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Volume III
VOYAGES

to the

EAST INDIES

by

J. S. STAVORINUS

Translated from Dutch

by

S. H. Wilcocke

1798

In three volumes

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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. III.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

LONDON:
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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 Gentooos,
and the Persees.—Diseases prevalent at Surat.

THE Persees live temperately; contrary,
however, to the custom of the Gentooos, 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, Mant-
chergi 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 Parsees 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
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 proflytes.
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 \(4\frac{1}{2}\) to \(4\frac{3}{8}\) 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 $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{3}{8}$ rupees, or £6. 3 to 5 stivers; and the third, or last, fort, those of Constantinople, or Stambouli, among which are comprehended all other Turkish, Arabian, and Persian ducats, and which go at from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{8}$ rupees, or £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. Stavriorinus 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.
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 $3.18$ to $3.324$ 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. 7.

† Or about 5s. 9d. to about 5s. 11d. per dollar. According to Ricard, pieces of eight go at Surat, viz.
100 Mexican dollars for 217½ rupees.
100 Peruvian ditto for 218 ditto.
100 New Spanish dollars for 214 ditto. 7.
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 kalsab, or single seer, $\frac{2}{3}$ pound Amsterdam.

The seer pakka, which is the double of the former, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ditto.
The maund kalsab 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 $34\frac{3}{8}$ pounds, is used for weighing of saffron.

A maund of $41$ seer, or $35\frac{3}{8}$ pounds, for raw sugar.

A maund of $42$ seer, or $36\frac{3}{8}$ pounds, for lamp-oil, almonds, flower of pistachio, cattchoo, camphor, cinnamon, cardamom, cotton, cotton-yarn, coffee, cumminseed, corianderseed, dried ginger, mace, filberds, cloves, nutmegs, black pistachio-nuts, salt-petre, sapanwood, tea, wax, soap, &c.

A maund of $43\frac{1}{4}$ seer, or $37\frac{7}{8}$ pounds, for sugarcandy.

A maund of $44$ seer, or $37\frac{3}{8}$ pounds, for gum arabic, affa foetida, Bengal pepper, cowries, galls, gumlack, rosin, cubebs, brimstone, &c.

A candil is twenty maund kalsab, 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 fold.

A barrab is seven maund kalsab, or 241½ pounds.

Gold and silver are calculated in the following proportions:

A seer kalsab is thirty-five tola;
A tola is thirty-two waal, or twelve massā;
A massā is 2½ waal, or eight retti;
A retti is four nilly.

Two and a half tola are equal to one Dutch ounce; a seer kalsab is therefore fourteenounces; a waal is eight aas; a massā 21½ aas; a retti 2½ aas; and a nilly ¾ aas*.

Thevenot says that a tola makes fifty-six carats.

Pearls are weighed by sangi, one of which is twenty-four retti, or 20½ carats, each retti being ¼ carat.

A sangi is also 330 chouw;
A chouw is ¾ of a grain;
A chouw is likewise sixteen annas;
And an anna is ¼ of a grain.

Diamonds are taken by retti; one hun-

* An English ounce troy is 82½ waal, or wales. Richard T.
dred retti is equal to eighty-five carats, a retti being $\frac{7}{6}$ of a carat, or $10\frac{1}{2}$ grain.

A retti is likewise twenty wassā;

And a wassā is $\frac{7}{8}$ 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 tessōe, or $1\frac{1}{4}$ ges, a ges being twenty-four tessōe.

The standard ges of Surat is $1\frac{1}{14}$ Dutch ell.

The bazar ges of Surat, or that which is used upon the bazars, and in the shops, is $1\frac{3}{16}$ Dutch ell.

The standard ges of Baroche is $\frac{4}{10}$ of a Dutch ell.

The bazar ges of Baroche is $\frac{3}{10}$ 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 cos's, 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 Expense 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 laden, 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 fit 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 fits, 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 navigate
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
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 anything 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 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 expense 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 tediousness 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 poohoon-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 supplied 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 dammer, which is not at all inferior to the other. T,
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 £112.500 — Dutch, and was intended to load one thousand nine hundred canasters of sugar, or one hundred and ninety lasts.
CHAPTER IV.


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 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 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-

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 flavius 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 control, 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 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.
Hindoostan 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 Dehli, 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 SIDGEE, 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 SIDGEE 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 SIDGEE 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 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. Síddeé 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 difficulties.
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 assistance,
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
paid to the Siddee, for the protection of
the coast from pirates). They enforced
their solicitations by entering into an ob-
ligation 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 suf-
ficiently 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 com-
plained 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 in-
fuls, violences, and even murders, com-
mittted on their servants, with a total disre-
gard 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 enterprise 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
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
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 affiance; 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 mainly 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, Gentooos, 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 failed 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 Dentiowry, about nine miles from Sarat, where they encamped three or four days, for refreshment. T.
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 (jengbi 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 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, shou'd 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 person to you, by whom you advis'd me very 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 Suffedair 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 Sindde 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 Sindde'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 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*.

* 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 S.arat.

"Let the renowned among the people, the English Company, 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 kilidaree, or government, of the castle of Sarat, on its being taken from Mussoot Achmed Chah; 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 always in readiness, as has been usual, which is strictly and especially required of them by his majesty."

"Given on the eleventh day of Moboram, and in the sixth year of his majesty's reign (or 4th of September, 1759)."

Hoosfal Hookum, or order, under the seal of the nabob vizier,
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 kiledar (or castle-governor) of the bundar of Surat, vacant by the dismission of Hoffis Amed Chan; as also the office of deroga (or admiral) of the great fleet of the waid bundar, vacant by the dismission of Siddar Yacood Chan. Therefore, agreeable to his order, you are now directed to take particular care of the proper execution 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 Siddar 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 possessed..."
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 allowance.”

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
"Damoujee, 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 waive it without offence; using, at
the same time, all possible precautions to prevent the Marattas
from having any intercourse with the Siddeee, 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 im-
propriety 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 anything 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 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
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 government, 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 Sindrome, shall remain with the
English Company, who shall enjoy the
whole, in the same manner as the Sindrome."

"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
fame."

"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 uncontrolled ingress and egress, with-
out
"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 prosecute 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, MANTCHE-RI,
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.
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 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
aff 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 country round 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 *Naffary*, situate a few Dutch miles below *Surat*, without, however, being able to restrain 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* Bouwa,

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*Mr. Hastings. T.*
Bouwa, and that she had encamped with 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 disaffection 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
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,
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,
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 nusbawn; by the nabob, a perwanna; and by the vizier, a bousbul-bookum. 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 Jehaan 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 Gilissen, 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, salt-petre, 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 Rebuelsanees, 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 Graaff, 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 anything 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.

* Rajab, 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.

* Duun 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 highway; 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, ordinates:

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
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 rabadarees, 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 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 Baroche
roche shall receive the duties from them, agreeable to the tenor of the fîrmans 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 Rebî-ul-aūwel, 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 Bengâl 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 fîrmân, 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-aowel, 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
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 merchandise, 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.
Hindoostan, 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 confidential
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 Adriche, in the fifth year of his majesty's reign, on the 5th of the month Rebhi-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 first and third articles of the twelfth; and the fourth and seventh articles of the sixteenth, *firms*, are hereby confirmed. As likewise the third article of the sixth *firma*, with this addition, that no one shall trouble them for any *rabadarees*, 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, *firms*; 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 *Ballasfore*, shall have liberty to anchor in such places as they may choose.

2. That after payment of the fixed duty
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 Orissa, and which they convey for exportation to the ports of Houghly, Piple, and Ballafore, 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 ac-
count of the courageous repulse of the troops of Seva Gi*.

2. That one half per cent, out of the 2½ 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 Valetyn's account, plundered and burnt the city of Surat, in the year 1664. He died in the year 1686, 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 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 Houghly 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 Etta-baar 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 ambassadour, 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 Redje-bul-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, Debly, 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, Doltabad, 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 jaquer, 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 Houghly, shall not claim of the Dutch any duty on the goods which they may purchase in Babar, and convey, either by water or by land, to Houghly, as the same shall be taken at Houghly, 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 Houghly, 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 rabadarees, 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

* Faudar, 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 zamindars, or landholders, and accounts to the government for them. T.

weavers,
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 confirmation 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, *fирманс*; 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 *фирмансы* 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
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 councillor 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 expense 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, together
gether, held the reins of government for full eighty-one years.

However valuable, and of whatever importance, Mr. Shreuder considered these firman 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 which formerly belonged to the direction of Surat, were those of Persia *, Mocha, Wingurla, Agra, Amadabad, 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 Isfahan in Persia, but their trade to that country has been for several years entirely abandoned. T.

Mr.
Mr. Peacock, 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 department 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 expenses of the navigation 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 expeditions 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 Company, &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 possession of it, if that be ever again thought necessary."

"The factory at Amedabad † was established

* There is a letter extant from the king of Vissapour, 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 Barache * was established
in the country; but it is not improbable that it is the Amadavistis
of Arrian. It is situated in 23° north latitude, on the east
bank of the Subremity, 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 for-
tified in former times, and when Valentyn wrote, it was
thought by the Moors to be the securest fortress in all His-
\[108\] p:\textit{f}\[108\]sia, next to those of Cabul and Candahar. Thevenot
and Valen\[108\] tyn 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.

* Baracke, or Barokia, lies upon the river Nerbeldab, 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 gulf of Cambaya, in the direction of E.S.E. and W.S.W. where there is an open road for ships in seven fathoms, mostly sandy bottom. The fortress of Bareco 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 Nerudlab is said to have a peculiar property for bleaching of cloth to a perfect whiteness. Agates are likewise an article of trade at Bareco, which are brought from the mountains near Brampour, and are mostly disposed of at Cambaya. T.

* Chircees, or Chirbeeus, 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 Cambay, 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 site 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, nicanées, cannaquins, cheloes, &c.; the cottons of Brodera are even finer than those of Baroché; but they are narrower and shorter. Indigo is also an article of trade here. T.

* Cambay is a large city, lying at the bottom of the gulph of the same name, upon the north bank of the river Canari, 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 Cambay, by the Moorish, Armenian, and Arabian merchants, with Persia, Mocha, Diu, Aceben, 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, Baffora, 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 advan-
tageous establishments of the Company in
India. The goods which they brought to
market there, having become, by the luxury
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 \(520\frac{3}{4}\) 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, \(850\frac{1}{4}\) per cent gain, or in money the sum of \(f.509,464.1.2.\) †, while

* Or about \(\text{£}.30,415\) sterling. 
† About \(\text{£}.46,315\) sterling.
in those ten years a further annual average profit of £255,929. 3. 5. * was made upon the other goods, although only in the proportion of 59½ 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 1739-1749, 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 †.

* About £23,266 sterling. T.
† By Valentine's account, the Dutch formerly gained at Surat,
upon cloves, 665½ per cent,
upon nutmegs, 1453½ per cent,
upon mace, 718½ per cent,
upon copper in bars, 128½ per cent,
upon ditto in plates, 31½ per cent,
upon benzoin, 42 per cent,
upon gumlack, 34½ per cent,
upon quicksilver, 27½ per cent,
upon vermillion, 19½ 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, succotr ine, 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 Baroche, 160 ps. per bale; black fine ditto, 1200 ps. per bale; broad white ditto, 100 ps. per bale; silk chinood, 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; chouta-rees deriabadys of Agra, 70 ps. per bale; mammoods of Talalpore, 60 and 55 ps. per bale, &c. likewise indigo from Agra by packs of 4 maunds of 53 lb. each; indigo chirees per 4 maunds of Amedabad, at 3 lb. per maund; candied mirabolans, 69 lb. or 2 maunds, in a bladder; hing, or assa foetida, per maund of 40 lb.; rasmala, or borax; opium of Malva, per pack of 99 lb.; soap of Surat, 225 lb. per cheft; red sealing wax of Surat, 5½ lb. per box; cotton-yarn, wheat, &c.

And the clear profits of the head-factory amounted yearly to fix or seven tons of gold (£55,000 to £64,000 sterling). Governor Meshek recommended the prosecution of the trade from Batavia to Surat, and that two large shps 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 £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 articles
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 everything 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 been 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 £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 £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 £260,000 (about £23,636 sterling) was sold in Holland in the year 1778.
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 *Deccan* 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 enterprises 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 endeavour
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 counsellor Sittou, and then 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
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 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 Company to attain what he knew they had long wished for, namely, the establishment of a factory at Bazaïm, 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 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 posses, 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 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, Mantcherji, and Govanram, 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
fideration among the natives, who bear wit-
ess to them; for what could otherwise have
induced Mr. Spencer, before the commence-
ment of the attack, and when he was at the
head of the troops, to write, of his own ac-
cord, his letter of the 18th of February, 1759,
by which he guaranteed, in the strongest
manner, all the privileges as well of the Com-
pany 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 neutra-
ality, 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
repeated offers made to him by the governor of the castle, as has before been mentioned, first indirectly, afterwards verbally, and then publicly and in writing, to deliver the castle into the hands of the Dutch Company, in despite of the English and of their menaces: for the reasons which he alleges for that refusal, in his secret dispatches of the 10th of March 1759, chiefly consisting in the presumption, that the governor of the castle had no authority from his master for that purpose, and in the apprehension that, if we were to take possession of the castle, the English might, at least, claim an indemnification from us for the expences of the expedition which they had begun; or if we refused to satisfy their demands, act against us with open hostility, and perhaps compel us to the abandonment of the fortress, with more disgrace, than the acquisition of it was accomplished with facility; these arguments, I say, are far from being sufficient to counterbalance the indubitable maxim, that in matters of the utmost importance and necessity, the most perilous remedies must be resorted to, and the utmost hazard incurred, rather than be forced to yield to the superiority of rivals.
It is therefore thought, that some palpable mistake, or abuse, was committed herein; for it is not otherwise possible to believe that Mr. Taillefert, acquainted so long beforehand of the designs of the English, should have tamely remained a spectator of their execution, without attempting the least opposition; the more so, as he had, at that time, under his command, a strong garrison of brave troops exasperated against the English, together with a good number of European seamen.

After all, our people were justified in expecting, as a recompence for their inactivity and neutrality, that the formal written assurances, first given by Mr. Spencer by orders from the presidency of Bombay, and afterwards direct by the council of Bombay, that they would maintain us in all the privileges which had been granted to us by the mogul emperors, and that they would not suffer any infraction to be made in them, would be religiously adhered to, and have been followed by active exertions in consequence. But nothing was less their intention than to fulfil these fine promises and assurances, which had merely served for the purpose of lulling
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 Klinkert, 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 Afsghans.—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 history, and scarcely any tradition, that we know, of their former state, it is impossible
possible to procure a full and satisfactory account of so numerous a nation, once settled, then dispersed, and now re-establishing 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 numbers that were driven out from thence, by Aurungzebe, that he employed above twenty years in fruitless endeavours to reduce 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 siefs to the throne of Debly. Aurungzebe 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, Babar, and Orissa: until, in consideration of the cession to them of the province of Cacar, and an annual tribute of twelve lacks of rupees, they concluded a treaty of peace with Allaverdi Chah, who was possessed of the soubahship of Bengal, in the year 1750. T.

since
"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-
"pense, 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 dis-
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-
culty to the reader of the writings con-
cerning these people, who is also desired
to take notice, that though all authors
speak of Sattaarab as the capital of the
Maratta country, the residence of the
brahmin their sovereign, is Poonab, 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 Sattaarab is not
ascertained, and therefore he has not put it in his
map." T.

"This
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 Marattas, 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 confired 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. 7.
"Fabres to the destruction of their fellow-creatures. The salvo for this extraordinary contradiction, is a device of their priests, who, by the sacrifice of a buffalo, with many mysterious and enthusiastic ceremonies, absolve their warriors from the restrictions which bind the vulgar."

"It should be here observed, that the Marattas, mentioned so often in the narrative *, 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 fides; 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 Nana Saha Rajah, but he obeyed his orders only in proportion as they coincided with his own views. T.

"settled
settled habitation, and no profession but war, if it may be called a profession, where they have neither art nor discipline: 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 galloping round the country, cut off the convoys; 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 fatigue, and for the most part fed with standing corn. The common men have no clothing but a turban 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 fatal to troops that are once broke. They are a destructive foe, and an unserviceable friend. They ruin their enemies 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 obedience 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 nizâm's, or, as they styled themselves, the mogul's army; adventurers collected from every quarter of the earth, who, priding 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 ours, and, on approaching it, had the appearance of a large irregular town, for the chiefs pitch their standards around their general 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 merchandise, as in a great fair. There are throstis, 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 attending as minutely to their interest, as if they were in Poonah, 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 timber, 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 manner; 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 ammunition 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 commanded by half-caste people of Portuguese and French extraction, 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 Europeans 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 respect 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 bazaars, 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 bazaars 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 baggage, 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 immediately turned out in our camp, and stood to their arms, thinking that Tipoo 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 defirous of marching; and sent to the Maratta chiefs to request 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, distinguished by their state-flags and nagars also borne on elephants. 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; elephants, camels, pikemen, standard-bearers; horsemen innumerable, 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 continual discharge of pistols and carbines, displayed the jubilee of their march. A spectacle so wild and irregular, yet so grand and interesting, resembled more the visions of romance, than any assemblage that can be supposed to have existence in real life." Pages 8-13, 23 and 24. T.

"what
if 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 about, he will hardly venture to struggle 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 neither 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 entertained 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 disorder, to a more settled system of policy *.

* 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 Scinde, 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 Cutch 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 493,750l. sterling.
"The Marattas have been a great check upon the Moorish government, and it is owing to their arms alone that the mahomedans 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 enervated by their debaucheries, and soon degenerate into sloth and effeminacy. It may also be added, that a general corruption of manners, and treachery to one another, would greatly conduce to render 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 Tipoo 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 Deccan, and the Marattas, or one hundred and eighteen and a half lacks of rupees for the whole; being one-half of Tipoo'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 Candabar,
commonly known in India by the name
of Patans, though they are more gene-
really 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 Babar), and at last
overran the whole country to the west,"
and were masters of Dehly when Tamerlane 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. 1.

† 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 negotiate 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, cautious
left the mogul empire in the weak and indefensible state to which he had reduced it, the Patans invaded it, on a 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 precipitate flight. But it was not long before the peace of Debly was more fataly disturbed; for the Patan chief retiring to Labore, 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 required of the collectors of the public revenues, 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. 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 government of Hindostan, and yet he assumed a kind of sovereignty over it; but when he returned to Labore, 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 Fenghli-bander.

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 expense 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
boat'swain 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 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 dispensier, 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
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 disposed 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 before-mentioned 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 control, 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 hircarrahls, 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 re-partition 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 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. 7.
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 southwestern suburb, called Fengbi-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 expenses of the construction itself. Mr. De Roth, who seemed
seemed to be very much in earnest to begin this work, charged in account, it is said, no less a sum than eighty thousand rupees, solely for the consideration-money, given for leave to build the wall; and when, two or three years ago, part of the wooden piles at the northeast side required to be renewed, a sum of forty thousand rupees was charged for effecting it; each pile being provided, as I was told, with eighty pounds weight of iron-work.

At the west end of the wall stands the house of the director, as also that of the second; on the other side, between these, is a large open space, on which the ensignstaff is planted; and about forty yards from the wall there are four dwelling-houses, of an uniform height, being of one story, which were erected under the last direction, with the consent of the English and Moors: behind them are some smaller buildings. The bookkeepers and inferior servants occupy part of the warehouses, which are very flight, being only run up of bamboos and woodwork.

The wharf is shut every night by two gates, at one of which there is a guard of military
military, being just beyond the hospital, over which the chief surgeon has his apartments.

I have now related all what I found worthy of observation during the short stay that I made at Surat, which did not permit me to examine into the manners and customs of the natives with more accuracy, though I had the greatest desire to do it.

I shall now go back to my journal, from the time of my arrival at Surat.
CHAPTER X.

Passage up the River of Surat.—The Company's Garden Zorgvry.—The Bar.—The Tary-dyke.—Tomb of a Faiquir.—View of the City, &c.—Excursion to AttuA—To a Garden of the Nabob.—Visit to a Faiquir, who had vowed a Silence of twelve Years.—The training of the English Sepoys.—Visit to, and Account of, a Pagoda, and some Faiquirs.—The Company's Brokers pay a Visit to the Author.—He goes to see a celebrated Faiquir, called Babba Saheb.—Account of his House, Conversation, &c.—Visit to another Pagoda, and Account of some religious Ceremonies of the Gentooos.—Visit to the Garden of Begum Saheb.—Celebration of the new Year by the Moors.—Procession of the Nabob to the Mosque.—Excursion to, and Account of, Old Surat, and of a Mosque there.—Excursion to Briauw.—To Poele Parre.—Description of a Species of Hemp.—Further Account of some religious Ceremonies of the Gentooos.—Preparations for Departure.

I HAVE before mentioned that both the ships, Ouwerkerk and Overboud, cast anchor in the road of Surat, on the 10th of November, 1775.
The next day, at noon, I left the ship, and came in about half an hour to Attua, or rather to the Company’s garden there, called Zorgury (free from care), where the director, Bosman, then was.

I found on the bar, in the Passageul, nine feet water, it having risen, as I guessed, six feet. The mouth of the river is half a league broad, by my computation, from Sualy to the N.W. to Domis to the S.E.

A little below Sualy, on the same side, is the Tary-dyke, so called from its being frequented by some of the common people, who retail their tary, or sari, to the passers by: I have before mentioned this liquor. The country here looks very barren; but when you get higher up, it assumes a better and more fertile appearance. At intervals, large fields of nilly, which the Moors call juary, are seen, divided from each other by intervening pasture-grounds.

A little below the village of Omrah, on the right hand, in going up the river, we passed the tomb of a faquir, which was attended by two of those devotees: it stands in a little grove, out of which several long bamboo
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 *Fakkoorder*, 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 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 faqir, 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 likewise
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 faqir, 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 Marrayatas: 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 Om-rab, 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, strewn 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,
Burat, 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. Sluiskins 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 company
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 increased in strength, as he increased 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 arecanut, 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 Om-rab, 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, fat 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 Naffary 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
was to be the first of the year 1190 of the Hegira, or of the flight of Mahommed 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 maffieds 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 tranquility 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 pavilion 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 cow-hair 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 fell 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 fits in form at home, without one or two chowrawbadars, or brushes, 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 land side, are still in existence; but it has much run to decay within the walls.
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 engraved on the stone, in the year 150 of the *Hegira*; and the stone itself had been brought several centuries ago from *Jeddah* to where it now is, at least, according to the relation of two of their
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 little below Poole 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
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 responsibility 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 gen-tos, 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 crowd 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 crowd 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. Thé 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. Everyone 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 crowd 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 choked 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.
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—Kraeketaw, &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, Bougineese, 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 Naffary, 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 failing-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 grubs, lying at anchor, south of us; and being uncertain whether this was the Maratta
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 sunrisе; 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 Galle, 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 Comarin, the southermost 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 Gbauts, and which make the bad monsoons 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. 1. 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 Engano, 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 Brazilians; 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 Bengoolen, 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 loft 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 consult 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 everything 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 recovered themselves, and paddled off. I went on shore the day after; I saw a few houses near the beach, and went towards them; but the natives flocked down, 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 looking-glasses, with which they seemed well pleased, and allowed 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 stripped of every thing. I intended to have attempted another day, to have penetrated into the country, and had prepared my people for it: but the inconsiderate resentment 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 people assembled in different places, making threatening gestures: 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 ordered the anchor to be weighed, and sailed out of the bay, bringing away two of the natives with me. They are a tall well-made 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, sharpened 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 together, 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 immediately from the floor in a conical form, so as to resemble 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,
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 fail 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 Empeors-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
Weltvreeden (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 Riemstuck, 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 the 29th of May, the ship *Ouwerverkerk* 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 failed 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 failed 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 Combuiz and Menscheneetters 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 Verkenfsboek, 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. Kraketau bore due north.

The next morning, at sunrife, 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 topmaft.

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,
moon, 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 parts 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 southermost 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 Hoofwerf 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
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 care, soon re-established me in perfect health.
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.—Mensoons.—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
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,
fix, 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 Coyalang there is a similar one, but which does not extend half so far out. South of the abovementioned mouth of the river of Cran- ganore, 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 leeward 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 Maleidische 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 southwest 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 everywhere low, and interspersed 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 zamorin, 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 everywhere 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.  £

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 cinamon *, of which, it it said, that a yearly quantity of one million of pounds, is exported

* Caffia lignea.
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 grainèd, and is worse barkèd 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 resinous taste.

Coarse cotton cloths are also made in the southern parts, in the Travancore country, but they do not form a considerable object of foreign trade. They are mostly disposed of to the English at Anjengo.

Coir, or the stringy coat of the coconut, 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 Mehal, 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 baptize their children till they are forty days old. In the time of Valentyne, 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
exercise 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 plastered 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 Cochin, 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
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 Outposts 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 Moëns, 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
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.

Cochim 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
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 councillor-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 krankbezoeckers *.

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 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 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 Papoonetty, 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 Tengena-patnam, 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 arecanuts,
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 the 31st of May, 1698, shews how little the power of the Company was feared by the rajah of Cali Cooylang, 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 fail 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 surprized 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 surprizing 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 disapproved.
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 enterprise 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 increased 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 Macassar 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 (L. 1 0 steil.)
one hundred gunflints, - - o 13 (0 1 2)
a pound of gunpowder, - - o 13 (0 1 2)
one hundred leaden musket bullets, o 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 barped 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
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 raseas * 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 increasing 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 3d. sterling. T.
† About £.45 4 sterlings. 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 overran 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
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 *Airoor*, 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.
The samorin, whose object was not so much the making war on the Company, as the prevention of a further increase 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 samorini 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 is
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 dis-
patched, accompanied with considerable pre-
sents, 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 nei-
ther 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 My-
scorean, who was then, indubitably, the 
greatest prince in those parts. This, Mr. 
*Moens* endeavoured to soften as much as 
possible, by writing at one time, that the ex-
traordinary length of the voyage was the oc-
casion 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 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. Moens, 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 Craneganore 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. Møens, that if they were not speedily succoured, they would be obliged to surrender, for want of provisions and ammunition.

Upon receiving this intelligence, Mr. Møens 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
the purpose of disembarking the men, and landing the stores and provisions, intended for the relief of Chittua.

On the same day that they failed 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,
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 to break through the Travancore lines, to
be at hand to get footing on the island of
Baypin, or even to attack Cochim itself; and
the retrenchment which had been begun be-
fore Cranganore was not near completed, for
want of labourers, who are here called
coolies*.

To this, add the intelligence, which Mr.
Moens 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 Cochim.

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 Hookwerf and

* Coolies are those natives who are employed in carrying
of burthens, digging of trenches, and such laborious occupa-
tions; and who, supplying the place of pioneers, cannot be
dispensed with in the operations of military tactics in
Hindoostan. 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. Moëns 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
he seriously intended to undertake the prosecution of the war, Mr. Moëns 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 expense, 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 Cochin away from them, it will not be long before we shall take it back from him."

The chief of Tellicherry too, as soon as he understood that the enemy had taken Papanetty, allured the different vessels, that were annually accustomed to resort to Cochin, for the purposes of trade, to his settlement, pretending that Cochin 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 failed 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. Moëns 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. Moëns 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. Moëns, and sent back the people who had been taken prisoners at Chittua, providing them with provisions, and paying their expenses 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. Moëns, 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. Moëns 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. Moëns 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.
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 Travancore, 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 increasing competition of European rivals, who adopted a surer mode of obtaining as much pepper as they wanted, by always following the market price, 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 market price, as the rule to go by*.

* Secret Considerations of the Commandant De Jong, of the 25th of October, 1757. S.
The felling 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 felling 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 at-
tentively 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 pre-
judicial as baneful, on account of the con-
tinual 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


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 fur-
nished 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 ob-
tained of a spice which has now become an article of uni-
veral consumption in most parts of the globe." T.

† Mr. MosSEL, however, was of opinion, that, by a better
management,
Since the accommodation of the last differences respecting the samarin, 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 profit upon these might annually be £250,000, and the charges of the whole £232,000, or £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 florins (nearly 1s. 7d.) per pound; the purchase-cost on the coast, is, by the treaties, from four to five florins 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. 7.

£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 gulf of Persia, where such an advance upon the prices is

* About L.10,920 sterling. T.

† In the year 1779, however, the charges of the Malabar establishment were f.489,645, while the profits amounted together to no more than f.414,977, or f.74,668 (about L.6,606 sterling) less than the charges, exclusive of the expenses 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,
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.
CHAPTER XV.

Further Stay on the Coast.—Departure from Co-chim.—Passage through the Channel of Mama.—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.—Repealed 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 endeavour 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 Laquediva and the Maldives 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 increasing 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
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 increased 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 northwest, where the line of distinction between the sea and the sky was discernible, 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 glas 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 Hiedendaagsche Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen (a Dutch periodical publication), vol. iii. no. V. art. Miscellaneos, page 204. S.
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 bet 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 milk-white 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 molluscæ, bezaanjes (bolothuria 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 preying 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 C. ram, keeping, however, to the
On the following evening, and part of the night, we saw this phenomenon again, the south of the Uliaffers and Amboyna, where it appears in large stripes. This milk-sea, as Valentyne 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 Saluyer, 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 southeaster 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 gulf 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 Valentyne, 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. Valentyne Beschryving van Oost Indien, vol. II. page 137 and 138, and vol. III. part 2, page 10 and 41. 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 periwinkle; 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 periwinkle, 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 1oth 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 increased 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 through the whole length, in the middle of the body, which was narrow at the head, but increased 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 vitae* 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.*

*Fig 2, plate XII. in Phipps's Voyage, is cancer nivax, macronurus, articularis, pedibus quatuordecim simplicibus, laminis femorum sex posteriorum dilatatis subrotondo cordatis. It is added, that this animal, which had not before been described, should be inserted in the *Systema Naturae* 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.

...rawl 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. 7.

At
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, arrived 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 twentycofs 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,
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 Conduet 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 Ouw werkerk 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.—Death of the King 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 sandhills 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
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 Basin of Sually, 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 Valentin's time, the ships that frequented the port of Surat, lay at anchor in the Basin of Sually, whence most goods were carried up to the city upon oxen. T.
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 Barache, 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
fuel 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 failing-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 southeasterly winds, with which we failed 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 *Mantarray*, and the *Poggee* or *Nassau* islands. T.
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 Fifth-point,

* Pulo Pogge, 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 Mantawye, are universally tattooed 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 Sabee, 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
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 coconuts 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 choke 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 insuluation 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 Engane, 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 loft 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
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 Otswerkerk 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 expense of justice and humanity. T.

resolved,
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 expense 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-
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-Fabe, 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,
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. S. N. and E. by S. W. 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 dis-
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 everywhere 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 failed along them, as I did from the 5th to the 15th of October, 1774, of which I have before given a detail*.

* 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 everywhere 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. 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 everywhere 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 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 increase 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 sub stance, produces less increase 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 *paddoo 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.

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<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>Black Pepper</th>
<th>White Ditto</th>
<th>Black Ditto</th>
<th>White Ditto</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bantam and Lampong</td>
<td>3,714,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>1,117,375</td>
<td>16,250</td>
<td>497,507</td>
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<tr>
<td>Borneo</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1,119,436*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palembang</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sumatra’s west coast</td>
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<td>Jaccatra province</td>
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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 control 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
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 Jacatra 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 Jacatra, the latter being much more substantial and better granulated.

In the year 1710, there were one hundred and thirty-one sugarmills in Jacatra; 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
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 Jacatra, might annually yield to their proprietors, or lessors: 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 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 propor-
tional 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 atap,
where
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 Ben-ecoolen, to bring to perfection the manufacture of sugar and arrack, from the canes abounding on the coast of Sumatra: but the expenses, 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 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 dispensers, 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 the
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 vigourously 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 \( \frac{2}{1000} \) 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 2½ 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 14s. 5d. sterling per cwt. See note to page 233 of vol. 1. T,
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 17½d. 13½d. and 9½d. 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 10s. 10d. sterling per ton English, and the selling-price from 91s. 8d. to 107s. per ton. The natives of the sea-coast of Sumatra exchange their benjamin and camphor for iron, steel, brass wire, and salt; of which last about one hundred thousand bamboos (gallons) are annually taken off in the bay of Tappancoly 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 jaloop, 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 Bengoolen, to the presidency of Madras, it is mentioned that salt could not be dispensed of as an article of trade; and they also manufacture it themselves; but their method is tedious. They kindle a fire close to the seashore, 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 seashore; 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 cubebs.

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.
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 Mookervaart.—Canals and Drains cut by the Dutch.—Productions.—Cheribon.—Boundaries.—Population.—Productions.—Establishment.
—Expences and Profits.—The Empire of the Soesoehoeman.—Former Extent and Grandeur.
—Present reduced Situation.—The Dominions of the Sultan.—Island of Madura.—Titles of the reigning Soesoehoeman, 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 Soesoehoeman, 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

* Huyssers 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 *foesoeboenam*, 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 tjetjars, or families
in *Jaccatra* 33,914 ditto
in Cheribon 15,000 ditto
in the *Mutaram*, 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 \textit{soesoebonenam} alone, amounted to 309,700, or 1,858,200 souls, and at present (1777), the same lands, which were then under the dominion of the \textit{soesoebonenam}, 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

* \textit{Valentyn}'s statement of the population of Java, in his time, shews a still greater disproportion; his account, in which he takes every \textit{tiatjar}, or family, at five persons only, gives—

in the kingdom of \textit{Bantam}, exclusive of the city of Bantam, families 5,000, or persons 40,850

in \textit{Javastra}, exclusive of \textit{Batavia}, ditto 19,390, or ditto 96,950

in \textit{Ceribon} and its dependencies, ditto 63,120, or ditto 305,600

in the countries belonging to the emperor of \textit{Mataram}, or the \textit{soe-}

\textit{soeboenam}, ditto 483,570, or ditto 2,417,850
The actual five divisions of Java, are: Bantam, Jaccatra, Cheribon, the empire of the soeso-boenam, 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 Wynkoopshbergen.

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

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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 uncontroled 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 like-
wise from selling any of the productions of
his territories to any other than to the Com-
pany; and this restriction as to trade relates
not only to his kingdom of Bantam, but also
to the articles produced in his dependent pro-
vinces in Borneo and Sumatra; those in the
last-mentioned island are the two Lampons;
distinguished into Lampon Samanca and Lam-
pon Toulang Bauwang *.

**Bantam**

* The country of Lampon begins on the west coast, at the
river of Padanggoebit, which divides it from Passummaab, and
extends across the south extremity of Sumatra, as far as Pa-
lembang, 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 Lampon bays: and the
great river Toulang Bauwang runs through the heart of it,
rising from a considerable lake between the ranges of moun-
tains. The country of Lampon 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 south-west 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
these
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.

Europeans. 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 £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 refort 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 Zeeleewuw (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 reforted 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 Pameitan. 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 fresh-water 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, forfaken 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, Brabandisch Hoedje, and Topers Hoedje, and by the English the Cap, and Button. The gentlemen accompanying Lord Macartney in the Lion, had occasion to visit the two last mentioned; 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 calves,
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:

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<td>5° 55'</td>
<td>105° 43'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North island</td>
<td>5 38</td>
<td>105 43 30'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cap</td>
<td>5 58 30&quot;</td>
<td>105 48 30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Button</td>
<td>5 49</td>
<td>105 48 30</td>
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* 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, Paga-deen, and Pamanoeckang; to the north, upon the sea, with the districts of Pamanoeckang, 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 tjajars, 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 Jesuoeboenam, 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 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 Mookerwaart, 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 Slokbaan (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 25,270l. 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;
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 laft 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 flivers.
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 possesses 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 site 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 Soesoeboenam, 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 2½, and the sugar 1½, shillings 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 expenses of Jaccatra, are included in those of Batavia, which we add to the account of that city given in chapter iv. T.

north,
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 Soeopoë 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 16s. sterling per cwt. English.
Before the war of the year 1740, the foefoebenam, or the emperor of Java, as he was called, was the sole proprietor of all the country, lying eastward of the last mentioned empire of Cheribon, which was the western boundary of that of the foefoebenam. 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 lafts 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 (11. 3d)
10,000 lbs. of indigo, at 30 stivers . . . (21. 9d.)
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 $12,584$, and the former to $35,761$, shewing a favourable balance of $23,177$, or $2,107l$. 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 15,000l. 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, ancienly 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. 7.

living,
living, consist of seven provinces, which lie interspersed between those which have remained with the Soesoeboenam; 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 _foesoeboenam_, 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 _foesoeboenam_ died without issue, his children, in the right of being the nearest of blood, should succeed to the imperial dignity. There is, at present, however, no probability that this will ever come to pass, as the _foesoeboenam_ has not only several children, but one of them has already been appointed his successor.
cession 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 Mankö Boeni.

The titles which the present reigning Soesoeboenam has assumed are as follows: Soesoeboenam (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 Mata-ram, 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.
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 subjected 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 seasoebuanam, 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 Jaccatra, 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.
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 uncontroiled 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 fullently 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
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 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, plastered with mud, and covered with *atap*, or other similar leaves.

The conveniences of household 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 Acehn, Jefor, 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.

* 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 siseboenam 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 Chinesse 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 are
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, Macassar, 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 semi-circular 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
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 southeaft, 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 Mookerwaart, 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 encroachment 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, 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 Anjol-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 1,000 houses, from Valentyn's account; which is as follows:

in the city 673 large 764 small 997 Chinese ditto
203 Dutch ditto, tenanted by Chinese.—In all . 2,442

and out of the city,

<table>
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<tr>
<th>arrack houses</th>
<th>large Dutch ho.</th>
<th>small ditto.</th>
<th>Chinese ditto</th>
<th>total.</th>
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<td>at the New-gate, 6</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>559</td>
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<td>at the Drift-gate, 1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>236</td>
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<td>at the Rotterdam-gate, 5</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>732</td>
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<td>at the Utrecht-gate, 0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>135</td>
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<td>751</td>
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| coach-houses | . | . | . | 9 |

12 216 850 1,340 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 Oorwyk, 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 Anjol, Ankee, Nourdwyk, and Ryswyk, as well in their campons as elsewhere, there are Chinese, 30,000
native christians, out of the Anjol-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. Huyzers 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 Huyzers, 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 Gentoo, 1,852 Malays, 324 Boutonniers, 1,983 Macassers, 3,707 Bouginefs, 104 Timorefe, 189 Mandharefe, 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 $3,300,000, and the charges to $2,800,000 per annum, leaving a yearly surplus of $500,000 (about 45,454l. sterling). But the books have not been closed so favourably since his time: in 1767, indeed, a favourable balance appeared of $233,330 (about 21,212l.) ; but in the peaceful year 1779, the collective receipts amounted to $1,820,327, and the charges to $2,384,930, or $564,603 (about 51,327l.), 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 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; dif-

* Ovington, a traveller of the last century, relates as a common proverbial saying in his time, that, "those who fail 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. F. appointed,
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 cheerfulness 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: smoking 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
little seen or known here. Most marriages are made with the fordid 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 Macassar, 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 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 control 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 £8,000 sterling per annum. T.
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 untenantcd 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 increased.—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, morassies, 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 putrefaction, receives a more peculiar encrease during the bad or west monsoon, than at another time; and the constant pro-longation
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 everybody 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 soul 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-cepted, deleterious miasmata into the air; and the trees, with which the quays and streets are crowded, emit noxious exhalations in the night. There are few examples of strangers remaining in Batavia long, without being attacked by fever, which is the general denomination, in that place, for illnesses of every kind. The disorder, at first, is commonly a tertian ague, which, after two or three paroxysms, 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 preference 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 antiseptic known, it is proper to trust to it, by a rule more simple even than Molier's, and to exhibit it in every variety and period of the complaint. The intermittent fever does not, however, always prove fatal; but continues, in some instances, even for many years; and the patient 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 shock ing 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.”

Two
Two principal causes are to be met with within the city, and a great part of its in-salubrity 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 Slok-haan, 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 merchandise, 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 increasing 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, fold

* 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 rixdol-
lars, 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 Eu-
ropians 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 con-
ider as originating in Europe, since it is cer-
tain, 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 encreas-
ing 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 propor-
tionate 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 respect,
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,
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 increased again, so that from 1744 to 1771, the deaths in the hospitals alone (into which, by the
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dead</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1714</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1715</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1717</td>
<td>494</td>
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<tr>
<td>1718</td>
<td>591</td>
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<tr>
<td>1719</td>
<td>660</td>
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<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td>750</td>
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<td>1721</td>
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<td>1722</td>
<td>730</td>
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<tr>
<td>1723</td>
<td>657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1724</td>
<td>769</td>
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<tr>
<td>1725</td>
<td>925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1726</td>
<td>904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1727</td>
<td>676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>656</td>
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<td>780</td>
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<tr>
<td>1732</td>
<td>781</td>
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<tr>
<td>1733</td>
<td>1116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1734</td>
<td>1375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dead</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1735</td>
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<tr>
<td>1755</td>
<td>2109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1756</td>
<td>1487</td>
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<td>1757</td>
<td>1441</td>
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<td>1758</td>
<td>1638</td>
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<td>1759</td>
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<td>1762</td>
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<tr>
<td>1766</td>
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<tr>
<td>1767</td>
<td>2404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1768</td>
<td>1833</td>
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<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>1742</td>
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<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>2434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1771</td>
<td>2480</td>
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<tr>
<td>1772</td>
<td>2066</td>
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<tr>
<td>1773</td>
<td>1187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1774</td>
<td>1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1775</td>
<td>2788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>2877</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 increased. In 1744, a second hospital was erected by Governor van Imhoff, and in order to defray
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, 1769 (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 expenses, 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, whereas, 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 flow 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. I.

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 failed 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.
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 (4,334)
hundred and fifteen men a-
-piece, for twenty-four ships 2,760

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 vi-
sible, were the supply of people from Eu-
rope more regular, and were it but main-
tained 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 defici-
ency is about 1000, instead of only 343. T.
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.


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, comprising their territorial revenues, and profits upon the country-trade; and the latter, all the expences of each establishment per $, 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

VOL. III.
enough to supply, in a very ample manner, the deficiency of people now laboured un-
der.

But

the Company, and we have distinguished those actually known to be in the hands of the English by the mark †.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charges.</th>
<th>Expenditure.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Javastra, including Batavia</td>
<td>£1,820,327 £2,384,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Amboyna</td>
<td>48,747 201,082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Banda</td>
<td>9,350 146,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ternate</td>
<td>114,997 229,406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macassar</td>
<td>63,160 163,137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timor</td>
<td>13,619 11,712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banjermassin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palembang</td>
<td>3,922 49,677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>106,802 96,356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Malacca</td>
<td>162,520 113,235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Padang</td>
<td>74,577 53,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Bengal</td>
<td>385,159 265,517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Coromandel</td>
<td>427,131 452,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Ceylon</td>
<td>611,704 1,243,038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Malabar</td>
<td>414,977 489,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Surat</td>
<td>283,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Cape of Good Hope</td>
<td>195,168 505,269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java’s northeast coast</td>
<td>436,874 281,873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sberbon</td>
<td>35,761 12,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landak and Succadana</td>
<td>1,764 9,726</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total | £5,209,796 £6,799,528 |
|       | 5,209,796 |

leaving an exceedent in the charges of £1,589,722 or
But many other circumstances concur, if not
to render the restoration of the Company's
affairs

or 144,520l. 3s. 8d. sterling. The Indian posseffions 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 (85,214l.
13s. 5d.); and in 1744, an advance appeared of f.779,056.
(70,823l. 5s. 6d.). Mosel, to whom we have so fre-
quently 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 amaz-
ingly different from the later results. The deficiency is sup-
plied by drafts from India, upon the direction in Holland; and,
looking 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 admi-
nistration at home, the dividends to the proprietors, &c. form
the general debit of the Company, against the profits upon the
merchandiz they dispose of in Europe. These gains have
been calculated, upon an average, at from ten to eleven mil-
ions of gilders, or about one million sterling, per annum; and
this computation appears to be just, from the following state-
ment of the invoice-prices, and net proceeds, of the cargoes
received from India, for the ten years, from 1750 to 1759,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Ships</th>
<th>Invoices</th>
<th>Sales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1750</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>f.7,372,177</td>
<td>f.19,024,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1751</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9,630,682</td>
<td>16,670,614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1752</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7,883,361</td>
<td>23,133,580</td>
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<tr>
<td>1753</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10,259,866</td>
<td>17,317,037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1754</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8,859,297</td>
<td>19,840,766</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1755
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,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Ships</th>
<th>Invoices</th>
<th>Sales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1755</td>
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<td>9,652,485</td>
<td>19,806,077</td>
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<td>1756</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8,421,419</td>
<td>19,890,066</td>
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<tr>
<td>1757</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8,935,720</td>
<td>14,829,367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1758</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6,506,717</td>
<td>18,934,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1759</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8,437,469</td>
<td>18,817,328</td>
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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. F.
"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
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 leaven 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 increase 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 establishments
blishments on the *Malabar* coast, and of the island of *Celebes*, both which acquisitions cost them a great expence of blood, and in-calculable 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, paused 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 failed 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 30¼° 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 northeast, 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 $22\frac{1}{2}^\circ$.

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 $7^\circ$ or $8^\circ$, and now no more than $1\frac{1}{2}^\circ$, 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 $18^\circ$ or $19^\circ$, to full $21^\circ$.

On the morning of the 4th of February, at sunrize, 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 flattened
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 increased 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 lee ward. 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.
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 $7^\circ$ or $8^\circ$, upon the wind falling: in the summer, it is generally between $72^\circ$ and $80^\circ$. 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 part,

* _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 Vicius, 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 rise when the southeaster 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
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 careleses, 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
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 infil 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 expense, that the parents can afford, is spared, to give them every accomplishment. Music, dancing, singing, whatever can add grace to the luster 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 carelessness 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
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
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.
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 journeys, when I was here, told me, that they even went dressed in the Hottentot fashion.
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 increase 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 Muscley 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, choke 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.

I have
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 \(\frac{1}{2}\) of a laft, the Company pay eighteen rixdollars, or \(\text{f.43. 4}^*\). 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 expense, 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 wagons, and carried on the backs of oxen, through defiles, and over precipices, for

* Equal to about 20s. sterling per quarter, English. Twenty-seven *mud* make a laft of Amsterdam, which is equal to about 10\(\frac{1}{4}\) quarters. \(T\).
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 £20 to £24 per waggon-load of ten mud, or eighteen hundred pounds weight*; but that this had continued but a very short

* Equal to 10s. or 11s. 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 £9 12, per hundred pounds *. At present the waggon-load of wheat sells for thirty-two rixdollars, or £76 13; and tallow for six rixdollars, or £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 it 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 18s. sterling per cwt. English. ‡
† Respectively equal to about 35s. 6d. sterling per quarter for wheat, and 27s. per cwt. for tallow. ‡
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 government 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
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
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
152. "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 dis-
tance of eight or ten days' journey from the Sneeww-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 Caffré-
coast." This river is, probably, that called, by Colonel GOR-
don, 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 re-
sults 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 ex-
pectations from his long residence at the Cape, his frequent
journeys 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.

as,
afs, which was, indeed, the case with the whole body.*

* Most likely the quagga (*equus quagga*); these animals can be tamed and broke in; Sparman 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 chase, 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 Hottentots, 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 \( £452,010 \) 15 0 and the net receipts to 157,556 11 8

thus, in that year, there was a deficiency of \( £294,454 \) 3 8* without

* 26,768l. 11s. 3d. sterling. In 1779, the charges amounted to \( £505,269 \), and the receipts to \( £195,168 \), making the balance against the Cape amount to \( £310,101 \) (L.28,191 sterling).

Governor
without taking into consideration the interest of a capital of £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 first mentioned 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 £404,000; against which he took, for the revenues, a sum of £140,000, which would leave a balance of only £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 82,182l. 4s. 6d. sterling. T.
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 agriculturist.

In former times, I was told, that the Company used to send to the Cape such wood as was required for the construction of wagons; 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 increase the revenues against them, and to add to its power and importance, than such a measure.
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° 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,
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 failed 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
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 increased 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 lati-
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 pro-
gress 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
fail, 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 commod-
dore, who had made the signal for our assem-
bling on board the flag-ship; where, after
having
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-India-men.

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
in the distance of fifty-five leagues, between
the first meeting with soundings, and the
view of the land, computed to have failed
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 hun-
dred fathoms, and on the 2d of July, we

* The Dutch manner of navigating, is peculiar to them-
selves. 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 2½ degrees since the last adjustment, they again cor-
ext 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
géographical 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 reckon-
ing. 7.
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 Sloop, 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 *Singles*, 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 No 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 1. 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 house rents of the members of this government, and their secretaries, and of the brigadier, and the two senior merchants of the castle; and also the house rents of the members of the council of justice, and of the reformed clergymen of the city.

2. The
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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 foldy-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 scheepens of the city, for city-ufes, cleaning 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 negotiating 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 ambachtkwartier, and goods belonging to the Company, sold by the vendemaier.

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, to-
gather 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 rice-market, affer of the flammes, and the governess of the house of correction for females.

22. What is paid to the writer at Jangerang, for purchase of paddie, &c. for those who lie in garrison there.

23. What is paid at the ambagtje-wartier, the island Onryff, 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, cadfang, 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 Palembangners, 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 caissier 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 caissier 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 *ambagtsewartier*, of the arsenal, of the armory, and of the stables, or the commandant and comptroller of equipment, the *fabriek*, the chief of the artillery, the warden of the armory, and the stabelkeeper, 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 *ambagtsewartier*, the provision-magazine, the grain-magazine, the medical dispensary, the armory, 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,
APPENDIX.

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 punished 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 pen-
nifs.

ART. V. The commandant and comptroller of equipment (equipagienmeester), the fabrick, 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 meaures, 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 infert 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 warehousetkeepers 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 Kuypers, 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.
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 aforefaid administrators shall have to make good all losses 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 wet 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 aforefaid warehousekeepers shall not have to claim any bonification of offreckonings, or diminutions, beyond the aforefaid 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. theetlead, piglead, and vermilion.

3. And there shall be no further emoluments received there, than six shillings 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 forts cabessa and bariga; and nine shillings upon each picol sugar-candy, without any overweight or further charge upon the deliverer of any kind or fort 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 Kupper.

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
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, gros, and be shipped, fold, or furnished, simply gros, 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 anything 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 venduemaker, 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 venduemaker, and one-half per cent to his auctioneer, provided that they shall each be answerable, pro rata, 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
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: upon woolens, 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 laft, by resolution of the 16th of October, 1744; and further, upon the paddee, cadjung, 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 23rd 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.

6. But
6. But upon the becoming four of any casks received in good order, without their fault or neglect, they shall have to make separate declarations thereof, under presentation of oath, and request an offreckoning thereof, and they shall not reckon any per centage upon such casks.

7. Upon liquors received in bottles, they shall be allowed to write off, five per cent, and no more.

8. Upon cotton, wax, and salt, also, five per cent.

9. Upon wax candles, two per cent.

10. For each leager of arrack sold and delivered to the Company, but not of such as are given in payment of excise duties, they shall receive one ducatoon from the deliverer, that is, one rixdollar and five-eighths; but they shall not be allowed any thing for leakage or waste, to which they shall have to pay proper care.

Art. xi. The armoury.

The warden shall not, after the 31st of August, 1755, charge any part of the five per cent formerly allowed to him, by resolution of the 22d of March, 1753, upon what is repaired, nor upon what is purchased or sold, but instead thereof, he shall have, once a year, the sum of one thousand rixdollars, or two thousand four hundred gilders, out of the cash of the Company, under such penalties, with respect to infidelity, or fraudulent conduct, as have been before mentioned, with regard to the administrators in general, sect. ii. art. iii.

Art. xii. The artillery.

The chief of the artillery, or the major, shall equally, instead of the five per cent formerly allowed to him, by resolution of the 12th of December, 1752, upon the materials, &c. used, receive, once a year, in lieu thereof, the sum of one thousand rixdollars, or two thousand four hundred gilders, out of the Company's cash, provided he pays proper attention that every thing be done in his department to the best advantage of the Company, and nothing used needlessly, wasted, or neglected, under such penalties as are before detailed.

Art. xiii. The Ambagts-kwartier.

The respective masters therein shall continue to enjoy the perquisites given to them by resolution of the 6th of March, 1752, consisting, besides the fixed number of coolies, of the following:

1. To the master-carpenter, five per cent upon the timber
APPENDIX.

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 salt-petre, 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, cooperers, 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-failmaker, 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-fail-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
upon cables and heavy cordage, nor upon timber for
masts, nor upon casks, anchors, or grapnels, all which re-
main 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 shillings
apiece.

4. The wages of the caulkers employed under the
master-carpenter, at the admiralty-wharf, being abolished,
fifty able men slaves 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 £.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 boatwain of ditto ............................. 4

shall be withheld, if it be found that the abovemention-
tioned 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 I. a. All the administrators hereunder named, but
APPENDIX.

but no other, shall have to make good sundry payments, out of their beforementioned allowed perquisites, but no more, than is here specially detailed, namely:

b. To the senior merchants of the castle, and to the commercial clerks, in order to contribute towards affording them a proper means of subsistence, yearly, the following, viz:

The administrators of the westside, 225 rixdollars to the senior merchants of the castle, and 25 rixdollars to the commercial clerks.

The administrators at the water-gate, 225 and 25 rixdollars, as above.

The administrators of the sugar-warehouse, 270 and 30 rixdollars, as above.

The administrators of the islands Onrust and de Kuyper, 540 and 60 rixdollars, as above.

The administrators in the cloth-warehouse, 180 and 20 rixdollars, as above.

The administrators of the grain-magazine, 180 and 20 rixdollars, as above.

The administrators of the provision-magazine, 540 and 60 rixdollars, as above.

The cashier of the daily cash, 2,250 and 250 rixdollars, as above. Together, 4,410 rixdollars to the senior merchants of the castle, and 490 rixdollars to the commercial clerks.

c. The warehouse-keepers shall also have to pay to the commissioners in the warehouses, specially named hereunder, and to no others, and likewise not to any extraordinary commissioners, clerks, or others, under any denomination, or pretext, whatever; in order, that the said commissioners may equally have an assistant means of subsistence, besides their actual wages; namely:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to the commissioners of the westside</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the commissioners at the water-gate</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the commissioners in the sugar-warehouse</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the commissioners at Onrust and de Kuyper</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the commissioners in the treasury, to be made good by the administrator of the retail-warehouse</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the commissioners in the grain-magazine</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the commissioners in the provision-magazine</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Together, rixdollars 1,800

Art.
ART. II. 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 flivers shall be carried to account, at sixty-four light flivers, according to ancient practice.

2. Instead of the six flivers per rixdollar, formerly deducted, upon the half of the wages paid in goods, in order to receive that half likewise, in specie, three flivers shall henceforward be deducted, per rixdollar, upon the whole.

3. Of these three flivers, 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.

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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. I. 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 thepurchase 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 lofs 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, warehouse-keepers, 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 lafts; in a ship of 136 feet, the quantity of one laft and a half; and in a ship
Appendix.

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 to allowed, to put on board, namely, from Coromandel, one package of the size of ten corsees salempores, and from Bengal, and other places (Surat, and the other factories where the Company reserve to themselves the exclusive trade 'n piecegoods, excepted), two packages of the same size; the whole, however, under such restrictions, as are detailed in the amplification 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 piece-goods, 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 Surajuna .... 7

to the chief of Hila .... 7

to the fiscal ............ 6

to the chief of Harquko .... 3

to the chief of Larike .... 3

to the chief of Bouro .... 2

to the secretary of the council of polity, the garrision book-keepers, the cashier, and the purveyor, each 2, thus .... 8

to the resident of Manipa .... 1

to
APPENDIX.

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:

100 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 Water ..................................... 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 ledges, 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 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 embalming of a whole or an half fockel* of mace, twelve flivers.

For shipping off ditto, six flivers.

For every hundred fockels, one piece of bagging, and one pound of sealing-wax.

For each fockel, 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 flivers.

For garbling of 1000 pounds nutmegs, three gilders.

For shipping off 3000 pounds nutmegs, two gilders eight flivers.

For burning of 1000 pounds nutmegs, eight flivers.

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, £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, £2 8, for discharging the same, for which he shall also provide the necessary craft.

For whitewashing, plastering, painting, and cleaning of the Company’s buildings, sixty gilders per annum.

For bamboos, for daily consumption, £36 per annum, and £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 feron, weighing about 160 lb.
f. 192, for which the shed shall be kept free of expence to
the Company.

For every laft of goods received at the factory, f. 2 8,
for discharging the fame, for which he shall equally pro-
vide the neceffary craft.

For whitewashing, plaiftering, painting, and cleaning
the Company’s buildings, just as at Lonthoir, f. 60.

For bamboos, for daily ufe, f. 36, per annum.

For the eftablishment of a guardhouse, at the west
rock, for the convenience of the watchmen, as at Lon-
thoir, exclusive of f. 1000 pieces of atap, f. 24 per annum.

For keeping the fewers in repair, and the cifterns clean,
f. 36, per annum.

Art. vii. The resident of Wayer, fhall also have:
For keeping an orembay, in the fame manner as at
Lonthoir, f. 120.

For every laft of goods received at the factory, f. 2 8,
for discharging the fame, providing the neceffary craft.

For whitewashing and cleaning the Company’s build-
ings, f. 36.

For bamboos, for daily ufe, f. 24, per annum.

Art. viii. The resident of Ourien, fhall have:
For whitewashing, plaiftering, &c. of the fort, f. 24,
per annum.

For bamboos, for daily ufe, f. 19 4.

Art. ix. The commiffioners annually sent to the
foutheastern, and southwestern ifles, fhall have, to defray
their expences, five per cent upon the fale 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 fhall each be allowed to
bring with them three or four slaves for themfelves: and
they may carry backwards and forwards, and trade in
fuch articles as the Company do not traffic in, without
prejudice to the Company.

Art. x. The fecretary of the council of polity fhall
receive, for registering, and acquitting the paffes of the
veffels belonging to free inhabitants and natives, twelve
flivers for a greater pass, and two flivers for a leffier
pafs.

Art. xi. Instead of what was before allowed to the
governor, out of the import-duties, he fhall hencefor-
tward 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 interest 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 fl.2,400 per annum, to defray his expenses, in entertaining the native princes.

ART. III. The secretary shall have twenty-four flivers for the greater, and six flivers for the lesser, passus.

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 expenses 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 $\frac{1}{4}$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.
APPENDIX.

receive five per cent upon the farms of the custom duties, and other royalties.

Art. II. The distribution thereof, shall be made in the following manner, viz:

At Samarang;

to the governor ........................................... 30

to the head administrator .................................. 10

to the two merchants ...................................... 10

to the four junior merchants .............................. 8

to the translatior ......................................... 2

At Soeracarta;

to the chief .................................................. 10

to the second ................................................ 6

to the military book-keeper ................................ 2

to the translatior .......................................... 2

At Sourabaya;

to the chief .................................................. 10

to the administrator ....................................... 5

to the fiscal ................................................... 3

to the translatior ......................................... 2

100

Art. III. The governor shall, moreover, likewise retain what the brand-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 Griffe, 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 5d. 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 passes; the passes from Tagal and Rembang, to the opposite shore, remain, however, fixed at five rixdollars.
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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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to the chief going away</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the chief coming on</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the merchant warehousekeeper</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the junior merchant, commercial bookkeeper</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>to the pennits</td>
<td>10</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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 pennits.

fale, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>100th parts.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to the governor</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the second</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the fiscal</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>to the thebandar, or receiver</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>to the chief of the military</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>to the winkelier</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>to another junior merchant</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>to the secretary of the council of justice</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the comptroller of equipment</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the writer of the commercial ledger</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the dispensier</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 expenses.

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 Pulo
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 goodnes 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 Houghly, 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 Houghly, 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 intercepted
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 over-weight, 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 losf in weight by drying, and two per cent for fawing, and the losf 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, penasfoes, boelangs, moorees, docpetys, failcloth, pattamarapoes, camboys, chintzes, tepoys, and the like, three dungarees of eight cobidos, fix 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 ftivers 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 ftivers.

For a chest to pack chintzes, four Chinese planks, and one pound of nails.

For packs of fifshkins, &c. four goenys, six pounds of cordage, and one pound of yarn.

For cases of spices, upon opening and closing them, 

For
APPENDIX.

For chests of copper, $\frac{1}{4}$ pound of nails, and for sealing of each chest, eight pennings; item, two pennings for sealing of the bags.

For an oilcloth of eight cobidos, £2 10.

For the goenys corpays, or covering-cloths which are used in the warehouses, annually, at Negapatnam, £200.

For the goeny-bags for yearly consumption, £500 at Negapatnam.

For straw, to lay under the rice and pepper, annually, £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 £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 Pernow, per 1000 6 0
at Sadrapatnam, per bundle 3 0
at Pailiacatta, per bundle 2 0
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 £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 £5 6
for 24 tok poenak 10 0
for a buffaloo 14 0
for charcoal, for making 100 pounds of gun-
powder 7 0

ART. VIII. For the articles consumed every year in the warehouses, may be charged and written off, as follows:

for
APPENDIX.

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 Sadra/ptnam 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 piece-goods 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 Trincomale, but at no other places, which shall be distributed in the following manner, viz:

Of those of Colombo and Punto Gallo

100th parts

to the governor ........ 24

to the head-administrator ........ 8

to the desfave of Colombo ........ 3

to the major ........ 3

to six merchants, each 3, thus ........ 18

to twelve junior merchants at Colombo, each 1 1/2, thus 18

to the comptroller of equipment at Colombo 1 1/2

to the commandant of Punto Gallo ........ 8

to the desfave of Punto Gallo ........ 3

to the second of Punto Gallo ........ 3

to one captain and five junior merchants, at Punto Gallo, each 1 1/2, thus ........ 9

to the comptroller of equipment at Punto Gallo 1

100

Of those of Trincomale.

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 ascostumado, 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 deslave 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, pifang, 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 waftede, 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. 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 deflave 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, comprised 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 licences 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 fifth 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 deflave 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. XV. The secretary at Punto Gallo, shall have, besides, his fees for preparing of papers, and the profits of the office of venduemaker, 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 pingoos 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 passages of each country-vessel that goes to Coromandel, Jaffnapatnam, or Manaar, one rixdollar.

3. For each of the four thony of the Moorish fishers, and inhabitants there, that go out annually with passages, according to custom, to fish, towards Naricure, 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 thony.

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 fingelee-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 cus-
tom, eight pounds of fish per day; and, lastly, when a
thony comes from Putulang, with grain or other pro-
visions, 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 Com-
pany'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 burden, sold by the inhabitants
there to those of Jaffnapatnam, four flivers.
4. For permission to the coast-boatmen, or to the in-
habitants, for the free purchase of fingelee-seed in the
village of Bengale, from three to six rixdollars, accord-
ing to the quantity intended to be purchased.
5. Fines, 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 ma-
joraal, cajaal, or pattangatje*, and the appointment of

* Titles of native chiefs of villages, of whom the majoraal is the
chief.
APPENDIX.

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 fiscal officers 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
APPENDIX.

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
10 pots (or 12 for) vinegar

The commanders of vessels, the smith, the cooper, the
provisor, and the gunner, shall receive in the same pro-
portion as the military, or ten shillings 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 over-weight, which
must be made good by the deliverer, namely—
upon cotton, five pounds per cindil, 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 cahoo, one and a half per cent;
upon sealingwax, one per cent;
upon soap, two per cent;
upon poestjok, 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 shillings and a half per
cindil, of all weighable goods bought and sold.
3dly, What he can save out of the undermentioned al-
lowances:
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 subordi-
nate factories, when received by water, f.1 10, for six
bales
APPENDIX.

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 shillings 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 shillings and twelve pennings per candel of 600 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 shillings 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, falsê amber, olibanum, myrrh, borax, gum, galls, &c. eleven shillings and four pennings per 100 pounds.

20. For
APPENDIX.

20. For all other small charges relative to his department, and not included in the above, £1.19 per annum.

21. For packing and embalming 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, £7.75;

for ditto, under 800 candil, £7.37 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 merchandise, which are fixed at one and a half per cent.

3. Out of the charges upon packing and embalming 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, £142 10 per month.
APPENDIX.

For thirty-two hands, from the end of August till the ships arrive, including the schooner to look out, £414 per month.

For sixty-five hands, during the time the ships are here, or from their arrival till the end of May, £840 per month.

And the last mentioned £840 is to be calculated as follows:

for a schooner with ten hands... £130 10
for four vessels with nine hands, each
£117 or... ... ... ... ... 468
for a horry with eight hands... ... 103 10
for a country-boat with eleven hands... 138

£840

6. For keeping the same under cover as the Company are accustomed, viz.
   for a schooner, £90—every year
   for a horry, £30—ditto
   for a country-boat, &c. £30—ditto.

2. For keeping in repair the cistern-ropes in the Company's garden, £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 £97 10.

5. For the ballast wanted, viz.
   for a horry of 20 lafts, £15.
   for one of 15 ditto, 12.

6. For heightening the Company's garden, as allowed by letter of the 20th of August, 1754, £37 10 per annum.

7. For baskets for putting on board the ballast, to each vessel, £6 15.

8. For sieves for the ballast, £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
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 sealing-wax, 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, pennits, 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 chimneys, &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, £1.18.

15. For every basket of greens, £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 shillings 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 conveying the country-vessels to Cambaya, Baroche, Bawmagra, &c. and command, for that purpose, the Company's schooners and horys, 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.

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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 quality
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 before said, 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 fide, 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 ware-
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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 gros 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 condition'd, by gros 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 found and unbroken, any articles be found defective, or short, the amount thereof, and the loss thence enuing, 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 gros weight, with the gros 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
made liable, or liberated from being responsible for the damage and los.

Art. xi. In the same manner they shall not be at liberty to open any found 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,
APPENDIX.

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
a half ditto 200 ditto
a whole awm 100 ditto
a half ditto 50 ditto
a beer-cask 110 ditto

of ten mutes each can.

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;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>At Batavia</th>
<th>At the other and Ceylon Factories</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>for one whole leager</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for one half ditto</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for one whole awm</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for one half ditto</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for one cask of beer</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for one barrel of beef</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for one ditto of pork</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for one ditto of butter</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 further reckoning.
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 inferred 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 cafsks 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 losses, 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.
APPENDIX.

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 affize, and special commissioners, who, upon finding anything 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 affized, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Ships</th>
<th>Cargo Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>the <em>Maurice</em>, the <em>Hollandia</em>, and the <em>Duifken</em> (the Pigeon), arrived, the 10th of August, in the Texel, under the direction of <em>Cornelius Houtman</em>; but little profit was made upon this first adventure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>laden with mace, nutmegs, cloves, cinnamon, and pepper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>laden with spices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>others with full cargoes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1601</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>with full cargoes of pepper, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>with mace, nutmegs, and cloves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>with pepper, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>mostly laden with pepper, likewise some cloves, and mace, and also cubebs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>with full cargoes of nutmegs, mace, and cloves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>with full cargoes of pepper, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1604</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>with full cargoes of spices, pepper, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1605</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>with full cargoes of spices, cinnamon, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1606</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>carack, a prize, valued at £4,000,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1607</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>with full cargoes of cloves, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>with full cargoes of pepper, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>with full cargoes of pepper, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(No. IV. continued.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Ships</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1608</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>with full cargoes of pepper, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>with a full cargo of cloves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1609</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>with full cargoes, consisting of spices, damasks, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1610</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>with a full cargo of nutmegs and mace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 or 4</td>
<td>uncertain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1611</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>with full cargoes, consisting of pepper, indigo, silk, cotton-yarn, diamonds, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1612</td>
<td>8 or 9</td>
<td>uncertain.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

thus far the invoice-values of the cargoes are not exactly ascertained; but are calculated, viz.

77 ships, each at least f.100,000
the carack valued at
12 or 13, uncertain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amsterdam</th>
<th>Zealand</th>
<th>Delft</th>
<th>Rotterdam</th>
<th>Horn</th>
<th>Enkhuizen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>298,603</td>
<td>164,562</td>
<td>157,180</td>
<td>27,582</td>
<td>4,214</td>
<td>493,526</td>
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<td>127,180</td>
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<td>6,12</td>
<td>432,624</td>
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<td>164,562</td>
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<td>432,624</td>
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<tr>
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<td>23,582</td>
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f.1,131,000,000. 0. 0. 0.
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<th>Zealand</th>
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<th>Enkhuizen</th>
<th>Totals</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(No. IV. continued.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Ships among which one hired ship</th>
<th>Rotterdam</th>
<th>Enkhuizen</th>
<th>HORN</th>
<th>Totals</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>10</td>
<td>1,084,340</td>
<td>1,101,911</td>
<td>533,979</td>
<td>2,720,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>2,720,230</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2,720,230</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1,101,911</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>2,720,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1,101,911</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1677</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,026,340</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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**APPENDIX.**

\[ \text{pg. 29}\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Ships</th>
<th>Amsterdam</th>
<th>Zealand</th>
<th>Delft</th>
<th>Rotterdam</th>
<th>Horn</th>
<th>Enkhuizen</th>
<th>Totals</th>
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<td>7,1</td>
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<td>1,228,990</td>
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<td>285,491</td>
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<td>299,690</td>
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<td>4,246,878</td>
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<td>573,623</td>
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<td>11,6</td>
<td>416,486</td>
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<td>1,402,590</td>
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<td>6,8</td>
<td>548,129</td>
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<td>314,989</td>
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<td>377,853</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years, Ships</td>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>Zealand</td>
<td>Delft</td>
<td>Rotterdam</td>
<td>Horn</td>
<td>Enkhuizen</td>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1709 18</td>
<td>2,633,246</td>
<td>1,659,919</td>
<td>305,523</td>
<td>237,289</td>
<td>414,643</td>
<td>235,816</td>
<td>5,477,439</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710 21</td>
<td>3,193,911</td>
<td>1,379,463</td>
<td>225,061</td>
<td>238,539</td>
<td>301,610</td>
<td>394,390</td>
<td>5,732,997</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1711 20</td>
<td>3,605,571</td>
<td>1,222,526</td>
<td>511,212</td>
<td>273,202</td>
<td>260,245</td>
<td>439,101</td>
<td>5,311,869</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712 21</td>
<td>3,047,943</td>
<td>1,680,537</td>
<td>281,885</td>
<td>561,182</td>
<td>252,183</td>
<td>288,084</td>
<td>6,111,812</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1713 17</td>
<td>2,028,900</td>
<td>1,124,550</td>
<td>320,912</td>
<td>332,943</td>
<td>534,355</td>
<td>342,980</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1714 21</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1715 27</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716 28</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1717 23</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1718 24</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1719 30</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720 26</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1721 34</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722 26</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1723 29</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1724 31</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

besides six ships lost near the Cape, and six in Table-bay

APPENDIX
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Ships sent out</th>
<th>Crews</th>
<th>Specie carried out</th>
<th>Ships returned</th>
<th>Proceeds of Sales</th>
<th>Dividends per ct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8,205</td>
<td>£4,125,000.00</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19,597,874.00</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1721</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>6,825,000.00</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14,985,072.00</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>7,400</td>
<td>7,075,000.00</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19,494,365.00</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1723</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>7,785</td>
<td>6,887,000.00</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16,247,505.00</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1724</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>6,425</td>
<td>7,319,000.00</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20,577,447.00</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1725</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6,250</td>
<td>7,412,500.00</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>19,385,441.00</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1726</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>6,850</td>
<td>7,675,000.00</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>21,312,626.00</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1727</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6,400</td>
<td>8,091,994.00</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18,564,986.00</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1728</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5,800</td>
<td>5,558,100.00</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20,322,402.00</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1729</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6,390</td>
<td>4,525,000.00</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18,100,116.00</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total in ten years</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>69,505</td>
<td>65,593,594.00</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>188,587,839.00</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average for one year:
- 37 to 38
- 6,950 to 6,599,359.8
- 18,858,783.0
- 23.3
APPENDIX.  

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chamber</th>
<th>Capital (fl)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>3,674,915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zealand</td>
<td>1,333,882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delft</td>
<td>470,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotterdam</td>
<td>177,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoorn</td>
<td>266,868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkhuizen</td>
<td>536,775</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Together: **6,459,840**

Divided into 2,153 actions, or shares, of **3,000** each and 1 ditto of **840**.

No. VII.
APPENDIX.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years.</th>
<th>Months.</th>
<th>Perc.t.</th>
<th>in mace</th>
<th>in pepper</th>
<th>in bankmoney</th>
<th>at 19, 20, &amp; 22 skillings per lb.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1610</td>
<td>in April</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1610</td>
<td>in Nov.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1611</td>
<td>15 ditto</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1612</td>
<td>in March</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td>in nutmegs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1613</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1614</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1615</td>
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<td>1616</td>
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<tr>
<td>1617</td>
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<td>1618</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Months</td>
<td>Perc.</td>
<td>Value</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-------</td>
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<td>1618</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620</td>
<td>in April</td>
<td>37½</td>
<td>in bankmoney</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1621</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1623</td>
<td>in Nov.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>in cloves at 60 stivers per lb.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1624</td>
<td>in Aug.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>in bankmoney</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1625</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1626</td>
<td>in March</td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>in bankmoney</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1627</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1628</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1629</td>
<td>in Jan.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>in bankmoney</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630</td>
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<td></td>
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1687

in bankmoney
in ditto
in ditto
in ditto
in ditto
in ditto
in bankmoney
in ditto
in ditto
in ditto
in bankmoney
in ditto
in bankmoney
in bankmoney
in bankmoney
in obligations on the province of Holland
in obligations on the general Company, repayable at the option of the Company, with 4 per cent. interest per annum; afterwards reduced to 3 per cent.
in ditto
in ditto
in ditto
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from | to  |
-----|-----|
374  | 406 |
406  | 585 |
593  | 546 |
5804 | 503 |
518  | 455 |
472  | 410 |
412  | 325 |
314  | 386 |
369  | 326 |
323  | 363 |
336  | 363 |
340  | 357 |
340  | 359 |
355  | 382 |
380  | 340 |
357  | 322 |
328  | 323 |

No. VIII.
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.

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<td>400,000</td>
<td>400,000</td>
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<tr>
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<td>250,000</td>
<td>250,000</td>
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<td>100,000</td>
<td>80,000</td>
<td>85,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>bags of black pepper</td>
<td>8,297</td>
<td>10,667</td>
<td>10,000</td>
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<td>pounds of white pepper</td>
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<td>52,355</td>
<td>88,991</td>
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<tr>
<td>pounds of candied ginger</td>
<td>10,346</td>
<td>11,232</td>
<td>11,257</td>
<td>10,064</td>
<td>10,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>candied nutmegs</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1,871</td>
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<td>1,286,217</td>
<td>2,568,315</td>
<td>2,350,000</td>
<td>3,098,838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pounds of sundry dying woods</td>
<td>645,231</td>
<td>743,842</td>
<td>806,123</td>
<td>622,125</td>
<td>645,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pounds of indigo</td>
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<td>12,261</td>
<td>9,460</td>
<td>11,256</td>
<td>10,538</td>
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<td>pounds of turmeric</td>
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<td>70,000</td>
<td>65,625</td>
<td>60,875</td>
<td>61,250</td>
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<td>340,657</td>
<td>936,975</td>
<td>533,918</td>
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<td>840,000</td>
<td>177,450</td>
<td>379,705</td>
<td>484,442</td>
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<td>200,061</td>
<td>337,520</td>
<td>341,199</td>
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<td>12,997</td>
<td>6,370</td>
<td>7,070</td>
<td>6,783</td>
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<td>1777</td>
<td>1778</td>
<td>1779</td>
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<td>pounds of camphor</td>
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<td>18,431</td>
<td>14,762</td>
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<td>10,000</td>
<td>8,875</td>
<td>6,850</td>
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<td>pounds of rhubarb and other roots</td>
<td>101,027</td>
<td>107,562</td>
<td>80,415</td>
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<td>58,174</td>
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<td>6,157</td>
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<td>mother-of-pearl shells</td>
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<td>4,295</td>
<td>9,016</td>
<td></td>
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<td>ounces of oil of cinnamon</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>160</td>
<td></td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ounces of oil of mace</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ounces of oil of cloves</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>320</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ounces of oil of nutmegs</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>320</td>
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<td>carats of diamonds</td>
<td>970½</td>
<td>549</td>
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<td>37,500</td>
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<td>120,000</td>
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<td>52</td>
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<td>leagers of arrack</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Articles</td>
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<td>1776.</td>
<td>1777.</td>
<td>1778.</td>
<td>1779.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pounds of raw flax</td>
<td>58,388</td>
<td>72,271</td>
<td>122,321</td>
<td>81,498</td>
<td>57,313</td>
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<tr>
<td>pounds of flax thread</td>
<td>12,000</td>
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<td>12,000</td>
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</tr>
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<td>pounds of cotton yarn</td>
<td>78,687</td>
<td>77,090</td>
<td>99,765</td>
<td>79,777</td>
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<td>pounds of coffee</td>
<td>6,176,000</td>
<td>4,425,250</td>
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<td>3,779,641</td>
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<td>pounds of tea</td>
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<td>3,786,284</td>
<td>3,921,588</td>
<td>3,932,329</td>
<td>3,848,545</td>
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<tr>
<td>pieces of china-ware</td>
<td>2,557</td>
<td>2,257</td>
<td>2,257</td>
<td>2,066</td>
<td>2,098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pieces of flax thread</td>
<td>2,222</td>
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<td>2,222</td>
<td>2,222</td>
<td>2,222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pieces of madder, cottons, &amp;c.</td>
<td>2,442,000</td>
<td>2,442,000</td>
<td>2,442,000</td>
<td>2,442,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>pieces of handkerchiefs</td>
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<td>3,512</td>
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<tr>
<td>pieces of nankeen</td>
<td>4,060</td>
<td>4,060</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>54,634</td>
<td>68,431</td>
<td>120,902</td>
<td>83,471</td>
<td>56,921</td>
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No. IX.

Abstract of the *Herbarius Vivus*, or Herbal, of Henry Bernard Oldelard, superintendant of the Company's garden at the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1695.

*Abutilon* africanum, foliis, rugosis, et filiculis lanuginosis.
*Abisinthium* africanum frutescens, foliis latoriibus.
*Alium* africanum, flore purpurecente.
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, craffissimoque 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, marginifera, flore subviridi.
9 *Aloe* africana marginifera, minor.
10 *Aloe* africana foliis glaucis, margine et dorso 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 sectibus.
14 *Aloe* africana caulescens, foliis magis glaucis caulem amplectentibus, et in mucronem obtusorum dententibus.
15 *Aloe*
Aloe africana caulescens, foliis minus glaucis, caulem amplectentibus, dorfi parte superiore spinosa.
Aloe africana caulescens foliis glaucis, caulem amplectentibus latioribus, et undequaque spinosis.
Aloe africana caulescens, foliis glaucis, caulem amplectentibus, dorfo integro spinoso.
Aloe africana caulescens, foliis glaucis brevioribus, caulem amplectentibus, foliorum parte interna et externa non nihil spinosa.
Aloe africana caulescens, foliis glaucis brevissimis, foliorum summitate interna et externa non nihil spinosa.
Aloe africana caulescens perfoliata, glauca et non spinosa.
Aloe africana, glabro folio, minutiissimis cavitatibus donato.
Aloe africana humilis, spiris inermibus et verrucis obsita.
Aloe africana humilis Arachnoidæ.
Aloe africana humilis, foliis ex albo et viridi variegatis.
Aloe africana humilis, folio non nihil reflexo, floribus ex albo et rubro variegatis.
Aloe africana humilis, folio in summitate triangulari et rigidissimo, marginibus albicantibus.
Aloe africana erec[a], triangularis, et triangularis folio vîcofo.
Aloe africana erec[a], rotunda, folio parvo et in acumen rigidissimum exuente.
Alaternoides africana, Erice foliis, floribus albicantibus et mufcosis.
Alaternoides africana, Telephini legitimi nuperati folio, flore viridi.
Alaternoides africana, Lawri ferrate folio.
Alaternoides africana, Chamaesepili folio rigidior et minore, floribus albicantibus.
Alaternoides africana, Roris marini latiori et pilosiori folio, flore caeruleo.
Althæa africana vesicaria.
Amygdalium africana nana, flore incurvato roseo simplici, folio Mali perfici angufuliore.
Anæmospermos africana, foliis Cardui benedicti, florum radiis intus sulphureis.
APPENDIX.

2 Ammophlamos africanus, foliis Plantaginis, flore sulphureo.
3 Ammophlamos africanus, Jacoboeae maritimae foliis, flore sulphureo.
1 Apocynum africanum erectum, villosa fructu, Salicis folio lato, glabro.
2 Apocynum africanum erectum, Salicis folio lato, subhirsute.
3 Apocynum africanum erectum, Salicis folio lato, glabro angusto.
4 Apocynum africanum humile, aizoides, filifolius 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, Lapiati folio.
Arum æthiopicum florigerum et fructum ferens, radice magna orbiculari.
Arum africanum, flore albo odorato.
Arum maximum ægyptiacum, quod vulgo Colocasia audit.
1 Asclepias africana aizoides.
2 Asclepias africana, longioribus foliis minus dentatis.
3 Asclepias africana, flore pulchre fimbriato.
Argyrodonstros africana, foliis fercicis et argenteis.
Asparagus fylvetris africanus aculeatus.
Asphodelus africanus, angustis foliis luteis, minor.
Asplenium africanum ramosum, maximum, caulibus splendentibus.
1 Afer africanus, Jacobœæ foliis, flore aureo;
2 Afer africanus, Stæchatis foliis, flore aureo.
3 Afer africanus ramosus, Hysoi foliis, floribus cruciaturulis.
4 Afer africanus ramosus, floribus albis.
5 Afer africanus, Helegrini folio, flore rubro.
6 Afer africanus frutescens, foliis angustis, et plurumque conjunctis.
7 Afer africanus frutescens, splendentibus parvis et reflexis foliis.
8 Afer africanus frutescens, Lavendulæ folio, flore purpureo.
9 Afer africanus annuus, Senecionis foliis.
After africanus frutescens, foliis Senecionis efflorisibus.
Afteroplatii Carpos africana frutescens, Crithmi marini foliis.
Aftragalus africanus odoratus, flore luteo.
1 Bellis africana, florum pediculis pene aphyllis foliis incisis.
2 Bellis africana, florum pediculis foliosis, foliis angustis et integris.
3 Bellis africana, capitulo aphylllo luteo, Coronopi folio, caulis procumbentibus.
4 Bellis africana, Capitulo aphylllo luteo, foliis et cauliculis junceis erectis.
1 Bryonia africana glabra, foliis in profundas lacinias divisis, fructu minori.
2 Bryonia africana lacinata, tubero sa radice, floribus herbaceis.
Calendula, sive Caltha africana humilis, flore intus albo, floris violaceo simplici.
1 Campanula africana annua, hirsuta, latis ferratisque 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 purpuracente, major.
5 Campanula africana annua, angustifolia, flore purpuracente, minor.
6 Campanula africana frutescens, aculeo sa, flore violaceo.
7 Campanula africana minor, Erini facie, flore violaceo, cauliculis erectis.
8 Campanula africana minor, Erini facie, flore violaceo, cauliculis procumbentibus.
Camphorata africana umbellata, frutescens.
Canna.
Cardamine africana trifolia (dicitur etiam Nausturtium) foliis ternis, facie Christophoriana.
Centurium majus africanum, laciniatum, flore aureo, odorato.
1 Centurium minus africanum, Lini foliis et facie, flore ampto suave rubente. 2 Centurium
2 Centurium minus africanum, arborescens, latifolium; flore ruberrimo.
3 Centurium minus africanum, arborescens, anguistifolium, flore ruberrimo.
4 Centurium minus africanum, arborescens, tulipifera.
Cheirantos africanus, flore luteo.
1 Chrysanthemum africanum Stœbes, foliis angustioribus.
2 Chrysanthemum africanum repens, flore aphylo, Coronopi folio.
Chrysanthemoideas Ofteospergon africanum, odoratum, spinosum et viscofum.
Ciftus 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, Crotolarie foliis.
1 Coma aurea africana fruticans, foliis Linarîæ angustis, major.
2 Coma aurea africana fruticans, foliis Linarîæ angustis, minor.
3 Coma aurea africana, Linarîæ 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 incisís, superioribus dentatis.
1 Conyza africana arborescens incana, floribus purpureoviolaceis, foliis Salvæ odore, odore Salvæ et Roris marini.
2 Conyza africana humilis, foliis angustioribus nervosis, floribus umbellatis.
3 Conyza africana frutescens, foliis Salvæ, odore camphoræ.
4 Conyza africana frutescens, foliis Ericæ hamatis et incanis.
5 Conyza africana, frutescens, foliis Roris marini.
6 Conyza africana, Senecionis flore.
   Cotula africana, calyce eleganti caeso.
1 Cotyledon africana frutescens, foliis orbiculatis, limbo purpureo cinétis.
2 Cotyledon africana, teretifolia, flore pulcherrimo.
3 Cotyledon africana, foliis oblongioribus, floribus umbellatis fibrofa radice.
4 Cotyledon africana frutescens, folio longo et angusto, flore flavescente.
5 Cotyledon africana frutescens, flore umbellato coccineo.
1 Cythifus africanus argenteus, flore atro purpureo.
2 Cythifus africanus hirfutus, anguihti-folius.
3 Cythifus africanus herbaceus, floribus rubris.
1 Echium africanum frutescens, foliis pilosis.
2 Echium africanum perenne, Lycopis facie.
1 Eichrygium africanum lanuginosum, latifolium, calyce floris argenteo et amplissimo.
2 Eichrygium africanum tomentosum, frutescens, calyce argenteo.
3 Eichrygium africanum lanuginosum, angustissimo folio, calyce floris argenteo et amplissimo.
4 Eichrygium africanum tomentosum, frutescens, floris calyce aureo.
5 Eichrygium africanum tomentosum, frutescens, Coris folio.
6 Eichrygium africanum inanum, tomentosum, foliis subrotundes.
7 Eichrygium africanum umbellatum, odoratum luteum.
8 Eichrygium africanum frutescens, anguistine et longioribus foliis, incanis.
9 Eichrygium africanum latifolium, secündum, capitulo aureo.
10 Eichrygium africanum luteum, Polii folio.
11 Eichrygium africanum tomentosum, inanum, angustifolium floribus rubris.
12 Eichrygium africanum latifolium, secündum, capitulo aureo.
13 Eichrygium africanum frutescens, foliis Crithmi marini.
14 Eichrygium
14 Eichrysum arboeum africanum, Roris marini folio.
15 Eichrysum africanum, Plantaginis folio.
16 Eichrysum africanum fœtidissimum, amplissimo folio.
17 Eichrysum africanum inodorum, glabrum, Coronopi folio.

Ephemerum africanum annuum, flore bipetalo.
1 Erica africana viridis, angustissimis foliis, floeculis in capitulum coneistis.
2 Erica africana, floeculis subhirsutis, secundum ramulos dispositis.
3 Erica africana incana, foliis angustissimis.
4 Erica africana, capillaceo brevique folio, flore rotundiori purpureo.
5 Erica africana, folio minimi, flore rotundiori albido.
6 Erica africana, Coris folio, flore oblongo spicato.
7 Erica africana, Coris folio, flore oblongo, purpureo, e foliorum alis prodeante.
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 umbelato.

Evonymus africanus, folio lucido ferrato.
Fabago africana arborescens, flore sulphureo, fructu rotundo.
Ferula africana galbanimisera, frutescens, Myrrha dis foliis.
1 Filicula africana maxima ramosa, pinnulis tenuibus diffectis.
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, feminibus angustis et longioribus.
Frutex africanus aromaticus, flore spicato, exiguo.
Frutex æthiopicus, Portulacæ folio, flore ex albido virecente.
Frutex africanus, Erice folio, glutinosus, flore spicato albo.

Galega africana, floribus majoribus, et filiquis crassioribus.

1 Genista
Genista africana frutescens, Rufci nervosi foliis.
Genista africana frutescens, angustis foliis.
Genista africana, Lavandulae folio.
Genista africana juncea, floribus caeruleis, foliis minimis.
Genista africana minima, foliis Myrthi, in exquisitum micronem definentibus.
Genista africana, Roris marini foliis, flore aureo.
Genista africana arborescens, argentea lanugine, pubescentes.
Genista africana frutescens, spicata purpurea, foliis angustissimis.
Genista africana frutescens, foliis Tortoii-Raire, flore purpureo.
Genista africana, Laricis foliis longioribus et lanuginosis.
Genista africana, Laricis, foliis crassifloribus et hirsutis.
Genista africana frutescens spicata, Laricis foliis.
Genista africana frutescens capitate.
Genista africana lutea, spicata, Laricis foliis.
Genista africana frutescens, capitulis lanuginosis, Laricis brevissimo folio.
Genista africana frutescens, capitulis lanuginosis, Laricis inconstantibus foliis.
Genista africana, camphorata folio, floribus luteis minimis.
Genista africana, foliis Gallii.
Genista africana, Dorycinii facie.
Genista africana arborescens, Styracis folio, flore caeruleo.
Geranium africanum arborescens, Ibisici folio rotundo, Carinae odore.
Geranium africanum frutescens, Malvae folio, lacincatato, odorato, flore purpureascente.
Geranium africanum, Alchimillae hirsuto folio, floribus albidis.
Geranium africanum arborescens, Alchimillae hirsuto folio, floribus rubicundis.
Geranium africanum, folio procumbente, floribus parvis eleganter variegatis.
Geranium africanum noctu olens, tuberosum et nodosum, et Aquilegiae foliis.

Geranium
Geranìum africanum noctu olen, Aquilegiæ folio, flore incarnato rubente.

Geranìum africanum noctu olen, flore ruberrimo, Anemones folio anguñtiori.

Geranìum africanum noctu olen, flore rubro, Anemones folio anguñtiori.

Geranìum africanum noctu olen, radice tuberosa, foliis Pastinacæ incanis, lanuginosis, flore pallido flavescente.

Geranìum africanum noctu olen, radice tuberosa, foliis Pastinacæ anguñtioribus.

Geranìum africanum noctu olen, tuberosum, Vitis foliis hirñtis.

Geranìum africántum minus, Coriandri folio, floribus incarnatis.

Geranìum africanum, uvæ, crispsæ folio, floribus exiguis rubellis.

Geranìum africanum majus, Coriandri folio, floribus incarnatis.

Geranìum africanum, Altheæ folio, parvo flore.

Geranìum africanum, foliis plerumque auratis, floribus ex rubro purpurascéntibus.

Geranìum africanum, Myrrhidis folio, flore albicante, radice rapaceae.

Geranìum africanum, foliis inferioribus Asari, superioribus Staphydis grææ maculatæ, splendentibus et acetoso fápore.

Geranìum africanum, Asfragali folio.

Geranìum africanum fruteçens, folio ocaßo et glauco, acetosó fápore.

Globularia africana fruteçens, Thymelææ folio, lanuginoso.

Hæmanthus africana, ëve Tulipa africana, flore albo.

Hyacinthus africana, flore cæruleo, umbellato, tuberofus.

Jacobæa africana fruteçens, Abrotani folio.

Jacobæa africana fruteçens, Hormini folio.

Jacobæa africana, Šonchi folio.

Jacobæa africana, Dentis leonini folio.

Jacobæa africana, Absinthii folio.

Jacobæa africana foliis íntegris, undulatis et crisps.

Jacobæa africana laciniata, latifolia, flore purpuræo.
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8 Jacobæa africana laciniata, angustifolia, flore purpureo.
9 Jacobæa africana, radice tuberosa.
10 Jacobæa africana frutescens, foliis incisis et subtus cineraceis.
11 Jacobæa africana frutescens, foliis Absinthii umbelliferi, incanis.
12 Jacobæa africana frutescens, Coronopi folio.
13 Jacobæa africana frutescens, Lavendulae folio latiori.
14 Jacobæa africana frutescens, folio longo et glauco.
15 Jacobæa africana, Hederae terrestris folio, repens.
16 Jacobæa africana frutescens, crassis succulentis foliis.
17 Jacobæa africana frutescens, foliis rigidis et hirsutis.
1 Jaffinum africanum, foliis solitariis, floribus vulgariori similibus.
2 Jaffinum africanum, Siccis folio, flore solitario, ex foliorum alis proveniente, albo.
1 Ketmia africana, Populi folio.
2 Ketmia africana, Populi folio, subtus incano, et caule virecente.
3 Ketmia africana vesicaria, folio trilobato, flore purpureo.
4 Ketmia africana vesicaria, fruticet, et erecta, Alni foliis latoribus et majoribus, flore spirali sulphureo.
5 Ketmia africana frutescens, foliis mollibus et incanis, flore spirali sulphureo.
6 Ketmia africana vesicaria, uvæ crispi foliis, flore spirali sulphureo.
1 Laurus africana minor, Querci folio.
2 Laurus inodora africana, fructu globofo Lauri serrate, odoratæ Stapelianæ similis.
3 Laurus africana.
4 Leonurus perennis africanus, Sideritiæ folio, flore phenicico majore villoso.
1 Leucoïum africanum, caeruleo flore, latifolium, hirsutum,
2 Leucoïum africanum, caeruleo flore angusto Coronopi folio, majus.
3 Leucoïum africanum, caeruleo flore, angusto Coronopi folio, minus.
4 Lilio-Narcissus africanus humilis, longissimis foliis, polyanthos saturato colore purpurascens.
2 Lilio-
2 Lilio-Narcissus africanus platicaulis humilis, flore purpurascente odorato.
1 Lothus africanae annu. hirsuta, floribus luteis.
2 Lothus africanae frutetces, flore epicato rubicundo.
Lycnis Pseudo-meianthio 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 crispe.
3 Melianthus africanus minor, foetidus.
Myrthus africanae humilis, foliis Myrtilli crenatis, cauliculis nigrantibus.
Narcissus africana, Polyanthos.
Olea africanae humilis, fylveistris, folio duro, subtus incano.
Oreoselinum aizoides arborescens, Ligustici foliis et facie, flore luteo.
1 Ornithogalum africanum, luteum, odoratum, foliis cepaceis, radice tuberofa.
2 Ornithogalum africanum, flore viridi, alteri innato.
3 Ornithogalum africanum, Plantaginis roseæ folio, radice tuberofa.
1 Oxus bulbosæ africana rotundifolia, caulibus et floribus purpureis amplis.
2 Oxus bulbosæ africana rotundifolia, virentibus floribus amplis, purpureis.
3 Oxus bulbosæ æthiopica, fivæ africana minor, folio cordato, flore ex albido purpurascente.
Petasites africanus, Calthæ palustris folio, radice flavescente craffà.
Phalangium africanum ramosum, floribus albis, petalis reflexis.
1 Phaeseolus africanus hirsutus bituminosus, siliquis bul-latis, flore flaveo.
2 Phaeseolus africanus, parvo fructu, non nihil albi-cante.
3 Phaeseolus africanus perennis minor, flore suave rube-nte.
Planta laëtaria africana.
Pimpinella africana faxifraga maxima.
Polypodium africanum maximum, acutissime divi-sum,
APPENDIX.

1 Polygala africana frutescens angustissima, major.
2 Polygala africana frutescens, angustissima, minor.
3 Polygala africana, Lini folio, magno flore.
4 Polygala africana frutescens, Buxi folio, maxima flore.
5 Polygala africana arborea myrthifolia, 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 luteno virecentibus.
Rapuntium africanum minus, angustifolium, flore violaceo.
Ricinus africanus maximus, caule geniculato rutilante.
Salix africana, angustis et longissimis foliis, subtus incanis.
1 Salvia africana frutescens, Scorodonæ 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 ferratis, flore albicante.
3 Scabiosa africana, capitulo oblongo, flore albo.
Scilla africana, flore viridi parvo, bulbo amplissimo.
1 Sclearea africana precox annua.
2 Sclearea 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 cinêtis.
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
APPENDIX.

1 Sisyrinchium æthiopicum seu africanum majus, anguifti folium, floribus albis.
2 Sisyrinchium æthiopicum seu africanum majus, latifolium, floribus albis, hexapetalis lineis purpureis striatias.
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, pallecente flore.
6 Sisyrinchium ramosum æthiopicum seu africanum, foliis plicatis nervosis et incanis, radice tuberosa phœnica.
7 Sisyrinchium majus, flore luteo macula notato.
8 Sisyrinchium minus anguiftolium, flore minore, variegato.
1 Solanum pomiferum frutescens africanum spinosum, nigricans, Boraginis flore, foliis profunde lacinias.
2 Solanum lignosum africanum semper virens, laurinis foliis.
1 Spartium africanum frutescens, Ericæ folio.
2 Spartium africanum frutescens, Rufi 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 arborefæns, foliis Lavendulae,
   multitudo folio.
1 Tetragono carpos africana, radice magna onerosa et
   carnosa.
2 Tetragono carpos africana frutican, foliis longis et
   anguftis.
1 Thymelæa Linifolieæ similis africana, floribus pallidis,
   odoratiïfimis.
2 Thymelæa Linifolieæ similis africana, foliis lucidis
   latioribus et obtusis.
3 Thymelæa africana, foliis Lini, floribus in capitulum congestis.

4 Thymelæa
APPENDIX.

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 capitiulm congestis.
9 Thymelæa africana, foliis Rufci.
10 Thymelæa africana frutescens, Jasmini flore, foliis Polygalæ.
11 Thymelæa africana angustifolia, Jasmini flore.
  Tithymalus aizoides africanus, simplici squammatō caule.
  2 Tithymalus aizoides africanus, caule squammatō, Clamænerii folio.
3 Tithymalus arboreus africanus.
4 Tithymalus arboreus æthiopicus seu africanus, Mezerei germanici folio, flore pallido.
5 Tithymalus aizoides africanus, validissimis ex tuberculorum intermodiis provenientibus.
  1 Trifolium africanum fruticans, flore purpurascente.
  2 Trifolium africanum fruticans, folio angulato, 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 Æg-trees, all called Hottentot figs, viz.

1 Ficoïdes africana, folio Plantaginis undulato, micis argentēis aperfo.
2 Ficoides africana acaulis, latissimis crassis et lucidis foliis conjugatis, flori aureo amplissimo.
3 Ficoides africana erecta, Ocimastrifolio, micis argenteis aperfo, flori roseo magni.
4 Ficoides africana erecta ramosa, Tripolifolio, flori aureo magni.
5 Ficoides seu Ficus aizoides africana, folio angustiori.
6 Ficoides seu Ficus aizoides africana minor, multi-caulis, flori intus rubente, extus incarnato.
7 Ficoides africana, folio ensiformi dilute virente, flori aureo, brevi pediculo insidente.
8 Ficoides africana, folio ensiformi obscure virente, flori longo pediculo insidente.
9 Ficoides africana, folio ensiformi varie inciso, aureo flori pediculo insidente.
10 Ficoides seu Ficus aizoides africana procumbens, folio triangulare ensiformi.
11 Ficoides seu Ficus aizoides africana, triangulare folio longissimo, fructu multo capsulari, flori luteo, major.
12 Ficoides seu Ficus aizoides africana, triangulare folio longissimo, fructu multo capsulari, flori luteo, minor.
13 Ficoides africana, folio triangulare longissimo, flori aureo.
14 Ficoides africana, folio triangulare longissimo, flori purpureo.
15 Ficoides africana, folio triangulare longissimo, flori carneo.
16 Ficoides seu Ficus aizoides africana major, procumbens, triangulare folio, fructu maximo eduli.
17 Ficoides africana, folio longo triangulare incurvo, purpureo caule.
18 Ficoides africana, folio longo triangulare recurvo, floribus umbellatis obsoleti coloris, externe purpureis.
19 Ficoides africana, folio triangulare recurvo, flori flavescent.
20 Ficoides africana, folio triangulare lanceato.
21 Ficoides africana, folio triangulare incurvo et dentato.
22 Ficoides africana, folio triangulare, obtuso, in geminos aculeos abente, flori aureo.
23 Ficoides
APPENDIX.

23 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari, apice rubro, caule purpurascente.
24 Ficoides feu Ficus aizoides africana minor erecta, triangulari folio viridi, flore intus aureo, foris purpureo.
25 Ficoides feu 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 feu Ficus aizoides africana, folio tereti, procumbens, flore purpureo.
33 Ficoides feu Ficus aizoides africana, folio tereti, procumbens, flore coccineo.
34 Ficoides africana, folio tereti, in villos radiatos abeunte.
35 Ficus africana, oculcis longissimis et foliatis, nascentibus exfoliorum alis.
36 Ficoides africana repens, et late virens, flore purpureo.

Next, numerous exotics, which have been introduced into the country from Europe, Asia, and America, viz.

Abies.
Acacia americana, foliis colutææ Scorpioideæ leguminosæ, filiis echinatis.
Aetosa hortensis.
Allium sativum, et hortense.
Allnis rotundifolia, et glutinosa, viridis.
Aloe americana sobolifera.
Althea indica, feu Rosa spinifera.
Amygdalus.
Ananas, sive Carduus brasillianus, foliis Aloys.
Apium hortense, feu Petroselinum vulgo.
Arundo faccharisera.

Asparagus.
APPENDIX

Asparagus fativa, 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 cam-
phora officinarum prodit.
Cannabis fativa, et erratica.
Carduus benedictus, sive Cnicus fylvestris hirfutior.
Caryophyllus.
Casia cinnamonea, seu Cinnamonum, sive Canella
ceylanica.
Caftanea fylvestris.
Cepa vulgaris.
Cerafus varii generis.
Chærephyllon fativum.
Cicer fativum.
Cinaria hortensis, foliis non aculeatis.
Clematis hederacea indica, foliis subrotundis, flore
rubente.
Corylus fativa.
Crithi pavonis.
Cucumis vulgaris.
Cucumis dictus flos passionis.
Cucurbita laginaria et rotunda.
Cupressus ramis expanfis.
Cyanus segetum hortensis, flore albo, cæruleo, etc.
Cytifus arvenfis.
Datura, seu Stramonìa indica major fœtida, porro
spinofo, oblongo.
Faba leguminosa.
Ficus communis indica, etc.
Ficoides seu Ficus americana, Cerei effigie, spinofo
et angulofa.
Fœniculum vulgare.
Fragaria ferenfragra rubra.
Frumentum indicum sarafenicum.
Foela Moegri.
Foela quater horas.
Foela Ares branco.
Gramen vulgare, item bulbosum et sparteum hol-
landicum.
Groffularia multiplici acino, sive non spinofo, hor-
tensis, rubra et albat.

Guajana
Guajana alba dulcis, sive Guajava promispera indica.
Hordeum vernum et hybernum.
Hyacinthus albus, ex hollandia ablatus.
Intybus fativa, latifolia et crispa.
Juniperus vulgaris, baccis parvis.
Katsjapiring.
Kajoe amaas.
Lactuca vulgaris capitata, et non capitata.
Leucoium album, purpureum, flaveum.
Lilium, fons Corona imperialis.
Majorana vulgaris.
Malus domestica, variae denominationes ejus.
Malus cydonia, fructu oblongo et leviori.
Malus citria.
Malus limonia acida et dulcis.
Malus arantia indica, fructu omnium maximo, pome-
pelmoes dicto, medulla partim palfescente, partim
rubescente.
Malus arantia lusitanica, seu pomum finense.
Malus punica, sive Granata.
Malum syriacum seu creticum.
Melisla hortensis, odore citri.
Melo hispanicus.
Mentha hortensis crispa.
Mespilus germanica, folio laurino non serrato.
Morus, fructu nigro.
Myrthus communis italica, et latifolia romana-
Napus fativa.
Narcissus albus, magno odorato flore.
Nafturtium indicum, flore luteo dilutioare.
Nux juglans, seu Regia vulgaris.
Ocyum latifolium maculatum vel crispm.
Olea fativa.
Paeonia, flore pleno rubro minore.
Palma daetylifera, Daetylus vulgo.
Papaver hortenfe.
Paltinaca fativa, radice alba.
Pepo indicus reticulatus, feminibus albis et nigris,
major.
Perica malus vulgaris, fructu molli et albo, item
fructu quasi sanguineo.
Pinus sylvestris.
Piper indicum sive balecutium, propendentibus sili-
quis, oblongis, recurvis, rubris.

Pistacia
APPENDIX.

Pistacia indica, feu persica, fructu racemosa.
Prunus.
Pyrus sativa.
Quercus vulgaris, brevibus pediculis.
Raphanus niger major rotundus, et Raphanus minor oblongus.
Raphanus rusticanus.
Rosa centifolia, frutice spinofo, rubra, alba, etc.
Rosmarinus hortensis.
Ruta hortensis.
Sabina.
Salvia.
Sambucus vulgaris.
Secale hybernum five majus.
Spinachia, femine non spinofo, et spinofo.
Tamariscus fruticofo.
Targon hortensis.
Triticum hibernum.
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 tradepeople, and their son was first designed
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 cruise, 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-veesel, 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 Sorkam, two allies of the Company, who were subject to continual vexation and oppression from the king of Acbeen, 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 illnesses, 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 jocularity 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 Bawwang. 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-
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 situa-
tion; and, at the end of that time, he was allowed to build
a house of bamboos, upon the shore, for the accommoda-
tion 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 astonish-
ment of both parties, who were very jealous of the Com-
pany’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 mes-
fengers 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 frivo-
rous conduct, he hoped they would speedily agree, without a
more serious interference on his part; the disputes re-
specting the boundaries were soon settled to mutual sati-
faction; 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 (Hawkfeye), 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 num-
ber of them yet maintained themselves at Baca”.
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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 Samarang. 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, is
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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 countersigns 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 Careenvou, 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 Belamboung, 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 residentes, 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. VerSSL 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 into 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 bitterest enmity.
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 carelessness 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
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 congratulations 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 residence in this province as comfortable as possible. I send you herewith, by provision, a cafe of wine, two cheeses, and a barrel of butter; also the latest newspapers from Holland. Whenever you are in want of any thing, write freely to

"Your humble servant,

"R. De Klerk."

"No
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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 capacity of two or three monopolists, who had large quantities of rice on hand, and sold it at a ruinous rate. He soon contrived 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 parroniers, the proprietors, or lesssees, 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 expense 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 everything glitters, in the same manner, with gold.
The direction at home, well informed of his honourable conduct in Banda, ordered him a pecuniary compensation for his zeal and diligence in the collection of nutmegs and mace, and indemnified him thereby for the expenses 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 councillor. This assembly has the absolute control 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 above
above the art or wisdom of man, and to originate in the unexampled infalubrity 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, wishing 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 to 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
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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 Groach. He procured, from the king of Bantam, the cession, to the Company, of the provinces of Landak and Succadana, in Bornoe, where he established a residency, and built a fort, called Puntiango, whence they now receive diamonds, wax, and fago. He quelled the refractory spirit of the inhabitants of the Moluccas, by seizing upon the kings of Tidore and Bacbian, 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 live, 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 extent
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 like-
wise contributed not a little to the promotion of agri-
culture.

He was not, however, without his faults; and could
not, in some instances, bear much contradiction or oppo-
sition. 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 con-
sidered as sacred, and included within their oath of secrecy.
The direction in Holland too disapproved hereof, and or-
dered those gentlemen to be reinstated in their offices,
and that they should receive their salaries from the time
they had been depopled.

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, thence-
forward, 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 dis-
inclination 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 oc-
casions, a numerous retinue of their countrymen, from
whose treacherous disposition danger might be appre-
hended
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 accension, 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 Molenhoet. 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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