaſoura*, which he had taken poſſeſſion of. The prince made, at firſt, many objections; but, upon the ſtrong remonſtrances of DE KLERK, he, at laſt, promiſed to ſatisfy the Company in this reſpect. His ambitious deſigns, however, extending to the maſtery of the whole eaſtern part of *Java*, as far as *Balambouang*, it became his intereſt to ſecure, if poſſible, the favour of the chief of *Sourabaya*, and he attempted to accompliſh this purpoſe by the powerful aid of money. But he found himſelf greatly deceived in this reſpect, and his ambitious

deſigns continued to be thwarted and fruſtrated by the faithful DE KLERK. It is uſual with many of the Indian princes, that, when they have conceived any diſpleaſure againſt the chiefs, or reſidents, of the Company, with whom they have to deal, they prefer complaints againſt him to the ſupreme government at *Batavia*, requeſting that he may be removed, and ſome other appointed in his ſtead; and, for the ſake of peace and policy, it is ſometimes requiſite to comply with ſuch requeſts, although the perſon in queſtion, be wholly blameleſs. This was the caſe with DE KLERK; he was ordered, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1743, back to *Batavia*, moſt probably at the inſtance of the prince of *Madura*, for no maladminiſtration could be laid to his charge. He, however, ſo clearly and wholly vindicated himſelf to Governor VAN IMHOFF, who was juſt come from Holland, that he was ſhortly afterwards ſent back in a higher office.

As there ſtill remained many matters to adjuſt with the Javaneſe princes, Mr. VERYSSEL was again ſent as commiſſary in behalf of the Company, in order to direct and ſettle affairs in an amicable manner; the Chineſe, too, ſtill diſturbed the country, in diſtant corners; which, with other things, were the objects detailed in an elaborate, but clear, memorial, which was given to the commiſſary. He left *Batavia* in the month of Auguſt, 1744, taking with him his friend DE KLERK, who was appointed to the office of firſt adminiſtrator at *Samarang*; a ſtation which gave him opportunities of ingratiating himſelf ſtill more with his patrons and employers.

It being the object of Governor VAN IMHOFF to introduce the farming of the territorial revenues in all the reſidencies along the northeaſt coaſt of *Java*, he made choice of Mr. E. STERRENBURG to be commandant of that government at *Samarang*, being a perſon of great ability, in whom he conceived that he could with ſafety confide, for his aid towards the execution of the above favourite plan. This gentleman appeared to give great ſatisfaction during the firſt two years of his adminiſtration; but when he began to complain in ſtrong terms, by letters and reſolutions, of the conduct of the farmers of the revenues, and thereby departed from the views of the introducer of them, the great attachment of the governor towards STERRENBURG was ſoon changed into the bitterſt enmity.

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VAN IMHOFF, unable to bear to have his deſigns thus thwarted, reſolved to go in perſon to the coaſt, in order to ſettle all diſputes, as well as the queſtion of the farms, to his own liking.

He went thither in March, 1746; and STERRENBURG ſoon felt the weight of his diſpleaſure. But DE KLERK was loaded with careſſes and friendſhip. This naturally produced a jealous miſunderſtanding between STERRENBURG and his ſubordinate adminiſtrator DE KLERK; and after the departure of VAN IMHOFF, the hatred, thus excited, was openly manifeſted, by every ſpecies of ill uſage which the ſituation of STERRENBURG enabled him to put in practice towards DE KLERK. The former, however, was ſtill left in the government, as VAN IMHOFF flattered himſelf that he would alter, and blindly fulfil the deſires of his excellency, to puſh the meaſure of farming the revenues, whatever it might coſt; but in this expectation he was much deceived. STERRENBURG continually remonſtrated againſt the iniquitous extortions of the farmers, and was the vehicle of the complaints and repreſentations of the wretched Javaneſe, on the ſubject of the tyranny under which they laboured.

The conſequence of this was, that an entire change took place in the adminiſtration of the northeaſt coaſt of *Java*, in March, 1747. STERRENBURG was diſmiſſed from his office with every mark of diſgrace, and commanded to come to *Batavia*, to anſwer to the charge of diſobedience and obſtinacy, in contravening the orders of the ſupreme Indian government. On the other hand, DE KLERK was, on the ſame day, promoted to the rank of ſecond in that government, by which he might have hopes of ſoon commanding in chief over that rich and favoured country; but he was not long afterwards called to fill another ſtation, in which his generous and noble character was fully diſplayed.

STERRENBURG was thrown in chains at *Batavia*, and although the direction at home, informed of theſe matters, and wanting to bring theſe differences to a termination, ſent out an order appointing him extraordinary counſellor of India, which was received at *Batavia* while he was under the moſt rigorous confinement, yet the governor and council came to a reſolution not to acknowledge this appointment, but ſent the unfortunate victim of the hatred of the governor, in compliance with a ſentence

pronounced upon him by the municipal government, in exile, for five-and-twenty years, to Fort *Revenge*, upon the iſland of *Pulo-ay*, in the province of *Banda*.

VAN IMHOFF, not contented with this deep humiliation of a man for whom he had before cheriſhed the warmeſt attachment, contrived another means by which he hoped to render his life ſtill more a burthen to him. He knew that DE KLERK, when adminiſtrator at *Samarang*, had ſuffered much indignity and vexation at the hands of his enemy, and that he, therefore, could not well fail of cheriſhing an utter hatred for him. DE KLERK was, therefore, appointed governor of *Banda*, on the 30th of December, 1748, and no other expectations were formed than that he would ſoon ſhorten the days of his adverſary by the ill uſage which he would now have it in his power to retort upon him. STERRENBURG could ſcarcely entertain any other opinion; and expected the arrival of the new governor with diſmay and dread. But never were expectations more deceived. DE KLERK, on his arrival at *Banda*, and when he was entering the harbour of *Neira*, received a letter from his exiled enemy, couched in the following terms:

"SIR,

"I congratulate you on your arrival in this province. "I cordially wiſh and pray that the country may flouriſh "under your adminiſtration. In the mean time I beg "leave to call to your remembrance the well-known "ſaying of Solon; and I remain, with perfect reſpect,

"Your moſt obedient ſervant,

"E. STERRENBURG."

The anſwer of DE KLERK was equally in a laconic ſtyle, and in theſe words:

"SIR,

"I am much obliged to you for the friendly congratu- "lations contained in your letter of yeſterday. It is not "my cuſtom to attack a defenceleſs enemy, and you may "depend that I ſhall make it a point, to render your re- "ſidence in this province as comfortable as poſſible. I "ſend you herewith, by proviſion, a caſe of wine, two "cheeſe, and a barrel of butter; alſo the lateſt newſ- "papers from Holland. Whenever you are in want of "any thing, write freely to

"Your humble ſervant,

"R. DE KLERK."

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No idea can be formed of the effect which this, and many ſucceeding marks of friendſhip, had upon the heart, and upon the health and ſpirits, of the baniſhed STERRENBURG. His place of exile became an abode of comfort and pleaſure as long as DE KLERK was in the government; and he lived for many years after the death of his enemy, VAN IMHOFF, in liberty and eaſe. The ſentence paſſed upon him by the municipal government was reverſed, and he was declared innocent by the council of juſtice, before whom he ſolicited a reviſion of the affair.

Governor DE KLERK arrived in *Banda* in good time. He found there a great ſcarcity of rice, which was very diſtreſſing to the poor inhabitants. But he ſoon diſcovered that it was occaſioned by the rapacity of two or three monopoliſts, who had large quantities of rice on hand, and ſold it to the neceſſitous at an exorbitant rate. He ſoon conſtrained them to ſell their grain at the uſual price; he thereby naturally became endeared to the people; and he left no means untried to render the province flouriſhing and profitable. He paid particular attention to the *parkeniers*, the proprietors, or leſſees, of the nutmeg-plantations, and larger quantities of nutmegs and mace were collected during his adminiſtration than in former times. In ſhort, he did much good to *Banda*, though at the expence of his own pocket, and he left it in the year 1753, amidſt the bleſſings and regret of the inhabitants.

Returning to *Batavia*, he married, on the 1ſt of May, 1754, Mrs. VERYSSEL, the widow of his late friend, the commiſſary, and he lived with her for the ſpace of ſix-and-twenty years at *Batavia*, which is a very rare circumſtance at that place, where Europeans very ſeldom live to celebrate their ſilver, and, almoſt never, their golden, weddingdays*.

* It is a cuſtom among the married Dutch, when they live together ſo long, to celebrate with great rejoicings, and with as much pomp and circumſtance, as the ſituation of the parties will allow, the twenty-fifth, and fiftieth, anniverſaries of their marriage; on which occaſion all their friends and relatives who were living at the time of their union, and who can be aſſembled, are in particular invited; and theſe jubilees are called, the former the ſilver, and the latter the golden, weddingday; at the firſt, the married pair are crowned with a ſilver crown, all the utenſils and ornaments uſed are of ſilver, or ſilver-gilt, and a profuſion of ſilver-paper, and ſilver-tinſel, is employed in decorations; while, at the other, a golden crown is made uſe of, and every thing glitters, in the ſame manner, with gold.

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The direction at home, well informed of his honourable conduct in *Banda*, ordered him a pecuniary recompence for his zeal and diligence in the collection of nutmegs and mace, and indemnified him thereby for the expences he had himself incurred, in the discharge of that duty. Such a disinterested administration is not frequently to be observed in India, and *Banda* may be said never to have been more flourishing under any former, or succeeding, governor.

On the 30th of May, 1755, Mr. De Klerk took his seat in the council of India, upon being appointed extraordinary counsellor. This assembly has the absolute controul over all the factories of the East-India Company, *China* and the *Cape of Good Hope* excepted; and it is an ancient custom that the correspondence with the several settlements is divided among the members. The least troublesome department was not allotted to De Klerk. He was entrusted with the correspondence of *Ceylon*, the most important establishment of the Company in the west of India; and he managed this difficult business, together with several other weighty offices, for more than twenty years.

Shortly after his elevation to this dignity, the government at *Batavia* received orders from home to form a general plan of economy and reform in the affairs of the Company, in all their Indian possessions, which were then already perceived to be in a very prejudicial situation. A portion of this labour was committed to each member of the council, and De Klerk received *Banda* for his share, and gave in an ample and elaborate memorial respecting that important province, in the year 1756, under the title of *Radical Account of Banda*; it was sent to Holland, and obtained the special approbation of the direction at home, and they particularly expressed their satisfaction with it, and their desire that the arrangements proposed in it should be put in practice, by their general letter of the 10th of October, 1758.

De Klerk also, at one time, had the superintendence of the hospitals; but in the amelioration of these establishments, so as to reduce the great mortality which prevailed, and still prevails, in those receptacles of human misery, he had no better success than any of his predecessors, or successors; the cause, however, seems to be

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above the art or wiſdom of man, and to originate in the unexampled inſalubrity of the ſpot.

In the mean time, he continued to keep the Ceylon correſpondence with zeal and activity. An expenſive war between the Company and the king of *Candia*, gave the council of India, and eſpecially the ſubject of theſe memoirs, much occupation: upon this occaſion he uttered his ſentiments without reſtraint, and gave very free advice in the council, ſuch as was repugnant to the opinion of the then governor general, VAN DER PARRA, who was, therefore, wiſhful to get rid of him. The governor general propoſed to the council, that as, by the reſignation of Governor SCHREUDER, *Ceylon* ſtood much in need of another able and vigilant head to ſupply his place, DE KLERK ſhould be appointed to that government. He, however, excuſed himſelf, upon the ground of his ignorance of the language, and his want of local knowledge; and, likewiſe, that the fatigue of ſuch an appointment would be too great for him, who had already ſerved the Company for the ſpace of five-and-thirty years, out of which full twenty had been ſpent in climates the moſt noxious to his conſtitution. That government was accordingly given to his friend, Baron VAN ECK, who ſpeedily terminated the war of *Ceylon*, by the taking of *Candia*, the capital city of the king.

On the 28th of December, 1775, died the governor general, PETER ALBERT VAN DER PARRA, after an adminiſtration of fifteen years; and, by his death, Mr. JEREMIAH VAN RIEMSDYK, of *Utrecht*, who had, for eleven years, filled the important office of director-general, ſucceeded to the ſupreme management of affairs in India; at the ſame time, DE KLERK became director general, after he had ſat for twenty years in the council of India, without any promotion, which is equally a rare thing, in this unhealthy place.

His conduct in this office, as in all the others which he had borne, was both meritorious and diſintereſted. The goal which he had ſo long propoſed to himſelf, as the termination of his ardent purſuit, was now within his view; and it was not long before he received the reward of his long ſervices, and attained the ultimate object of his wiſhes, of his hopes, and of his ambition. Governor VAN RIEMSDYK died on the 3d of October, 1777; and DE KLERK was appointed, the day afterwards, to the high dignity

dignity of governor general of the poſſeſſions and eſtabliſhments of the Eaſt India Company, of the Netherlands, in India. Behold here, a man raiſed, by merit and conduct, from the loweſt to the higheſt ſtation! He ſerved his employers, for fifty years before his final elevation, with integrity and ſucceſs, and had filled many and important offices with fidelity and honour. He was ſixty-ſeven years of age when he became governor general, yet, at that time, and for a year and a half afterwards, he enjoyed his powers of mind, his health, and ſtrength of body, unimpaired; but his advanced age made him frequently ſay, "It is muſtard after meat."

Notwithſtanding the ſhortneſs of his adminiſtration, he effected ſeveral things, memorable in themſelves, and beneficial to the Company. He brought to a concluſion the war of *Macaſſar*, which had been begun under the adminiſtration of his immediate predeceſſor, by the reduction of *Goach*. He procured, from the king of *Bantam*, the ceſſion, to the Company, of the provinces of *Landak* and *Succadana*, in *Borneo*, where he eſtabliſhed a reſidency, and built a fort, called *Puntiana*, whence they now receive diamonds, wax, and ſago. He quelled the refractory ſpirit of the inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, by ſeizing upon the kings of *Tidore* and *Bachian*, whom he kept as ſtate priſoners at *Batavia*, ſending the hereditary prince of *Tidore* in exile to *Ceylon*, while the government of thoſe iſlands was placed upon the ſame footing as that of *Ternate*, and they were rendered wholly dependent upon, and feudatory to, the Company.

He eſtabliſhed likewiſe, in April, 1778, the firſt literary ſociety of *Batavia*, of which he was the preſident; and he paid particular attention to matters of religion, encouraging the eſtabliſhment of ſchools, and endeavouring to engage clergymen of abilities and learning to come to the Indies.

He beſtowed a ſignal favour upon the Jaccatra chiefs or native regents, by allowing them to liquidate, by degrees, and in the produce of the country, a large ſum of money which they owed to the commiſſary of inland affairs; as likewiſe, by appointing two members of the government to watch over the intereſts of thoſe regents, and to take care that they did not ſuffer any oppreſſion at the hands of the commiſſary, or of any one elſe.

At the ſame time, he alſo caſt his thoughts upon a large exten-

extent of uncultivated and deſert tracts of land, ſituated in the interior parts of *Jaccatra*, and belonging to the Company: he cauſed them to be ſold, or diſtributed among the Javaneſe, by valuation, whereby he not only procured a pecuniary advantage to the Company, but likewiſe contributed not a little to the promotion of agriculture.

He was not, however, without his faults; and could not, in ſome inſtances, bear much contradiction or oppoſition. Notwithſtanding his great love of juſtice and equity, he was one time hurried into an unjuſtifiable exceſs againſt the council of juſtice; the preſident, and five members of this body, were removed from their ſeats by him, on the 9th of October, 1778, becauſe they refuſed to give up ſome original papers, relative to proceedings that had been inſtituted before them, and which they conſidered as ſacred, and included within their oath of ſecrecy. The direction in Holland too diſapproved hereof, and ordered thoſe gentlemen to be reinſtated in their offices, and that they ſhould receive their ſalaries from the time they had been depoſed.

Governor DE KLERK was, otherwiſe, a man affable in his manners, unaſſuming in his conduct, and inimical to all external pomp and oſtentation. Immediately after his appointment, he intimated to the members of the council, that it was both improper and indecent, that either they ſhould ſtop their carriages, when they chanced to meet with his, or that they, or any one elſe, ſhould ſtand up in the churches, after the ſervice had commenced, upon his coming in; both which regulations had formerly been always enforced by the governors general, and they were accordingly now aboliſhed.

He, moreover, introduced the regulation, that, thenceforward, no viſits of ceremony ſhould be received, upon the acceſſion of a governor general, from the Javaneſe regents and princes of the northeaſt coaſt, but that the homage, uſually paid by them on ſuch occaſions, ſhould be received by the governor of *Samarang*. Beſides his diſinclination for pomp and ceremony, he had motives of policy for this meaſure: *Batavia* was, at that time, very thinly inhabited, and weakly garriſoned, and the Javaneſe princes were accuſtomed to bring with them, on ſuch occaſions, a numerous retinue of their countrymen, from whoſe treacherous diſpoſition danger might be apprehended

hended to the city, on their perceiving the weakneſs of its means of defence.

It was not till one-and-twenty months poſterior to his acceſſion, and after he had received the confirmation of his nomination from his ſerene highneſs the prince of Orange, as upper director of the Eaſt-India Company, who wrote him a letter, in his own hand, congratulating him on his appointment, teſtifying his eſteem, and recommending him, in particular, to keep up the fortifications and naval force of the Dutch in India, that Governor De Klerk would allow of his being publicly inſtalled in that character, which was done with the uſual ceremonies, on the 10th of July, 1779.

From this time, however, his excellency, bending under the weight of age, began to decline, both in bodily health and in mental exertion. Although he naturally wiſhed for repoſe after his long and active labours, his love of fame ſtill made him ſay, that "a governor general ſhould die with a ſword in one hand, and a pen in the other." In the month of Auguſt, 1779, he went to his country ſeat, called *Grogol*, ſituated about two Dutch miles ſoutheaſt of *Batavia*, to fetch, as he expreſſed himſelf, ſome good health: in the firſt days of his ſtay there, he ſeemed to be getting better, but he experienced an unexpected attack of illneſs, that was ſuppoſed would have been fatal to him; but he recovered a little by degrees, and then returned to his uſual reſidence at the *Molenvliet*. This attack had, however, ſo ſubdued him, that he could not be preſent at the council table, nor attend to the other duties of his office with any degree of accuracy. This debility made him apply to the council of India, on the 16th of March, 1780, requeſting to be wholly exonerated from the duties of his ſtation, until he ſhould recover his former faculties and memory, or till the direction at home ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe of the government. Mr. Alting, the then director general, a man of great powers of mind, and well verſed in the affairs of the government and commerce of the Indies, was accordingly appointed to fulfil the duties of governor general; and he readily took upon himſelf this heavy burthen, in addition to his other extenſive and troubleſome employment.

De Klerk now began to decline from day to day; he at length entirely loſt all powers of memory, and he died on the firſt of September, 1780, at the advanced age of almoſt

almoſt ſeventy years. His body was carried, according to cuſtom, to the caſtle, whence it was conveyed, on the 4th of that month, with the funeral pomp due to his rank, to the place of interment, the Dutch church, at *Batavia*, where he was buried, next to his late friend and early patron and protector, VERYSSEL.

FINIS.

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