



die in the interval between the departure and arrival of the company's ships, the government of Surat should see that their effects were faithfully collected and preserved, and deliver them to the first captains which should arrive. 10th, All men and goods which may be taken by the Portuguese, to be recovered by the government, and restored without charge. The 11th, exempts the trade and *factory* from responsibility for the robberies of English pirates. The 12th, No provisions, except exceeding one thousand dollars, to pay customs. And by the 13th, That in all questions of wrongs and injuries done to the English nation, justice be rendered without delay, or exorbitant charge. 1612.

The scope of these articles provided sufficiently for the security of a *first* establishment. They were signed on the 21st of October, when captain Best delivered the governor of Ahmedabad a costly present from the company, which he well deserved; and shewed him the present intended for the Mogul, which he sent back to the ship, to wait the confirmation of the articles. *October.*

In the mean time factors resorted to Surat, where they discovered that the master of the customs, whose authority was second only to the governor's, befriended the Portuguese; and soon after, that a fleet was coming from Goa, to drive away the English ships.

The Portuguese fleet consisted of four gallions, and more than twenty frigates. The admiral of the gallions mounted

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thirty-



1612. thirty-eight guns; the three others, twenty-eight and thirty. The frigates had no cannon, but seemed intended for boarding, and the services of shoal water. This fleet appeared off the bar of Surat on the 28th of October; and being joined by the frigates in the river, the number of this craft amounted to forty sail.

The next day captain Best bore down from the road of Swally, and engaged the vice-admiral, separated by the tide and sands from the others. A shot from her sunk his long-boat, another wounded his mainmast. The day after, he engaged all the four; and three of them, either from ignorance or confusion, grounded on the sands, where they would have overfet, if the frigates had not shored them up with their yards until the tide and farther assistance got them afloat again. On the 31st the fight was renewed; and at night, a frigate, prepared as a fire-ship, bore down on the Dragon; which discovered her in time, and sunk her. Eighty dead bodies floated to the shore. Of the English, only two were killed in the three fights.

- Novemb. The four succeeding days passed without action, in the repair of tackle; when captain Best, not doubting that the Portuguese would follow him, resolved to try them in an opener sea; and crossing the gulph, anchored on the 9th at Madrasabad, which at this time was invested by an army of the Mogul's. From hence he continued cruizing along the shores on each hand, in order to learn the soundings; during
+ which



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which he received several invitations from the general of the army; who sending pledges, captain Best went ashore on the 21st to his camp, and was much intreated by him to assist in the siege with two pieces of cannon; but refused: nevertheless presents were exchanged, and he was dismissed with civility. 1612.

The next day, which was the 22d, the four Portuguese gallions appeared, and at night anchored within shot. Early in the morning captain Best stood towards them, who weighed, and put before the wind, cannonaded until out of reach; for they failed better. The next morning, at sun-rise, he stood to them again, and maintained the fight until noon, when both sides, weary, such is the phrase, parted. When Best, finding on examination that both his ships had expended more than half their store of ammunition, resolved to reserve the remainder for defence, and steered towards Daman. The Portuguese followed, to preserve the shew of their flag; but did not venture near enough to renew the fight. Only one man was killed in these two last days; but the shot expended in all were, six hundred and twenty-five from the cannon, and three thousand from the small arms. *Novemb.*

On the 27th, the two ships, no longer dogged by the Portuguese, anchored at Swally, and renewed the intercourse with their factors at Surat; where the event of their fights raised the English reputation, even in the opinion of ill will;

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which



1612. which nevertheless continued; and by means of the custom-master, the confirmation of the articles by the Mogul, which arrived a few days after, was sent to Swally as a common letter of business, which raised suspicion that it might be a counterfeit; and captain Best, aware of the intended contempt, and its consequences, whether it were or not, refused to receive it, unless delivered with the usual solemnities. This spirit brought the governor and his son-in-law, the custom-master, to Swally, who presented it in state*, and congratulated; but were very curious to know whether the English ships had not suffered more than was said, in the late engagements.

Deceml. This passed on the 11th of December. The goods intended for the factory were immediately landed; and those provided there, received on board. In the interim, on the 14th, the four gallions appeared again, but anchored at a distance. Captain Best set sail in the night of the 17th, and was followed by them for two hours, when they parted with-

* Captain Best, in this part of his journal, calls the confirmation he received, a phirmaund, which is the highest rank of patent, expressed to be issued by order of the King, and authenticated by the Vizir. But we are inclined to think it was no more than a husbullhookum, or injunction from the Vizir, which was soon after followed by a real phirmaund. For in the subsequent part of the journal, captain Best, when at Atchin, says,

"The seven and twentieth (of May) *Malim Gany* came to *Atchin*, by whom
"I received letters from our merchants at *Surat*, and also a copie of the king's
"*firma*, sent them from *Agra*, bearing date the twenty-fifth of January, and
"the seventh year of the Great Mogul's reign, confirming all that was passed
"between the governour of *Ahmedabad* and me."

out



out firing. Near Cananore he discovered the fouthern armada of Portuguese frigates, and took a merchant ship from amongst them, which he sunk after he had taken out the cargo of rice and fugar. He then continued cruizing down the coast until the laft of February, when he put off from Cape Comorin for Atchin. 1612.

The principal factors left by captain Best at Surat, were Aldworth, Canning, Kerridge, and Withington; and Andrew Starkey, to proceed overland to England, with advices of the fettlement. Canning was sent with the king's letter and the present, which was of little value, to Agra, travelling through much trouble, and was attacked by robbers, who killed some of his escort, and wounded more, with himself and another Englishman. He arrived on the 9th of April, and was asked by the Mogul, whether *that* present was sent by the king; but answered, that it was sent by the merchants. He continued in daily dread of poison from the Portuguese jesuits; and died on the 29th of May, which confirmed the fuspicion. April.

Andrew Starkey, was poisoned somewhere on the way by two friars. Kerridge, was sent from Surat on the 22d June, to supply the place of Canning, at Agra. May.

The Portuguese, from vexation at the permission of the English factory, and exasperated by the reproach of their own insufficiency, in not driving their ships from the road, resolved to keep no measures with the government of Surat; and in October feized a ship belonging to the port, which had Octob.



1613. had on board five hundred persons, and effects to the amount of 100,000 pounds : they carried her with the prisoners to Goa. This violation produced an interdict of all intercourse, unless under especial passport for the purpose of reconciliation.

Novemb. In November, Aldworth and Withington travelled from Surat to examine the marts of Broach, Jumbafeer, Brodera, Neriad, and Ahmedabad, where they received intelligence, that three English ships were arrived at Laureebunder, in the river Indus : and Withington proceeded in order to assist them with his advice.

Decemb. This journey is five hundred miles, and mostly through the most inhospitable country in India. He set out on the 13th of December, travelling for safety with a caravan, which was attacked in the night of the third stage ; and the next day met the Mogul's officer returning with two hundred and fifty heads of the Coolies, a nation of robbers. The sixth march brought them to *Radenpore**, on the river Kutch, where they provided water and meat for the journey across the desert, in which they marched six days, watering their camels at brackish wells, until they arrived at Nagar Parkar, a village on the skirts of the better country ; where came in a caravan, which had been robbed within two days of Tatta, the capital and emporium of Scindy. From Nagar Parkar they travelled three days, partly in the desert, to a town

* Is in Mr. D'Anville's Carte de L'Inde, Nov. 1752.

called



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called Bardiana, where they provided more water, but bad, 1613.
for the ensuing journey of five days, all through the desert, to
*Naramquere**; and arrived without mischance, but much
sickness, when the caravan separated, leaving Withington
with four servants, two merchants with five, and five drivers
to their ten camels; who hired an escort at *Naramquere*,
which saved them from a band of robbers in the next march
to Gundaiwa. The next day they were twice attacked, but
cleared themselves by a small present, and arrived at Surrana,
a large town with a castle, belonging to the Rajpoots; whose
chief, Rajah Bulbul, had been taken by the Moguls, and
blinded; but nevertheless had lately escaped to his own
mountains, and excited his kindred to revenge. His son
Boomah, who was in Surrana, asked Withington many ques-
tions concerning England, invited him to supper, and drank
freely. A Banian, who pretended to give intelligence con-
cerning the English at Laureebunder, persuaded Withington
to hire Boomah to escort him to Tatta, as the journey was 1614.
full of danger, although not thirty miles.

Boomah attended with fifty horse: the first halt, at ten
miles, was on the bank of a river, from whence he renewed
the march at two hours after midnight; and leading a quite
contrary way, brought them, at break of day, into a thick
wood; when his gang seized all, camels, men, and goods,
and strangled the two Hindoo merchants and their five ser-

* Is in Mr. D'Anville's premiere partie de la Carte d'Asie. 1751.

vants



1614. wants with their own tackle ; but only bound Withington and his, and sent them forty miles into the mountains to Boomah's brothers, by whom they were kept twenty-two days in close confinement; and then sent to Parkar, where the Rajpoot governor had orders to forward them to Radenpore. In the journey to Parkar they were robbed of their clothes, and lived from hence to Radenpore by begging, and the price of Withington's horse, which the thieves did not think worth the taking. At Radenpore their wants were relieved by a Banian whom Withington had known at Ahmedabad, where he arrived on the 2d of April, after a distressful absence of one hundred and eleven days. Proceeding by Cambay and Broach he arrived on the 18th at Surat, where Aldworth was returned before, having left a house, hired on the company's account, at Ahmedabad, and another at Broach, with brokers and domestics to provide goods, until the factors from Surat should come to examine them, and settle the prices.

The report of three ships in the Indus, which had called forth Withington, had arisen from the arrival of one, named the Expedition, on board of which was fir Robert Shirley, who had been sent by the Sophy, Shah Abbas the great, as his embassador to king James; and was returning to Persia, accompanied by fir Thomas Powel, whom the king sent as his own to the Sophy. Both embassadors had their wives with them; and in the retinue of fir Robert Shirley were



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were several Persians. The ship was provided for the voyage of Surat and Bantam; but the company, grateful to the state, and perspicacious of their own future interests in Persia, undertook to convey the ambassadors. 1614.

The Portuguese in possession of Ormus, where their garri- son and gallees proudly barred the entrance of the Persian gulph, and vaunting likewise their hold of Muscat on the Arabian shore, deterred all approach within their reach, not licensed by their passport; and the ambassadors, ignorant of the countries between Persia and the Indus, prudently rated the long journey from Surat to Candahar, as the most secure and shortest way of getting to Ispahan. But the Expedition putting into the bay of Saldania, where they arrived in April, 1613. met several of the company's ships returning from Bantam; and with them captain Hawkins, whose account of Sir Henry Middleton's proceedings, as well at Surat as in the Red-sea, made the ambassadors despair of reception at that port; and it was resolved to try the shores adjoining to Persia; in sight of which they came on the 10th of September, about one hundred miles to the eastward of Cape Jasques.

Sir Thomas Powel went ashore to get intelligence in a little village, and learned that the country was called Mekran, the people Baluches, and subject to a prince tributary to Persia, who resided at Guadel, a port five days sail to the eastward, and would willingly convey the ambassadors to the Sophy's court; on which they stood towards Guadel, and in

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the



1614. the way endeavoured to stop two trading boats, which beat
1613. off the ship's pinnace, not without bloodshed; and when
pursued by the long-boat better armed, pushed into a bay,
where one of them ran ashore, and was wrecked; and the
other was with difficulty prevented; but all the men, except-
ing nine, swam ashore, who, with the boat, were brought
to the ship, and treated with civility. They belonged to
Guadel, and had a pass from the Portuguese at Muscat, to
which they were bound, and begged to go, but were denied,
from the fear of spreading alarm, and piloted the ship to
Septemb. Guadel, where she arrived on the 10th of September, the
fifth day's sail from the village, where Sir Thomas Powel
had landed.

The governor of Guadel spared neither humilieties, promises,
nor preparations, to gain the confidence of the ambassadors.
The carriages and escort of their journey were collected and
shewn; on which they landed their presents, furniture, and
money, and agreed to come ashore on the 21st, at four in
the afternoon.

It wanted only half an hour to this time, and all were
ready dressed on the deck, when the ship's boat came on
board with intelligence from the Persian, Nazerbeg, that the
Baluches intended to murder all who might land, excepting
the surgeons, musicians, women, and boys. Neither the joy,
nor indignation of the danger escaped disconcerted shrewdness
or presence of mind. Sir Robert Shirley sent a message to the
governor,



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governor, that a sudden illness prevented him from coming ashore until the next day, and mentioned the hour; but intending to land in ceremony, wished the governor to send three boats, with some of his principal men, to honour the procession of his own. The counter-snare was not suspected. In the interval the money was secretly conveyed back to the pinnace, and a chest of old lumber, sent from the ship, was changed for one of much value, which it was pretended had been brought ashore by mistake. The governor's boats, with fifty persons, arrived on board the ship whilst the pinnace was still on shore; and to get her away without suspicion was the pinch of the stratagem; for Nazerbeg, with three Europeans, were at the tent; and it was resolved to save Hodgee Comal, the governor's physician, who had revealed the plot, and now obtained his leave to go to the ship in order to buy the proper medicines for his disorder. The Europeans passed as musicians necessary to the procession; and Nazerbeg prevailed on a man of rank to go with him in order to see rarities. As soon as the boat was well on the way, all the Baluches on board the ship were seized and disarmed; the meaner suffered to return; they of better condition confined; and a message sent to the governor, that their liberty should answer the restoration of the effects on shore. A deceitful apology produced a second summons, which limited their lives to two hours, and the hour-glass was set before the messenger. This terror brought off every thing,

1614.

1613.



1614. when all the prisoners were released, excepting one, detained
1618. to pilot the ship to Scindy, which arrived at Diul*, in the
Sept. river Indus, on the 26th of September.

Many Portuguese, although without regular force or government, were settled and trading at Diul, who represented the English as pirates. Nevertheless the Mogul's governor received the embassadors with courtesy, and promised to assist their journey, but refused the permission of trade, because the ship had brought few commodities; and the Portuguese threatened to leave the port, which gained largely by their customs. He, however, promised in writing, that if the English would engage to make their trade as valuable, he would give them the preference.

So little was the intercourse between Diul and Surat, that the Expedition heard nothing of the factory settled here by captain Best; to which, as well for the certainty of trade as the convenience of the embassadors' journey, they would otherwise have repaired: but disembarked with their families and effects at Diul, intending to proceed from hence by Candahar to Ispahan. The ship sailed for Sumatra and Bantam
Octob. on the 9th of October, two months before Withington set out for Ahmedabad to find her in the Indus.

The miss of this ship left the factors at Surat without the arrival of one from England during the two first seasons after their establishment, which might have exposed them to the

* Not the island of Diu.

contempt



contempt and oppression of the Moorish government, but for expectation of assistance from the first which might arrive, against the Portuguese; who, after taking the great ship, had continued outrages by sea and land against the Mogul's subjects within their reach, until, in consequence of these provocations, an army, under the command of Mocrib Caun, marched from Ahmedabad against their town and territory of Daman, and another against their fortress in the island of Diu.

1614.

1613.

Withington, soon after his forlorn journey to Scindy, proceeded to Agra, where he arrived in the middle of June, and found all the catholics, who were many, prohibited from the public exercise of their religion; their churches shut up under guard; and the two Portuguese jesuits, who had hitherto been in great favour with the emperor, forbidden his presence.

1614.

June.

The occasion which called Withington to Agra, was the death of John Mildenall, a name of earlier note in the resort to India. He was bred a merchant, and was employed whilst the establishment of the COMPANY was under adjustment; to bear a letter from queen ELIZABETH to the Mogul, ACBAR, requesting the freedom of trade in his dominions. He left Aleppo in July 1600, but did not arrive at Agra until the year 1603, where he was much thwarted by the friars; but after a residence of three years, obtained a phirmaund, Acbar being dead, from Jehangire, with which he returned

as



1614. as he came through Persia, and was at Casbin in October 1606. The advices of his success, we suppose, promoted the mission of captain Hawkins, who failed for Surat in March 1607, at which time Mildenall might not have been arrived in England. The rest of his story is very obscure. He returned to Persia, if not before, in 1610, with some commission, in which two others, young men, were joined; whom it is said he poisoned, in order to embezzle the effects committed to their common charge, with which he repaired to Agra, where he turned Roman catholic, and died himself of poison, leaving all he possessed to a Frenchman, whose daughter he intended to marry. Mr. Kerridge was at that time the resident at Agra; but being constantly occupied in attendance on the court, sent for Withington to collect the effects left by Mildenall; of which to the amount of 20,000 dollars were recovered, in conformity to the exemptions allowed in the phirmaund granted to captain Best.

Octob. At length the long-expected succour from England appeared at the bar of Surat on the 12th of October, two years and eight months after the departure of the ships with captain Best; during which interval, none belonging to the English had been seen there. The fleet consisted of four ships, of 650, 500, three hundred, and two hundred tons; and the crews would have been six hundred men, if not impaired by sickness. The general (for such was the title given in these early voyages to the chief commander, even of a single ship, if



if independent of any other) was Nicholas Downton, who 1614.
had been captain of one of those with Sir Henry Middleton. *Octob.*
They left England on the 1st of March, and had been in-
formed at Socotra of the fights and phirmaund of captain
Best. From Daman they were followed in the night by four-
teen frigates, which avoided the day. The 15th they moored
at Swally, where the next day came down Mr. Aldworth, the
principal merchant, accompanied by Richard Steele, lately
arrived from Aleppo, and sent by the company on experi-
ment. These two, with one Biddulph, were the only factors
remaining at Surat when the fleet arrived, which brought
a sufficient recruit.

Mocrib Caun not only commanded the army against
Daman, which had done nothing, but likewise held, with
the title of Nabob, the governments of SURAT, BROACH,
Brodera, and Neriad, which extended from the Nerbeddah
to the territory of the Portuguese. His former conduct to
Sir Henry Middleton had left a prejudice in the mind of
Downton, which Aldworth could not remove by representing
his present want of assistance from the English. He was at
this time at Surat, and expected the first overtures; which
not coming, he sent one of his principal officers, named Coja
Nazar, to Swally, on the 27th of the month, to whom captain
Downton delivered a present for Mocrib Caun, and another
for himself; but neither of much value; and demanded redress
for impositions in the customs, especially at BROACH, and a
market



1614. market for beeves on the strand at Swally: but Coja Nazar
Octob. answered, that the customs of BROACH were out of the power
of the government, being farmed to a merchant; and that
the Banians at Surat had paid a large sum to prevent the
killing of beeves. On which the three senior factors, newly
arrived, were sent with Aldworth to treat with the Nabob,
who proposed various means by which he might be assisted;
but was told, that the peace which subsisted between the two
nations in Europe, prohibited the English from any hosti-
lities against the Portuguese, excepting in their own de-
fence; in which distinction, finding them inflexible, he said,
that as they would do nothing for him, he should do nothing
for them.

On the 27th, all the natives who had gathered at Swally,
for dealing or employment, disappeared. And on the same
day, the factors in the city intending to return to the ships,
were seized at the gate, and forced to prison; where Aldworth
imprudently said, that such treatment would drive the English
to join the Portuguese; which increased the severity; for this
violence was occasioned by the contrivance of two jesuits in
the town, who had counterfeited a letter, as from the vice-roy
of Goa, ordering them to inform the Nabob, that unless he
made peace with his nation, he should join the English
against the Mogul's government; and the angry words of
Aldworth confirmed the suspicion, until explanation detected
the fraud, when the Nabob apologized; and permitted the

factors



factors to return to Swally; from whence the country people had removed by his order given, not in despite, but in consequence of injunctions from Agra, not to suffer any thing to be bought out of the ships which might arrive, before the Mogul's purveyors, who were expected, had chosen what was fit for his use. 1614.

With the factors came down what goods were in the factory, provided since the departure of captain Best. They were only fixty bales of indico, and eleven bales of cotton-yarn, not in the whole exceeding 20,000 rupees. Money, and goods for sale, to a much greater amount, had been left with Aldworth; but the produce had been expended in jour-nies, maintenance, residences, equipages, and presents.

The intercourse now opened with the city did not entirely remove the suspicions of captain Downton; which Mocrib Caun did not lessen, by holding out a claim for restitution, on a pretended account of unfair dealings in the barter made with the Surat ships, when detained by sir Henry Middleton in the Red-sea; which Downton knew to be false. At the same time came intelligence, that the vice-roy of Goa was preparing the whole marine of his state, to attack the English ships at Swally; and Downton doubted whether he might not be joined by Mocrib Caun; who a few days after threatened the factors in the city with severities. because they refused to shew him the present intended for the Mogul,

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which



1614. which nevertheless they were at last obliged to do. These mistrusts deterred Downton from risking himself on shore, until his anxieties were alleviated by the arrival of officers sent by the Mogul to examine the presents, who brought orders that the English should be treated with favour in all their wants and dealings; on which Mocrib Caun made honorary presents to the principal factors, and gave the allotted sum for expences to those who were to accompany the Mogul to Agra, advising them to set out without delay, and promising escort as far as his authority reached. This
- Novemb.* passed on the 25th of November: a few days after, he sent merchants to make purchases in the ships for his own use;
- Decemb.* and then his son, on the 9th of December, to visit Downton, who met him on the strand at Swally.

Four days after appeared a fleet of twenty-two frigates, which passed unmolested, although near the sand of Swally; for Downton adhered to his resolution of not commencing hostility. They crossed the gulph to the road of Gogo, where they burnt one hundred and twenty trading boats, and several ships, of which one was the Rehemy, without doubt, at this time, the largest on the seas of India; after which the soldiers landed, and destroyed several villages; but Gogo, being walled, was safe. The news of this devastation arrived at Surat on the 16th of December, and renewed the suspicion of Mocrib Caun, that the English were in league with the Portuguese,



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Portuguese, because they had not fired on the frigates as they passed. 1614.
Decemb.

Before their return, captain Downton weighed from Swally, and anchored his ships off the bar of Surat, in order to protect the communication of his boats with the city. The road is seven miles from the shore; and every where along the coast are sands which afford refuge to shallow vessels against the approach of ships of deep burthen, of which the frigates availed themselves, anchoring much nearer the shore, from whence they gave chase, even into the river, to every boat which appeared either coming in or going out; whilst others cruized as they lifted around. On several nights some bore down, as if they intended to set the ships on fire; which were kept in continual alerts, either of guard, defence, or chase, with very little detriment done or received, until the 29th, when captain Downton, finding that he could not prevent the cruizes of the frigates at the mouth of the river, returned to Swally. On the 16th of January, a fleet of near forty more appeared from the south, and joining those already at the bar, went all together into the river to get water, and came out the next day. The day after arrived nine ships, which were followed the next day by two gallies. 1615.
Jan.

The crews of the Portuguese marine in India were composed of two different orders. The fighting men were rated as genuine Portuguese; who, proud of this pre-eminence,

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refused,

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1615. refused, unless in cases of extremity, to take part in the services necessary to navigate the vessel; but reserved to themselves the management of the cannon, fire-works, and small arms. The mariners were either slaves, or Hindoos of the meaner casts, or still more degenerate christians, born in the country, and considered as unworthy of the military character, were entirely allotted to the management of the tackle. The armament, which now appeared at the bar of Surat, was commanded by the vice-roy of Goa, Don Jeronimo de Azevedo, who hoisted his flag as admiral, in the Todos Santos of eight hundred tons, two hundred and sixty fighting men, of whom thirty were of family and distinction, and twenty-eight pieces of ordnance, which probably were of the larger calibres; for two are expressly said to be forty pounders. Five others of the ships were from seven to four hundred tons; from one hundred and eighty to one hundred and forty men, from twenty to fourteen guns. These six were rated as galleons; a distinction we do not comprehend. The two next in force were each of two hundred tons, fifty men, and eight guns; and a pinnace of four guns had eighty fighting men. The two galleys had each fifty. The frigates had eighteen oars on a side, and were equally manned with thirty besides the rowers, who were probably two to an oar; in which case they amounted to four thousand three hundred and twenty, and, with the mariners in the larger vessels, made the



the number of six thousand natives serving in the fleet; in which the Portuguese, or Europeans, were two thousand six hundred, who managed, with very * little skill, one hundred and thirty-four pieces of cannon, against eighty of much inferior shot.

1615.
Jan.

Captain Downton considered the success of this armament as the certain destruction of the English commerce in the Mogul's dominions; reasoning, that if his own ships should be driven from their stations, in the roads of Surat and Swally, the vice-roy, by devastation even of the city itself, would compel the Nabob to refuse the English all future resort and intercourse; and, computing the loss of his ships as a detriment much inferior to such a consequence, he resolved to perish with them, rather than recede; but did not despair that stratagem might avail to supply the defect of force.

The Nabob, terrified by the appearance of the armament, sent his shabander, or custom-master, and several other principal men, to the vice-roy, with a large present of provisions, and many promises, to obtain peace; which the vice-roy refused, not doubting that he should destroy the English

* We have endeavoured to compute the force of this armada, from the deposition in Purchas, of a Portuguese who served in one of the galleons. FARIA DE SOUZA relates this campaign; and, although differing in some particulars from the English accounts, without partiality to the Portuguese. Describing that part of the fleet, which sailed with the vice-roy from Goa, and consisted of all the vessels which mounted cannon, besides some others, he says, "Llevavan mil y quatrocientos Portugueses mucha y poderosa artilleria: pero ignorantes manejadores della."

ships;

1615.
Jan.

ships; after which he intended to exact much severer terms, or the full price of remission.

The channel of Swally is about a mile and a half in breadth, and seven in length. It lies between a spot of sand of this length, which is dry at low water, and the main shore. The ships, when Swally used to be the station, now deserted, anchored in a cove which cuts into the land, about midway of the channel, and is called Swally-hole. The wind, during the northerly monsoon, blows constantly from the N. E. and at this time generally fresh enough to stem the flood, which comes from the south.

Early in the morning of the 20th, at low water, Downton sent the Hope, of three hundred tons, to anchor at the south entrance of the channel, where the galleons would not have depth sufficient to come near her until the flood was high. The three other ships soon after came out of the cove, but anchored again in the channel. These manœuvres produced the intended mistake, that the English ships had quitted Swally to put to sea and fly the coast. And the Hope had scarcely anchored, before the whole fleet of the Portuguese were under full sail, plying to stop the channel. The two smaller ships, with the pinnace, which were foremost, all at the same time grappled and boarded the Hope; in which, the attack being expected, was well resisted. Downton, with the three other ships, leaving their anchors, came down, and chose their shot on the enemy's ships entangled with the Hope;



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Hope; which thrice beat off the Portuguese who had entered, to find more danger on board their own; which the confusion of continual slaughter disabled them from cutting clear of the Hope, until in despair, they set fire to all the three, and took to the water; when a number of frigates, which had hitherto given no assistance, now risked themselves, and saved many, but many were drowned.

1615,
Jan.

In the mean time the Hope had taken fire in her main and fore rigging, but nevertheless disengaged herself from the three ships in fiercer flames, which drove on the sands, and burnt until overwhelmed by the flood. All this while the galleons kept on the outside of the spit, across which they cannonaded the English ships within the channel, which was answered; but with little detriment on either side.

This success changed the face of affairs. The vice-roy sent a deputation to the Nabob proposing an alliance; who answered with a present of provisions, and refusal to make any peace in which the English should not be included; to whom he ordered his officers at Swally to give every assistance, and even sent timber from the city to replace the main-mast of the *Hope*, which had been destroyed by the fire. And the English ships carried on their usual occupations in the channel, sometimes alarmed, but never attacked, by the Portuguese, who waited for reinforcements; which arrived on the 3d of February, consisting of two ships, two large junks, and eight or ten of the country boats.

On



1615.
Feb.

On the 8th, in the forenoon, the two junks, with the two gallies before arrived, came driving up the channel with the flood, as if intending to fire the ships, for which they were said to be prepared; but as soon as the ships weighed and stood towards them, they put about, and got away with the wind. Captain Downton suspected, that this appearance was only meant to fix his attention to this end of the channel, whilst it was really intended to make the attack from the other, where, during the ebb, the wind and tide served together; whereas the wind constantly opposed the flood, which was the only help of approach from the south. Nor was he mistaken; for soon after dark, the interception of a large light on an island, at a great distance, or perhaps on the coast itself, on the other side of the bay towards Gogo, discovered that vessels were moving to the north of the channel; and before midnight four were descried coming down with the ebb: they were two fire-boats not yet lighted, towed by two frigates. The cannon and small arms of the ships soon obliged the frigates to throw off the boats, setting fire to them; which coming on were avoided by three of the ships, but both at some interval fell on the Hope, one athwart her hause, the other on her quarter; but she cleared herself without damage, and the flood brought them back, still burning in the morning, when the ships boats towed them aground.

On the night of the 10th came down two boats, towed by four frigates, which, as before, were forced by the fire of the
ships



ships to cast off and kindle the boats at too great a distance, when the strength of the wind drove them to leeward of the ships. They were scarcely passed, when many more frigates were discerned, which had in tow four boats chained together ahead: all stemmed directly on the Hector, affording spacious mark to the fire of all the ships; which again beat away the frigates, in such terror, that they only lighted two of the boats. The Hector, by swinging round on her cable, avoided them. A shot from the admiral set fire to the third boat, which fired the other; and all, confounded together, were driven by the gale on the strand of Swally.

1615.
Feb.

The Portuguese galleons, which had this while continued anchoring to the northward, fell down the next day to the bar of Surat, where captain Downton caused them to be watched, suspecting the vice-roy might land and attempt the city, in which case he resolved to attack the galleons, deprived of their fighting men; but the vice-roy saw the danger, and only sent the frigates into the river, to give importance to the negociation which he renewed with the Nabob, who answered as before, that he could not abandon the English. And on the 13th the vice-roy failed away with all the armada, excepting twenty frigates; which created various conjectures concerning his future intentions.

Notwithstanding the alarms to which the English ships had been lately exposed, they had not desisted from landing their outward cargoes, and receiving on board the goods provided for England; all of which were shipped, as well as the water

Z z

and



1615. and provisions; when captain Downton, deeming the fair
Feb. season too far spent to permit the armada, if they should return, to attack the city, signified his intention of departing to the Nabob, who intreated him to defer it for fifteen days, and after much seeming objection he consented to eight; on which the Nabob sent his tents and pomp to Swally, and arrived there himself with a great train on the 24th in the morning, before captain Downton was apprized, who landed two hours after, with one hundred and twenty men regularly armed, and was escorted by them to the tent, where the Nabob received and entertained him with much courtesy, and on his invitation went on board his ship, which he examined with intelligent curiosity; and Downton accompanied him back to the shore. Two days after, his son, and son-in-law, came on board to take leave; and the next, several of the principal men of the town.

March. On the 3d of March the English ships weighed from Swally, and saw a fleet of frigates coming from the westward to the river, most of which passed in shoal-water, out of cannon-shot; but the ships fired on the nearest, to give the last testimony of good-will to their friends on shore. Vessels going from Surat to the south, even in the northerly monsoon, save their ground by anchoring on the flood, unless the wind is very stiff. At day-break the Portuguese armada were discerned at anchor towards the shore; who weighed and flood after the English ships through the day, but lost ground by not anchoring, as they did, on the flood. The next day, the 5th
of



of the month, both fleets stood on to the south; but the Portuguese did not gain, although the *Hope* failed so ill, that the *Hector*, which failed the best, was obliged to take her in tow. The succeeding day, Downton, thinking he had led the armada far enough from their own ports and Surat, resolved to let them come up, and then putting about suddenly, to attack them unexpected, hoping much from the surprize of conceited superiority. He accordingly went in his boat to the three other ships, to animate and instruct them; during which the flood set in; when his own, which had the admiral's flag aloft, meaning to accommodate the quickness of his return to her with the tide, fell astern of the others. At this time the vice-roy's galleon sailing well, was far a-head of the rest of his fleet, and near enough to have brought Downton's to engagement; and his gunner proffered to sink her with the two forty-pounders, which seem to have been the pride of the armada; but the *hidalgoes*, or gentry, said that the English admiral had fallen astern with no other intention than to tempt the vice-roy to the trial, when the three other ships would bear down, and be an overmatch; on which he hauled his wind * towards the shore, was followed by his fleet, and

1615.
March.

* FARIA DE SOUSA says, that the English ships made their acknowledgments to the vice-roy for this resolution of not fighting them, by a salute, as from friends, of their cannon without ball; and reason good, that they should consult the safety and satisfaction of those who had consulted theirs. "Finalmente los Ingleses agradecieron aquella resolucion a los nuestros, con un salva como de amigos, porque fue de artilleria sin bala: que era razon procurassen el gusto y la salud de quien les procurava el fuyo y la fuya."—But notwithstanding the wit of FARIA, the English salute was a very ironical compliment.



1615. all were soon out of sight, as the English ships continued
March. their course. When the vice-roy was afterwards arraigned
on various crimes during his government, his conduct on this
day was one of the articles of accusation, and the very hi-
dalgoes, in deference to whose opinion he had refrained from
the attack, witnessed against him. The English ships pro-
ceeded down the coast, and on the 10th of the month the
Hope was sent off for England; the other three doubled Cape
June. Comorin on the 19th, and arrived on the second of June at
Aug. Bantam, where captain Downton died on the 6th of August,
lamented, admired, and unequalled.

1614. The present for the Mogul had set out from Surat on the
Novem. last of November, under the charge of Mr. Edwards, the
Decem. senior merchant of those who arrived in the fleet: an escort
was furnished by Mocrib Caun; and Mr. Aldworth, the prin-
cipal agent, with several other factors, availed themselves of
the safety and repute of this opportunity, to visit the towns
where the company had residencies or trade. The escort was
changed at BROACH, again at Demy-rode; but at Chamon-
dyle only twenty-five men were allotted, and they were in
concert with the robbers, of whom a band of fifty horsemen
came near the caravan whilst halting at night, but were de-
terred by the dispositions of defence which the factors made
with their own servants. On the 8th they arrived at Brodera,
where a present to the governor, and a fight of the mastiff
dog intended for the Mogul, procured them kind reception,
and an escort of one hundred foldiers, who accompanied
them



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them to Ahmedabad, where they arrived on the 13th. From 1615.
hence Richard Steele and John Crouther were sent off on
their destined journey, to Persia ; and on the 2d of January, Jan.
Mr. Edwards continued his with the present to Agra.

The exclusion of the Portuguese enabled the English factors abroad to make their purchases at Ahmedabad with dispatch and sufficient cheapness. They set out on their return from thence, on the 26th of January, with forty carts, and an escort, which the government increased, because murders and robberies had been committed, two nights before, close to the walls of the city. At Mundevas, the governor informed them of the fight, which had passed on the 20th, between the *Hope* and the three ships which boarded her, acknowledging that Surat owed its preservation to that success, and in gratitude augmented their escort ; to which more were fortunately added when they arrived at Brodera ; for on the march to Broach, the caravan was attacked in a close lane, thick set on each side with hedges, by three hundred Rajpoots, who with their lances and arrows wounded many, although few dangerously, and before the line could get out again into the plain, cut off two of the carriages, with which they retired to divide the booty. On the 5th of February the caravan arrived at Surat, and the goods were sent to the ships at Swally.

Feb.

The mission of Steele and Crouther was intended to procure a phirmaund for the permission of English ships to trade in



1615. in the ports of Persia; and the hopes of success were authorized by the circumstances of the time, and the expected assistance of sir Robert Shirley.

1613.
Octob. The ship *Expedition* had no sooner left the Indus, as we have said, in October 1613, than the governor of Diul, who was a Banian, and either bribed or intimidated by the Portuguese, falsified the promises which had induced the two ambassadors to land under his protection; a frigate had been dispatched to Ormus, which brought back twelve assassins, if other means should fail, to stop their journey to Persia; which obliged them to keep constant guard in their own house, often exposed to the outrages of the Portuguese residing in the town; which the governor, if he did not encourage, would not, although called on, prevent, but even refused his permission for their departure; during these distresses, sir

1614. Thomas Powel, and one of his followers, died. At length sir Robert Shirley set out with his own means; which, as he took his company, must have been openly, and without hindrance; but when they came to where they intended to cross the river, no boats would venture to carry them over: on which they made a raft, and Shirley first embarked with Nazerbeg, to try the passage, when a party of horse, sent from Diulfinde, appeared on the bank, and swimmers brought back the raft. Meanwhile a fray ensued on shore, and Mr. Ward, who had long been the companion of sir Robert Shirley, fired his pistol in the face of one of the troop, and

was



was instantly shot dead by another. All were seized and carried back, their effects pillaged in the way, and the whole company put into prison. At length they were released, and permitted to get boats, in which they proceeded to Tatta, where the governor, being a Persian, treated them with civility; but as all the roads were infested by robbers, they waited two months for the escort of an omrah of distinction travelling to Agra. During this delay, the widow of sir Thomas Powell was brought to bed, and died with her infant; and soon after Michael, the brother of sir Thomas, likewise died.

1615.
1614.

Sir Robert Shirley, on his arrival at Agra, was received with much courtesy by the emperor, who wished to entertain him in his service, and sent for the governor of Diulfinde, on whom he offered to inflict any punishment sir Robert might chuse, if he would stay to see it inflicted. But sir Robert pressed to continue his journey, and gave offence by a retort to a harsh reflection on the king of Persia; which nevertheless did not prevent the sometimes generous humour of Jehangire from dismissing him with rich presents*, equipage, provisions, and an escort, which was continued to the frontier of Candahar, from whence he arrived safely with his lady at Ispahan; bearing the purport of sir Thomas Powell's embassy from KING JAMES, which was not unacceptable to SHAH ABBAS; who having lately reduced the province of Lar, wished to dispossess the Portuguese of Ormus, and their other lordships in

* Purchas says, to the amount of 2,000l.

the



1614. the Persian gulph, but wanted the assistance of an equal force at sea, which he foresaw might be furnished by the English nation.

1615.
March.

The Portuguese vice-roy, after retreating from captain Downton, stopped at Bassein, before he proceeded to Goa, and instructed his governor of Daman to endeavour a reconciliation with Surat; to which end the jesuit Hieronimo Xavier worked more efficaciously at Agra, by proffers and apologies, which gained the emperor's mother from motives of religion, and his wife by expectation of presents; at whose solicitations the emperor gave the government and revenue of Surat in appanage to his third son Sultan Currom, who succeeded to the throne with the name of Shah Jehan.

Aug.

Sultan Currom appointed his favorite Zulfacar Caun to act as his manager and vicegerent at Surat, from whence Mocrib Caun sat out as soon as the rains began to abate, and Mr. Aldworth, with several factors, took the advantage of his escort, to repair to Cambay and Ahmedabad*.

Sept.

Zulfacar Caun, vexed at the detriments which the state and revenues of his new government had sustained from the Portuguese, imputed the cause to the English, whom he detested accordingly, and concluded a treaty with the governor of Daman, which, according to the historian FARIA, consisted

* We find this second journey of Aldworth, and the departure of Mocrib Caun, not in any of the relations in Purchas, but in a separate tract of forty pages in 12°—printed London 1633, and written by CHRISTOPHER FAREWELL, one of the factors who accompanied Mr. Aldworth in this journey.



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of the following articles, " That neither the emperor, nor the
" vice-roy should hold any correspondence either with the En-
" glish or the Dutch: that they should not shelter either of these
" nations in their ports; but obliged themselves to drive them
" out of the sea of Guzerat within three months after their
" appearance in it: that if the English should come into the
" WELL of Surat, the Portuguese should be permitted to raise
" batteries on the shore, and expel them: that, former injuries
" and losses on both sides being forgot, the Moguls and
" Portuguese should trade freely in each others ports: that
" the prisoners on both sides should be restored, and the Mogul
" restore all effects in his possession belonging to the Portu-
" guese, after paying himself seventy thousand xerafins,
" for the estimated loss in a ship coming from Mecca: that
" the hulk of a ship should be given to the emperor's mother,
" in compensation for that* which had been burnt at Gogo:
" that the VICE-ROY should permit two ships for one year, and
" one every year, to make the voyage from Surat to Mecca,
" exempt from all duties: that the Malabars should be
" driven out of the ports of both, as pernicious pirates; and
" that nothing in this peace should alter the rights of the
" king of Portugal to levy duties at his custom-house of Diu,
" on all vessels navigating the gulph of Cambay." We can-
not ascertain the date of this treaty; which FARIA places
towards the end of this year 1615, and it might have been

1615.
Sept.

* The Rehemy, see page 325 and 346.



1615. executed in September, soon after the arrival of Zulfacar
Sept. Caun; who at all events could not presume to fulfil all its
engagements, until confirmed by the Mogul.

Frequent information given by intelligent persons who
had been at Agra, concerning the state and manners of the
Mogul's court, had convinced the company of the expediency
of a formal embassy from the king, to be executed by a per-
son of more distinction than any who at this time sought their
mercantile service. Accordingly sir Thomas Roe was ap-
pointed; but, as if the royal commission required not the ac-
companiments of splendor, frugality prescribed his allowances,
his retinue, and even the present to the Mogul, with little
conformity to the sumptuous prejudices of the most magni-
ficent court in the universe.

March. Sir Thomas Roe embarked in one of four ships which
failed together. They left the land's end on the 6th of
March of 1615, touched at the Cape, at Mohila, and at So-
Sept. cotra; and anchored at Swally on the 18th of September.
The factor Biddulph came down, and returned with several
of those arrived, in order to provide and furnish the embaf-
sador's house; nevertheless each of them was strictly searched
at the city gate, for the customs on what toys or implements
they might have about them. Zulfacar Caun, notwith-
standing his aversion to the English, was deterred by respect
to his own sovereign from insulting their embassador without
pretext, and sent down his principal men to receive sir

Thomas



Thomas Roe on the strand: who landed on the 24th under 1615.
a general salute, and the best apparel of the ships, accompanied by all their officers, the factors, his own retinue, and one hundred men under arms.

On his arrival at the city, his own person, with four of his followers, were exempted, but not until after remonstrance, from the custom-house search; but Zulfacar refused the rest, pretending to see no difference between his, and the quality of those who had been employed as the company's residents at Agra*, all of whom had assumed the title of ambassador from the king of England. This was followed by other affronts; which determined him to wait for an answer from the court; during which, Mr. Aldworth died at Ahmedabad, and Mr. Kerridge, who took the management of the factory there, was fined and imprisoned by the government. The letters from court ordered proper respect to Sir Thomas Roe; who sat out from Surat on the 30th of October.

At BRAMPORE were encamped the Sultan Parviz, second son of the emperor, and Chan Chanan, the rival of Asiph Jah, with forty thousand horse, designed against Melec Amber. Sir Thomas visited the Sultan, and requested his permission to establish a factory in the city; which he not only granted, but immediately issued the phirmaunds for the coming and residence of the factors: he likewise ordered new carriages for

* Hawkins, Canning, Kerridge, Edwards.



1615. the Mogul's present. Sicknefs detained him at Brampore for
Decemb. some days. On the 23d of December he arrived at Azmir,
to which the Mogul had removed from Agra, and was met
the day before by Edwards the resident, and Thomas Coryat
the traveller.

1616. His sicknefs delayed the first audience until the 10th of
Jan. January: he was received by the Mogul with more than the
usual courtesy to embassadors in the east, and delivered the
presents from the KING. On the 14th he visited Sultan
Currom, with one, as from the company; and demanded
redress of him, as lord of Surat, for the many injuries
which had been inflicted on their trade and factors by the
officers of that government; adding, that respect to the Sultan
had prevented him from complaining to the emperor. The
Sultan promised that the grievances should be immediately
remedied. On the 24th fir Thomas, at a public audience,
represented to the emperor the violences and indignities
which the factors had suffered at Ahmedabad; on which he
ordered two phirmaunds of injunction; the one, that the
money exacted from Mr. Kerridge should be restored, and the
English be treated with all favour; the other, to release all
customs, levied on whatsoever pretence, on the roads; and
to repay what had been received. He moreover willed fir
Thomas Roe to complain again, if these orders were not soon
and punctually obeyed.



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But these professions were only occasional reliefs, and no earnest for such a treaty as fir Thomas Roe was instructed to obtain for the general and permanent security of the English trade in the Mogul's dominions; which, although not openly, were inveterately opposed by the most powerful influences in the court. Many had been persuaded by the jesuit, and Sultan Currom by Zulfacar Caun, of whose conduct fir Thomas Roe had complained, that Surat would be more benefited by the friendship and intercourse of the Portuguese, than the trade of the English; or at least, that this trade would never compensate the detriment of the Portuguese hostilities, which would never cease whilst the English were encouraged. Sultan Currom had married the daughter of Afiph Jah, the vizier; whose sister, Noormahil*, was married to the emperor, and rarely failed to influence all his resolutions. The aunt and father-in-law indulged the prejudices of the Sultan, and thwarted the success of fir Thomas Roe; who having borne the delays and excuses of office for two months, and finding nothing consonant in the terms offered by Sultan Currom, spoke directly to the emperor, and requested a definitive answer to his own proposals. The emperor asked what presents he should receive yearly, expected rubies and diamonds (which the Portuguese gave) but seemed content with the promise of curious manufactures, and wished to have a large English horse. Renewing the

1616.
Jan.March
13th.

* See note XI. to the Historical Fragments, page 185.

discourse



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1616. discourse of the treaty, sir Thomas Roe said that the English
March. had been often *wronged*, and could not continue on such
terms. The emperor caught the word, and asked, with much
emotion, By whom *wronged*? Sir Thomas ordered his inter-
preter, in broken Spanish, to say "that he would not trouble
" his majesty, but ask redress of his son, from whom he
" doubted not to obtain it." The king understanding the
word *figlio*, thought his son was accused, and scolded him
roundly, before he would listen to the explanation of the
mistake; which restored quiet, and renewed the conversation
on the phirmaund offered by the Sultan, which produced
other altercations of heat; when Mocrib Caun spoke out in
favour of the Portuguese, and flightingly of the English, and
was seconded by the jesuit; to which sir Thomas Roe replied,
that he offered them a conditional peace, but set their friend-
ship at a mean rate, and their hatred and force at less. The
emperor said, his demands were just, his resolution noble,
and bade him propound. But Asiph Jah, who had hitherto
been silent, although very significant, was apprehensive that
more dispute would break out, and proposed, that the English
demands should be presented to the emperor in writing; sir
Thomas, that the Sultan's terms should accompany them,
which was agreed to with seeming satisfaction on all sides,
but with dissimulation by Sultan Currom. On the 26th of
March, sir Thomas Roe delivered his demands to the
emperor at the public audience; they were disposed into
nine-



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nineteen articles*, which comprehended every necessary provision for the safety and success of the company's trade in the

1616.
March.

* The articles, as penned by sir Thomas Roe, were,

i. That there be perpetual peace and amity between the king of Great Britain and his Indian majesty.

ii. That the subjects of England have free trade in all ports of India.

iii. That the governors of all ports publish this agreement three times, upon the arrival of any English ships.

iv. *That the merchants and their servants shall not be searched or ill used.*

v. *That no presents sent to the Mogul shall be opened.*

vi. *That the English goods shall not be stopped above twenty-four hours at the custom-house, only to be there sealed, and sent to the merchant's house, there to be opened and rated within six days after.*

vii. That no governor shall take any goods by force, but upon payment at the owner's price; nor any taken upon pretence of the king's service.

viii. That the merchants shall not be hindered selling their goods to whom they please, or sending them to other factories, and this without paying any other duty than what is paid at the port.

ix. That whatsoever goods the English buy in any part of the Mogul's dominions, they may send down to the ports, without paying any duty more than shall be agreed on at the port at shipping them; and this without hindrance or molestation.

x. That no goods brought to any port shall be again opened, the English shewing a certificate of their numbers, qualities, and conditions, from the governor or officers of the place where they were bought.

xi. That no confiscation shall be made of the goods or money of any English dying.

xii. That no custom be demanded for provisions during the stay of English ships at any port.

xiii. That the merchants' servants, whether English or Indians, shall not be punished or beaten for doing their duty.

xiv. That the Mogul shall punish any governor or officer for breach of any of these articles.

xv. That the English ships shall suffer all others to pass and repass freely to the Mogul's ports, except their enemies; and that the English ashore shall behave themselves civilly as merchants.

xvi. That they shall yearly furnish the Mogul with all rarities from Europe, and all other such things as he shall desire, at reasonable prices.

xvii. The



1616. the Mogul's dominions, and guarded, by special expreffion,
March. againft the repetition of fuch injuries and indignities as he
himfelf had feen or fuffered at Surat.

1615. The vice-roy Azevedo, on his return to Goa, armed a fleet
Octob. of twelve fhips and twelve fmall veffels, of which he gave
the command to Ruy Freyre, a man of quality, and an officer
of reputation. They failed at the end of October, in the
preceding year; and during the paffage, as well as at the
Novemb. outlet, took under their convoy all the trade of the coaft
bound to the northward. From Balzar, near Daman, two
of the fhips went off to convoy the veffels bound into the
gulph of Cambay, and to return with what were ready to fail
from thence; but Freyre, with the main body of his fleet,
anchored at the bar of Surat; from whence, we fuppofe *, the
English fhips, which had brought fir Thomas Roe, expected
to be attacked by him at Swally. Zulfacar Caun fent

xvii. The English to pay the duty of *three and a half per cent.* for goods
reasonably rated; and *two per cent.* for pieces of eight; and no other duty
ellewhere.

xviii. That the English fhall be ready to affift the Mogul againft all his
enemies.

xix. Laftly. That the Portugefe may come into this peace within fix
months; or, if they refufe, the English be at liberty to exercife all hoftilities
againft them.

* The journal of captain Peyton, who commanded the fhip Expedition, is the
only one concerning this voyage; and it fays nothing of what paffed at Surat
after the 5th of November to the departure of the fhips; fo that we fpeak of this
armada, from the particular account given of it by Faria y Soufa, who even
mentions the long names of twenty-three commanders, and nineteen hidalgos,
commanding or ferving in the different veffels; and commemorates with com-
placence the gallant difintereftednefs of their admiral.

officers,



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officers, with two boats from the city, laden, as he said, with provisions, which he requested Ruy Freyre to accept; but they contained bales of curious cloths and silks; which Freyre opened, examined, praised, and returned to the officers, in the presence of all his captains, whom he had summoned to participate in the refusal; but reserved one piece, which was a shawl, and professed the same assurance of his services to the governor, as if he had accepted the whole present. The shawl was dedicated to the fairest mistress. The fleet sailed to Diu and Gogo, whilst the trading vessels were preparing at Cambay, which joined at the end of December, and was the largest convoy of many years. Off Daman they were assailed by a violent tempest, which wrecked or sunk four ships of the armada, and only one man was saved out of three of them; of the other, all. Thus ended this cruise, without giving any molestation to the English ships, notwithstanding the late pretended treaty with the government of Surat; who were probably deterred by the respect with which they were ordered to treat Sir Thomas Roe, from encouraging the armada to the hostilities they wished.

1616.

1615.

Novemb.

Decemb.

1616.

Feb.

March.

In February the English ships sailed from Swally, and proceeded as usual down the coast. On the 29th they took a Portuguese ship; and on the 3d of March anchored at Callicut, where the SAMORIN, always at enmity, and now at war with that nation, having heard, from the merchants of

3 B

his

1616.
March.

his own port, the fame of captain Downton's defence at Surat in the preceding year, sent his minister to invite the English general, Keeling, to meet him at Crangainore, which he was besieging. In the way thither, the ships took another prize; and, on receiving a hostage for the visit, Keeling went on shore. The Samorin received him with much complacence, and requested to enter into a league with the English nation; which was concluded on the 8th, and expressed in provisional promises, opening with these words: "As I have been ever
" an enemy to the Portuguese, so do I purpose to continue
" for ever." He then "promises to give the fort and island
" of Crangainore, when taken, with nine mile of the coast;
" but reserves a house, and the residence of a hundred of his
" own people in the island; engageth to take Cochin, with
" the aid of the English, and to give it them, with the whole
" kingdom; but the charge and spoil of the capture to be
" equally shared; and lastly, exempts them from all duties
" and customs throughout his dominions: the terms to be
" perpetual;" which induced Keeling to leave three factors, with a youth, to manage some trade, and a gunner to serve the Samorin. The ships sailed from Crangainore on the 10th of March, when one went off for England; the other three took two more prizes before they quitted the coast, when separating, two went for Atchin, and the other for Bantam. The Samorin, instead of favouring the factors he had invited to remain in his country, exacted presents from them, and they



they were glad to get away with their goods to Callicut, 1616.
where they took up their residence in April, and met with all *April.*
discouragement, excepting open violence, which was some-
times threatened, in consequence of their own indiscretions.
Such was the origin of the factory at Callicut, which has
continued ever since.

Sultan Currom and Afiph Jah not only continued their
opposition to the demands of fir Thomas Roe, but even
treated him more than once with ill manners, in the presence
of the emperor; who repaired their affronts by the constant
courtesy of his own behaviour, but decided nothing in the
business; which, left at large to its enemies, they introduced
deputies from the Portuguese government, with presents, and
the offer of other jewels of rare value, at low prices; and by
holding out the trade of the Red-sea, and the pilgrimage to
Mecca, as dependant on the will of the Portuguese, turned
the respect of the court to their alliance, and excited equal
aversion towards the English, insomuch that fir Thomas Roe
had made no progress in the treaty at the end of July, when *July.*
he received a phirmaund from Mahobet Caun at Brampore,
granting all the immunities he had requested of him for the
trade of Broach*; by which, besides other advantages, a
saving

* The words of fir Thomas Roe will best describe his opinion of the validity
of these privileges: to which we shall add what more may be pertinent to this
discussion.

" The two and twentieth (of July 1616) I received letters from Brampore,
" in answer of those to Mahobet Chan, who at *first* (request) granted my desire,



1616. saving was procured in the customs alone of one thousand
July. five hundred pounds a year; and the grant was not likely

to
“ making his firman to BAROCH most effectual to receive our nation, and to
“ give them a house near the governor; strictly commanding no man to molest
“ them by sea or land, or to take *any custome* of them, or any way trouble them
“ under colour thereof. Finally, that they might buy, sell, and transport any
“ commodity at their pleasures, without any molestation, concluding, that
“ they should expect to hear no other from him, and therefore they should be
“ careful in execution. I received with it a letter from himself, which was more
“ civility than all the Indies yielded me, full of courtesie and humanity, and
“ great respect, protesting his desire to give me content, and that what I had
“ demanded, I should make no doubt of performance: and if I had any other
“ occasion to use him, he desired me to write, and it should be performed. The
“ copies are worthy the seeing, for the rareness of the phrase. The firman
“ I caused to be sent to Surat (in order to be forwarded by the agency there to
“ Broach): *so that BAROCH is provided for a good retreat from the PRINCE'S*
“ *injuries, and the custom given*, whereby fifteen hundred pounds per annum
“ will be saved, besides all manner of searches and extortions. For the per-
“ formance of this no man maketh any doubt, for that all men confess, that he
“ neither careth for the prince, and so feareth not, nor needeth any man, being
“ the only beloved man of the king, and second person in his dominions, and
“ in all his life so liberal of his purse, and honourable of his word, that he hath
“ ingrossed good reports from all others: and concerning *custome*, the king
“ takes none, the governors make it their profit, which he professeth to scorn,
“ that he should abuse the liberty of the king's ports.”

We cannot discover what office in the state was held by Mahobet Caun, which entitled him to give this patent for Broach: he is mentioned by fir Thomas Roe as one of the principal generals in the army commanded by Sultan Parviz and Chau Chanan at Brampore, but could scarcely be the governor of this city, since fir Thomas Roe was treated there with neglect and slight, when on his journey to Azmir, in 1615; at which time Ahmedabad was governed by Abdalla Caun, and Surat belonged to Sultan Currom. Sir Thomas Herbert, who arrived at Surat in 1626, when mentioning the revolt of Sultan Currom in April 1622, and his march to seize the castle of Agra, says, “The PRINCE immediately commands all his officers out of such provinces as his father had assigned him from Brampore to Surat, and all Cambaya to Amadabat, the governors of BAROCH, *Jaumbasjer*, *Medapore*, and of the maritime coast, *Goga*, *Diul*, *Nayfary*, *Mangerehpore*, and *Ormepore*; as also out of
“ Mando,



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to be repealed during the life of Gehanghire, from the high respect and esteem in which he had always held the exalted character of Mahobet Caun. 1616.

The emperor's birth-day fell on the 2d of September; and at the assembly of congratulation, sir Thomas Roe told Afiph Jah, the vizier, that having now waited seven months without effect, he should, on the morrow, request the emperor to declare the causes of the delay, and what he really meant to grant. Afiph Jah apologized, imputing the hindrance to the preparations for the feast (which as usual had superseded all other attentions) but promised, now it was over, to expedite Sept.

"Mando, Gandersee, Oudepore, Baraer, Amnadagar, &c. in an enterprise so full of peril, desirous to engage and bring them under like hazard, the better to oblige their future dependance upon his fortunes: and so, with no less than seventy thousand horse, he marches towards Mando, as if he intended a contrary progress." If this account be authentic, BROACH and Surat were under the same government in 1622; and so they seem to have been in 1614, by the applications of captain Downton, on his arrival, to the government of Surat, for the redress of grievances at BROACH.

"In quondam times," says sir Thomas Herbert, "the royalties of BROACH were spacious, as sovereignizing over many towns and provinces of note a great way distant; as Medapore, seventy miles thence, Radgeepore or Brodera, eighty; Jownbasser, thirty; and Janagar, in Soret; each of which now enjoys peculiar potestates: howbeit, the Mogul has received hereout, as an annual tax or tribute, no less than one million two hundred and threescore thousand mammoorders (or shillings in our money) which revenue, from one province, shews what a vast exchequer all his empire yearly contributeth." Sixty thousand pounds was then the annual revenue of BROACH; and Jehangire, from policy as well as particular affection, might have entrusted this government to the integrity of Mahobet Caun, by a special commission; for Ahmedabad and Surat were in the hands of rapine. Sir Thomas Herbert, as well as Mr. Dow, gives the whole life of Jehangire; and in the latter revolution of this reign, MAHOBET CAUN appears the greatest captain and character in the empire. Leisure may be amused by comparing the accounts of these two writers.

the

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Sept.

the privileges he solicited before all other business: but in the discussion which ensued by appointment, Afiph Jah at last declared, that seeing the terms were so drawn as to exempt the English, and their trade at Surat, from any dependance on the authority of Sultan Currom, he himself would never give his consent to them. Sir Thomas Roe kept his temper, offered to make a new model, and sent it, with request that it might receive the seal, or he be permitted to receive the denial from the emperor, and so depart the country. Afiph Jah refused the seal, but offered Sultan Currom's phirmaund, which he said would be sufficient. Sir Thomas, seeing no better resource, changed his ground, and adopted the appearance of relying entirely on the Sultan's favour: to whose secretary, *Socorolla*, he had sent four articles* to be expedited for the use of the factory at Surat, when the ships expected from England should arrive: he accordingly attended the Durbar, or public audience of the Sultan, on the 10th, who, not without haughtiness, delivered the phirmaund in which the articles were altered and abridged. *Socorolla* bore the repute of an honest man, who took no bribes. Sir Thomas visited him, and represented the objections; on which he admitted the first meanings, and gave a phirmaund, expressed in very effectual terms, and with it a letter to the governor of Surat, commanding the custom-master to pay for fifty pieces of broad cloth, which he had purchased many months before

* These articles are not published in Sir Thomas Roe's journal.



of the factory, and wanted to return, because the price had fallen. He likewise frankly explained the Sultan's wish, that fir Thomas Roe should rely on him in the business of his own government, instead of crossing him by requests to the emperor: in which case he would be found a better friend than fir Thomas expected: who repaid these professions by a visit to the Sultan.

1616.
Septemb.

On the 25th of September arrived four ships from England, which left the land's-end on the 13th of March, in company with two others; of which one separated during a violent gale of wind in the bay of Biscay, and the other tarried behind at the Cape; but both at length got safe to Bantam, whither they were bound. The four ships were under the command of general Joseph, a brave and long experienced mariner, and came on, as all* which had hitherto come to Surat, through

March,

* They were

The Hector, captain Hawkins, in 1607, 1608.

The Ascension, captain Alexander Sharpeigh, in 1608, 1609.

The Trade's Increase, the Pepper-Corn, the Darling, under fir Henry Middleton, in 1610, 1611.

The Dragon and Hofiander, under captain Best, in 1612.

The Expedition, captain Christopher Newport, which went to Guadel and Diulfinde, but did not come on to Surat, in 1613.

The New Year's Gift, the Hector, the Merchant's Hope, the Salomon, under captain Nicholas Downton, in 1614, 1615.

The Expedition, Dragon, Lyon, Pepper-Corn, which brought fir Thomas Roe. This fleet was commanded by captain Keeling; the voyage written by Walter Peyton, captain of the Expedition, in 1615, 1616.

The ships which arrived this year 1616, and had sailed under the command of captain Joseph, were, the Charles, the Unicorn, the James, the Globe.

the



1616.

August.

the inner channel between Madagascar and the main ; at the head of which, amongst the islands of Comora, they descried, at day-break of the 5th of August, a carrack of enormous size, bearing the Portuguese flag at the main-top-mast head, and steering the same course. The Globe, which sailed the best, but was the smallest of Joseph's Squadron, chased, came up at noon to windward, hailed, and received opprobrious language, with a command to fall to leeward ; which not doing, the carrack fired five great shot, each of which went through her, whilst she returned eighteen, of much less effect, and fell astern. The carrack was commanded by Don Manuel de Meneses, admiral of three, which had sailed this year from Lisbon bound to Goa. At three in the afternoon, captain Joseph came up in his ship the Charles, which was of one thousand tons ; and hailing, bid the commander of the carrack come on board to account for his attack on the Globe ; but was answered, that he had no boat ; on which he sent his own, which brought three officers with a message, " that Don Meneses had promised his master, the king of Spain, " not to quit his ship ; out of which he might be forced, but " never commanded." Joseph repeated the summons in writing ; and said to the officers, " that he would sink by his " side, or compel him." Meneses persisted ; the fight began ; in a few minutes a shot killed captain Joseph ; the master continued the engagement half an hour ; when night approaching, he fell off to call a council ; and captain Pepwell,
of



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of the *James*, who was the vice-admiral, took the command of the *Charles*, and the squadron. Meneses kept out a light to direct his enemies; but the next morning, of the 7th, was at anchor so near the shore, that Pepwell did not deem it prudent to attack him in that situation. In the evening Meneses set sail, leading out to the open sea; and when dark, again hoisted his light, which led to the encounter at sun-rise.

1616.

Sept.
August.

Captain Pepwell had instructed his ships to engage by turns, and began himself in the *Charles*; which had not continued half an hour, when a bullet from the carrack struck one of the iron guns, which shivered it: its fragments could not have chosen better execution; for, besides dangerously wounding three of the common seamen, and tearing the master's arm, one piece struck out the eye of captain Pepwell, and two others wounded him in the jaw and leg. The mate took up the command of his disabled superiors, and deserved it, maintaining the fight with vengeance beyond the share of time; when the other ships took their turns with the same ardour; which the carrack resisted until three in the afternoon, by which time her main-mast and mizen-mast were brought by the board, her fore-top-mast shot away, and her sides shattered into several breaches. The island of Angazija was not far off, to which she turned with what little sail she could set, and stood in so near the shore, that the English ships would not venture to follow her close; but a boat was sent with Mr. Connock, the principal merchant, and a flag of

3 C

truce



1516.

Sept.
August.

truce, as a signal of parley, which was accepted by another. Meneses received Mr. Connock with courtesy; but was not moved, either by the offers, or admiration due to his valour, to desist from his first resolve; and said that if able, he would get out to sea again on the morrow, and renew the fight; when, if taken, he expected the treatment of a gentleman*. In the night the wind and surf grew high; the carrack drove, and, for want of sail to weather the danger, struck, and was jammed between two rocks; which stretching inward within a step of the shore, relieved the crew from the solicitude of their own preservation, and gave them time to set the carrack on fire, which blazed amain at midnight. They carried off what they chose of the treasure, of which the whole on board was to a great amount, and all the jewels. The English ships kept near throughout the next day, in hopes of gleaning valuable drifts, but took up nothing; and bore away for refreshment to the neighbouring island of Mohila, where they arrived on the 10th. The natives of Angazija regarded the crew of the shipwreck as invaders, and assailed them with stones; but ceased on the display and offer of presents, until they had received them; when, instead of returning provisions, they renewed their attacks; on which the Portuguese employed their hand-guns, and lost, in the retreat of the natives, the only hopes of sustenance. In this distress the admi-

* FARIA says, he threatened to hang the next person who should bring him a proposal of surrender.



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ral Meneses yielded to the advice of his cannoneer, as more practised in the voyages of India, to throw their guns into the sea ; when the natives returned in great numbers, and overpowered them ; and then stripped them of all their clothes and raiment, setting so much value on every thing which might serve for their own, that they threw away the dollars, in order to put their heads into the empty bags. The Portuguese wandered in different companies to gain food ; many endured much distress, and some died ; but all were protected by their nakedness from farther insult. The pilot, and a few more, went in the boat (for, notwithstanding the first denial to captain Joseph, they had one) and coasted to find a more hospitable shore ; they fortunately met two junks belonging to a Mahomedan, which came from *Pate* on the main, and were going for trade to Madagascar. This man took up the boat, and, having influence with the chief of that part of the island where the ship was wrecked, sailed thither, collected all the Portuguese, clothed them, gathered their treasure, secured their jewels, and sent them away in his own vessels to their own port of Mombaze, where they arrived on the 4th of September, and were afterwards conveyed to Goa. Here the valour and misfortunes of Meneses were received by the viceroy, Azevedo, and the city, with the highest veneration ; he was sent back to Lisbon in an advice-boat, and arrived safe, to receive the same acknowledgments in his own country. And indeed his defeat merited a trophy of victory ; for his

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Sept.

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Sept.

force bore no proportion to the English ships*; of which nevertheless, either of the strongest would probably have maintained an equal conflict against the same superiority; for at this time the highest spirit of military honour animated all the officers and seamen of the COMPANY'S marine.

On the 24th, sir Thomas received intelligence of the arrival of the four ships at Swally, with the letters to himself; and presented the compliments of his sovereign to the emperor; who hurried through the mere decent enquiries, to question what presents the KING had sent, hoping jewels; but disappointed, asked for velvets; and was much pleased that two dogs had escaped the fight; of which he spoke with praise; but was much vexed that the great horse had not come, and offered a lack of rupees if sir Thomas Roe would procure him one; who requested that the presents might be sent up without search, or tax, and that the people of the ships might receive good usage. The emperor said, the port

* Edward Terry, who was afterwards chaplain to sir Thomas Roe, sailed in the *Charles*, which he calls a "new built goodly ship of a thousand tons; the Unicorn, a new ship likewise, and almost of as great a burthen; the James, a great ship too;" the *Globe*, a lesser. He likewise says, that "seven hundred men sailed in the *Carrack*, for she was a ship of exceeding great bulk and burden: our *Charles*, though a ship of a thousand tons, looking but like a pin-nace, when she was beside her." Also, that only five men were killed in the fight, three in the *Charles*, two in the *James*, and about twenty wounded in all the four ships.

Sir Thomas Roe says, that "the *Carrack* was of fifteen hundred tons burthen;" and that "Don Emanuel de Meneses had twice been general of *their* forces;" but not in India, where he neither appears before or after this voyage.

of



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of Surat was his son's; but sent for him, and gave positive orders in public concerning the presents and people, conformably to Sir Thomas Roe's desire. 1616.
Sept.

The company, although they had approved, and perhaps solicited, the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, had not empowered him to controul the conduct of their own servants at Surat and its dependencies; who seem to have availed themselves of this exemption, with much less respect than was due to such a character *. The ships now arrived, brought orders to prosecute the intention of establishing a trade in the kingdom of Persia, although the success of Steele and Crouther, who had been sent for this purpose from Surat in the beginning of the preceding year, was not known in England at the departure of the ships. Octob.

These travellers passing by Candahar, arrived at Ispahan on the 18th of September, where they found Sir Robert Shirley on departure to execute another commission from the Sophy.

The means by which the two extraordinary adventurers of that name obtained such important employment from the ablest and fiercest sovereign of the east, would not have borne

* "Your factors sent me four or five clauses of your commission that concerned Persia, a fort, a plantation in Bengala, all which they knew were not of use: with no other proposition or resolution they will acquaint me. They cannot abide I should understand or direct them. If they resolve of any thing in their opinion for your profit, I will effect the court-part; but you will find in my letters and journal how they use me; which doubtless at first was sowed by some jealousy of yours, which will cost you dearly."

much



1616. much respect in our times, which permit no enthusiasts to
Octob. cover or consecrate the latent views of luxurious ambition.
ANTHONY SHIRLEY, the elder brother of Robert, was a de-
pendant on the Earl of Effex, who sent him, in 1598, with
some soldiers to fight for the duke of Ferrara against the pope;
but, by the time they arrived in Italy, the quarrel was recon-
ciled. Effex nevertheless, unwilling that his knight should
return to England with the derision of having done nothing,
not only consented to his proposal of proceeding to Persia
with offer of service to Shah Abbas, whose fame had spread
with much renown throughout Europe; but also furnished
him with money and bills for the journey. SHIRLEY em-
barked from Venice, in May 1599, with twenty-five followers,
some of education, all of resolution, and amongst them his bro-
ther Robert, at that time a youth. After various escapes by sea
and land, they arrived at Aleppo, where getting money for
their bills, they proceeded in the company of a large cara-
van to Bagdad, Shirley professing himself a merchant, who
expected goods by the next; but this pretence, and the num-
ber of his retinue, excited suspicions, and all he brought was
seized at the custom-house; which reduced them to live on
the piece-meal sale of the clothes they wore: his anxiety in
this situation was observed by a Florentine named Vittorio
Spiciera, who was proceeding to Ormus in order to embark
for China, and had frequently conversed with Shirley during
the journey from Aleppo. He tried by repeated questions to
discover



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discover his real condition and purpose, but failing, made up his own conjectures, that Shirley intended some signal mischief either against the Turkish empire, or the sovereignty of the Portuguese in India, of which the one was as detestable to his piety, as the other to his traffic: from these motives, mixed perhaps with admiration of a character, which knew to personate romantic dignity, the Florentine determined not only to extricate him from the dangers of his present situation, but enable him to prosecute his views, whatsoever they might be. The emergency pressed: for the second caravan from Aleppo was come within ten days of Bagdad, and Spiciera knew, that when the goods which Shirley had pretended to expect, should not appear, he and all his followers would be doomed to imprisonment, if not worse. Fortunately, a caravan returning from Mecca to Persia arrived at this time, and encamped under the walls. Spiciera hired amongst them camels, horses, with all other necessaries of travel, and when the caravan was ready to depart, revealed to Shirley the dangers which awaited him, and the measures he had taken for his preservation and success, confirming these assurances by the delivery of a great sum in gold, and many rarities of great value; so much in the whole amount, that Shirley declines to mention it, because he says it would not be believed. The Florentine left it to his honour to repay him when he could; and, for five days after the departure of the caravan, diverted suspicions of his escape by living in Shirley's house,

to

1616.
Octob.



1616. to whom he pretended to have lent his own, that he might
Octob. recover in more quiet from a fit of illness; he even requested the governor for his physician, knowing he had none; but was afterwards fined severely for these generous collusions.

Fifty janisaries were sent in pursuit of Shirley, but missed the caravan; which employed fifty days on the march to Casbin; where the aids of Spiciera enabled Shirley to equip himself and followers in sumptuous array, to live splendidly, and to make presents; which procured commendations to Shah Abbas, who arrived at Casbin a month after, and was saluted by Shirley and his company at his entrance into the city, when the king distinguished him with the most honourable notice. The next day Shirley sent the king a present of jewels and Italian rarities, which were not only curious, but costly beyond the expectation of homage; and the more he professed, that he had come to offer his service on his own account, and at his own expence, the more the king inclined to believe, that the denial was intended, by concealing, to heighten the elegant compliment of his monarch; and at all events could not resist the complacence of regarding the resort of this band of strangers as a signal proof of the great extent of his own fame; which Shirley took care on all occasions to inculcate.

It was the way of Shah Abbas, to discern those he employed, by familiarities. Shirley was solemn in behaviour,
pompous



pompous in elocution, quick in apprehension, and guarded in argument; and having served both at land and sea, was capable of suggesting the military ideas of Europe; which could not fail to attract the attention of a monarch whose ruling passion was the fame of war: he even visited Shirley in his house, to examine a book of fortifications; and having, during a daily converse of six weeks, treated him more with the respect of a guest, than the distance of a solicitor, on the very day before his departure to Cassan, declared him a *Mirza*, or lord, in his service, and referred him to the treasurer; who, as soon as the king was gone, sent to Shirley a present, which consisted of money to the amount of sixteen thousand ducats, forty horses, all accoutred; two, intended for his brother and himself, with saddles plated with gold, and set with rubies and torquoises; the others, with silver and embroidered velvet; twelve camels laden with tents, and all furniture, not only for the field, but for his house in Casbin, which likewise was bestowed on him: he was ordered to follow the king to Cassan, from whence he accompanied him to Ispahan, and was treated by him with the same deference as before he had accepted his service.

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Octob.

Daily and artful suggestions prepared the way to the advice which Shirley had long premeditated, that the king should renew the war against the Turks, and depute an ambassador to excite the princes of Christendom to co-operate by land and sea from the west, whilst Persia invaded the