



die in the interval between the departure and arrival of the company's fhips, the government of Surat should fee that their effects were faithfully collected and preferved, 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 reftored without charge. The 11th, exempts the trade and factory from refponfibility for the robberies of English pirates. The 12th, No provisions, except exceeding one thousand dollars, to pay 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.

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

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

The Portuguese fleet confisted of four gallions, and more than twenty frigates. The admiral of the gallions mounted thirty-UU doirlw

1612.

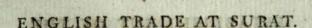
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1612. thirty-eight guns; the three others, twenty-eight and thirty. The frigates had no cannon, but seemed intended for boarding, and the services of shoal water. This sleet appeared off the Osob. bar of Surat on the 28th of October; and being joined by the frigates in the river, the number of this crast 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 fands from the others. A shot from her sunk his longboat, 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 overset, if the frigates had not shored them up with their yards until the tide and farther assistance got them associated 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 stoated to the shore. Of the English, only two were killed in the three fights.

The four fucceeding 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

Novemb.



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which he received feveral invitations from the general of the army; who fending pledges, captain Best went ashore on the 21st to his camp, and was much intreated by him to affift in the fiege with two pieces of cannon; but refused: nevertheless presents were exchanged, and he was difinissed with civility. The state of the

The next day, which was the 22d, the four Portuguese Novemb. 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 fun-rife, he flood to them again, and maintained the fight until noon, when both fides, weary, fuch is the phrase, parted. When Best, finding on examination that both his thips had expended more than half their ftore of ammunition, refolved to referve the remainder for defence, and fleered towards Daman. The Portuguese followed, to preferve the flew 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, fix hundred and twenty-five from the cannon, and three thousand from the fmall arms.

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 raifed the English reputation, even in the opinion of ill will; UU2

which

which nevertheless continued; and by means of the custom-1619. mafter, the confirmation of the articles by the Mogul, which arrived a few days after, was fent to Swally as a common letter of bufiness, which raised suspicion that it might be a counterfeit; and captain Best, aware of the intended contempt, and its confequences, whether it were or not, refufed to receive it, unless delivered with the usual folemnities. This spirit brought the governor and his fon-in-law, the cuftom-mafter, to Swally, who prefented it in ftate*, and congratulated; but were very curious to know whether the English ships had not suffered more than was said, in the late engagements.

Decemb .

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 fail in the night of the 17th, and was followed by them for two hours, when they parted with-

" between the governour of Ahmedabad and me."

^{*} 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 foon after followed by a real phirmaund. For in the fubfequent part of the journal, captain Best, when at Atchin, fays,

[&]quot; The feven 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, fent them from Agra, bearing date the twenty-fifth of January, and " the feventh year of the Great Mogul's reigne, confirming all that was paffed

STATE OF STA

out firing. Near Cananore he discovered the southern 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 sugar. He then continued cruizing down the coast until the last of February, when he put off from Cape Comorin for Atchin.

1612.

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1613. Feb.

The principal factors left by captain Beft at Surat, were Aldworth, Canning, Kerridge, and Withington; and Andrew Starkey, to proceed overland to England, with advices of the fettlement. Canning was fent with the king's letter and the prefent, 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 fent 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 suspicion. Andrew Starkey, was poisoned somewhere on the way by two friars. Kerridge, was fent from Surat on the 22d June, to supply the place of Canning, at Agra.

April.

May.

June.

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 seized a ship belonging to the port, which

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had

Decemb.

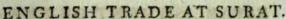
of 100,000 pounds: they carried her with the prisoners to Goa. This violation produced an interdict of all intercourse, unless under especial passport for the purpose of reconciliation.

Novemb. In November, Aldworth and Withington travelled from Surat to examine the marts of Broach, Jumbaseer, 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.

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 sifty heads of the Coolies, a nation of robbers. The fixth 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 sown

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

called



called Bardiana, where they provided more water, but bad, for the enfuing journey of five days, all through the defert, to Naramquere*; and arrived without mischance, but much fickness, when the caravan separated, leaving Withington with four fervants, two merchants with five, and five drivers to their ten camels; who hired an efcort at Naramquere, which faved 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 Surruna, a large town with a caftle, 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 fon Boomah, who was in Surruna, asked Withington many queftions concerning England, invited him to supper, and drank freely. A Banian, who pretended to give intelligence concerning the English at Laureebunder, perfuaded Withington to hire Boomah to efcort him to Tatta, as the journey was full of danger, although not thirty miles.

1614.

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 feized all, camels, men, and goods, and ftrangled the two Hindoo merchants and their five fer-

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

vants

1614. vants with their own tackle; but only bound Withington and his, and fent them forty miles into the mountains to Boomah's brothers, by whom they were kept twenty-two days in close confinement; and then fent 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 diffresful 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 fettle 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 sir 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 sir Thomas Powel, whom the king sent as his own to the Sophy. Both embassadors had their wives with them; and in the retinue of sir Robert Shirley

were



ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT.

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Sentemb.

1613.

were feveral 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 embassadors.

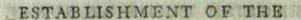
The Portuguese in possession of Ormus, where their garrifon and gallies proudly barred the entrance of the Perfian gulph, and vaunting likewife their hold of Mufcat on the Arabian shore, deterred all approach within their reach, not licenfed by their paffport; and the embaffadors, ignorant of the countries between Perfia and the Indus, prudently rated the long journey from Surat to Candahar, as the most secure and fhortest way of getting to Ispahan. But the Expedition putting into the bay of Saldania, where they arrived in April, met feveral of the company's thips returning from Bantam; and with them captain Hawkins, whose account of Sir Henry Middleton's proceedings, as well at Surat as in the Red-fea, made the embaffadors despair of reception at that port; and it was refolved to try the shores adjoining to Persia; in sight of which they came on the 10th of September, about one hundred miles to the eaftward of Cape Jafques.

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 sive days fail to the eastward, and would willingly convey the embassadors to the Sophy's court; on which they stood towards Guadel, and in

the

governor,



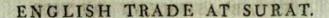


1614. 1613

the way endeavoured to stop two trading boats, which beat off the fhip's pinnace, not without bloodshed; and when purfued by the long-boat better armed, pushed into a bay, where one of them ran afhore, and was wrecked; and the other was with difficulty prevented; but all the men, excepting nine, fwam afhore, who, with the boat, were brought to the fhip, 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 fpreading alarm, and piloted the fhip to Septemb. Guadel, where the arrived on the 10th of September, the fifth day's fail from the village, where Sir Thomas Powel had landed. The same the same that the same

The governor of Guadel spared neither humilities, promifes, nor preparations, to gain the confidence of the embaffadors. The carriages and efcort of their journey were collected and fhewn; on which they landed their prefents, furniture, and money, and agreed to come afhore on the 21st, at four in the afternoon.

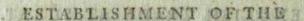
It wanted only half an hour to this time, and all were ready dreffed on the deck, when the ship's boat came on board with intelligence from the Persian, Nazerbeg, that the Baluches intended to murder all who might land, excepting the chirurgeons, musicians, women, and boys. Neither the joy, nor indignation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



governor, that a fudden illness prevented him from coming ashore until the next day, and mentioned the hour; but intending to land in ceremony, wished the governor to fend three boats, with fome of his principal men, to honour the procession of his own. The counter-snare was not suspected. In the interval the money was fecretly conveyed back to the pinnace, and a cheft of old lumber, fent 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 perfons, arrived on board the ship whilst the pinnace was still on shore; and to get her away without suspicion was the pinch of the ftratagem; for Nazerbeg, with three Europeans, were at the tent; and it was refolved to fave 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 diforder. The Europeans paffed as muficians necessary to the procession; and Nazerbeg prevailed on a man of rank to go with him in order to fee rarities. As foon as the boat was well on the way, all the Baluches on board the ship were seized and difarmed; the meaner fuffered to return; they of better condition confined; and a meffage fent 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 fet before the messenger. This terror brought off every thing, when contampt x x 2

1614.

dof On



1614.

Sept.

when all the prifoners were releafed, excepting one, detained to pilot the thip to Scindy, which arrived at Diul*, in the 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 resused the permission of trade, because the ship had brought sew 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 presence.

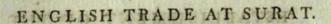
So little was the intercourse between Diul and Surat, that the Expedition heard nothing of the factory settled here by captain Best; to which, as well for the certainty of trade as the convenience of the embassadors' journey, they would otherwise have repaired: but discmbarked with their families and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

Octob.

The mifs of this ship left the factors at Surat without the arrival of one from England during the two first feasons 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.

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Withington, foon 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.

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

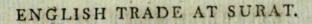
as he came through Perfia, and was at Cafbin in October 1606. The advices of his fuccess, we suppose, promoted the mission of captain Hawkins, who failed for Surat in March 1607; at which time Mildenall might not have been arrived in England. The reft of his ftory is very obscure. He returned to Perfia, if not before, in 1610, with fome commission, in which two others, young men, were joined; whom it is faid he poifoned, in order to embezzle the effects committed to their common charge, with which he repaired to Agra, where he turned Roman catholic, and died himfelf of poifon, leaving all he possessed to a Frenchman, whose daughter he intended to marry. Mr. Kerridge was at that time the refident at Agra; but being conftantly occupied in attendance on the court, fent 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 Beft.

Odob.

At length the long-expected fuccour 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 sleet consisted of sour 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,

1614.

Odob.



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if independent of any other) was Nicholas Downton, who had been captain of one of those with Sir Henry Middleton. They left England on the list of March, and had been informed 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 experiment. 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 reprefenting his prefent want of affiftance from the English. He was at this time at Surat, and expected the first overtures; which not coming, he fent 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 PART OF THE



ESTABLISHMENT OF THE

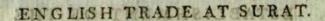
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1614. Octob. 344

market for beeves on the strand at Swally: but Coja Nazar 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 hostilities against the Portuguese, excepting in their own defence; in which distinction, sinding them inslexible, 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, difappeared. And on the fame 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 encreased 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

1614.



THE STATE OF THE S

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.

With the factors came down what goods were in the factory, provided fince 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 fale, to a much greater amount, had been left with Aldworth; but the produce had been expended in journies, 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 unsair dealings in the barters made with the Surat ships, when detained by fir 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



ESTABLISHMENT OF THE

1614. which nevertheless they were at last obliged to do. These mistrusts deterred Downton from resquing himself on shore, until his anxieties were alleviated by the arrival of officers fent 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 fon, 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,



ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT.

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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 feven miles from the shore; and every where along the coast are fands 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 chace, even into the river, to every boat which appeared either coming in or going out; whilft others cruized as they lifted around. On feveral nights fome bore down, as if they intended to fet the ships on fire; which were kept in continual alerts, either of guard, defence, or chace, 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 fouth, 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,





ESTABLISHMENT OF THE

1615. Jun. 2480

refused, unless in cases of extremity, to take part in the for vices necessary to navigate the vessel; but reserved to themfelves the management of the cannon, five-works, and fmall arms. The mariners were either flaves, or Hindoos of the meaner cafts, or fill more degenerate christians, born in the country, and confidered as unworthy of the military character, were entirely allotted to the management of the tackle. The armament, which now appeared at the bar of Serat, 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 fixty fighting men, of whom thirty were of family and diffinction, and twenty-eight pieces of ordnance, which probably were of the larger calibres; for two are expressly faid 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. Thefe fix were rated as galleons; a diffinction 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 gallies had each fifty. The frigates had eighteen oars on a fide, and were equally manned with thirty befides the rowers, who were probably two to an our; in which case they amounted to four thousand three hundred and twenty, and, with the mariners in the larger veffels, made Alarm Par the



ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT.

1615. Jan.

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

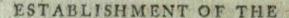
Captain Downton confidered the fuccess of this armament as the certain destruction of the English commerce in the Mogul's dominions; reasoning, that if his own ships should be driven from their stations, in the roads of Surat and Swally, the vice-roy, by devastation even of the city itself, would compel the Nabob to refuse the English all suture refort and intercourse; and, computing the loss of his ships as a detriment much inserior 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, fent 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

fhips;

Mency

^{*} We have endeavoured to compute the force of this armada, from the depofition in Purchas, of a Portuguese who served in one of the galleous. 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 sleet, which sailed with the vice-roy from Goa, and consisted of all the vessels which mounted cannon, besides some others, he says, "Llevayan "mil y quatrocientos Portugueses mucha y poderosa artilleria: pero ignorantes manejadores della."



1615. Jan. fhips; after which he intended to exact much feverer 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 slood, which comes from the south.

Early in the morning of the 20th, at low water, Downton fent the Hope, of three hundred tons, to anchor at the fouth entrance of the channel, where the galleons would not have depth fufficient to come near her until the flood was high. The three other fhips foon after came out of the cove, but anchored again in the channel. Thefe manœuvres produced the intended mistake, that the English ships had quitted Swally to put to fea and fly the coaft. And the Hope had fearcely anchored, before the whole fleet of the Portuguese were under full fail, plying to ftop the channel. The two finaller 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 relifted. Downton, with the three other ships, leaving their anchors, came down, and chose their shot on the enemy's ships entangled with the

1615. Jan.



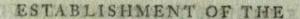
ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT.

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 affistance, now risqued themselves, and saved many, but many were drowned.

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 slames, 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 fuccess 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 affistance, and even sent timber from the city to replace the mainmast 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



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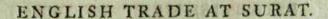
1615. Feb.

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 thips, for which they were faid to be prepared; but as foon as the ships weighed and flood 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 ferved together; whereas the wind constantly opposed the flood, which was the only help of approach from the fouth. Nor was he mistaken; for foon 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 veffels 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 fmall arms of the ships foon obliged the frigates to throw off the boats, fetting 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 herfelf without damage, and the flood brought them back, ftill 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

thips

1615. Feb.





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

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 faw the danger, and only fent 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 and



and provisions; when captain Downton, deeming the fair 1615 Feb. feafon too far fpent to permit the armada, if they should return, to attack the city, fignified 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 fent his tents and pomp to Swally, and arrived there himfelf 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 efcorted by them to the tent, where the Nabob received and entertained him with much courtefy, and on his invitation went on board his fhip, which he examined with intelligent curiofity; and Downton accompanied him back to the shore. Two days after, his fon, and fon-inlaw, came on board to take leave; and the next, feveral of the principal men of the town.

March. On the 3d of March the English ships weighed from Swally, and faw 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 thore. Veffels going from Surat to the fouth, even in the northerly monfoon, fave their ground by anchoring on the flood, unless the wind is very ftiff. At day-break the Portuguese armada were discerned at anchor towards the shore; who weighed and stood after the English ships through the day, but lost ground by not anchoring, as they did, on the flood. The next day, the 5th

1615. March,

of the month, both fleets flood on to the fouth; but the Portuguese did not gain, although the Hope sailed so ill, that the Hector, which failed the best, was obliged to take her in tow. The fucceeding day, Downton, thinking he had led the armada far enough from their own ports and Surat, refolved to let them come up, and then putting about fuddenly, to attack them unexpected, hoping much from the furprize of conceited fuperiority. He accordingly went in his boat to the three other ships, to animate and instruct them; during which the flood fet 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 aftern of the others. At this time the vice-roy's galleon failing 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 fink her with the two forty-pounders, which feem to have been the pride of the armada; but the hidalgoes, or gentry, faid that the English admiral had fallen aftern 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 bauled his wind * towards the shore, was followed by his fleet, and

^{*} FARIA DE SOUSA fays, that the English ships made their acknowledgments to the vice-roy for this resolution of not sighting 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 sue de artilleria sin bala; que era razon procurassen el gusto y "la salud de quien les procurava el suyo y la suya."—But notwithstanding the wit of FARIA, the English salute was a very ironical compliment.



1615. March. 356

all were foon out of fight, as the English ships continued 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 hidalgoes, in deference to whose opinion he had refrained from the attack, witnessed against him. The English ships proceeded down the coast, and on the 10th of the month the Hope was fent off for England; the other three doubled Cape Comorin on the 19th, and arrived on the second of June at Bantam, where captain Downton died on the 6th of August, lamented, admired, and unequalled.

June.

Aug.

1614. Novem.

Decem.

The present for the Mogul had set out from Surat on the last of November, under the charge of Mr. Edwards, the fenior merchant of those who arrived in the fleet: an escort was furnished by Mocrib Caun; and Mr. Aldworth, the principal agent, with feveral other factors, availed themselves of the fafety and repute of this opportunity, to vifit the towns where the company had refidencies or trade. The efcort was changed at BROACH, again at Demy-rode; but at Chamondyle 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 whilft halting at night, but were deterred by the dispositions of defence which the factors made with their own fervants. On the 8th they arrived at Brodera, where a prefent to the governor, and a fight of the maftiff dog intended for the Mogul, procured them kind reception, and an efcort of one hundred foldiers, who accompanied

ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT.

them to Ahmedabad, where they arrived on the 18th. From hence Richard Steele and John Crouther were fent off on their deftined journey, to Persia; and on the 2d of January, Mr. Edwards continued his with the present to Agra.

1615.

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Jan

The exclusion of the Portuguese enabled the English factors abroad to make their purchases at Ahmedabad with dispatch and sufficient cheapness. They fet out on their return from thence, on the 26th of January, with forty carts, and an efcort, which the government encreased, 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 thips which boarded her, acknowledging that Surat owed its prefervation to that fuccefs, and in gratitude augmented their efcort; 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 fet on each fide with hedges, by three hundred Rajpoots, who with their lances and arrows wounded many, although few dangeroufly, 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 fent to the ships best the rell. . Beschwide of the carried and there

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 Perfia; and the hopes of fuccess were authorized by the circumstances of the time, and the expected affishance of fir Robert Shirley.

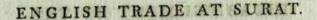
1613. Octob. The ship Expedition had no sooner left the Indus, as we have said, in October 1613, than the governor of Diul, who was a Banian, and either bribed or intimidated by the Portuguese, salssified the promises which had induced the two embassifiedors to land under his protection; a frigate had been dispatched to Ormus, which brought back twelve assalssins, 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, fir Thomas Powel, and one of his followers, died. At length sir

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 rast, and Shirley sirst embarked with Nazerbeg, to try the passage, when a party of horse, sent from Diulsinde, appeared on the bank, and swimmers brought back the rast. 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

1615.

1614.



Same a sound of sound

was inftantly 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 the 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 insested by robbers, they waited two months for the efcort of an omrah of distinction travelling to Agra. During this delay, the widow of fir Thomas Powel was brought to bed, and died with her infant; and soon after Michael, the brother of fir Thomas, likewise died.

Sir Robert Shirley, on his arrival at Agra, was received with much courtefy by the emperor, who wished to entertain him in his service, and sent for the governor of Diulsinde, 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 reslection 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 Powel's embassy from KING JAMES, which was not unacceptable to SHAH ABBAS; who having lately reduced the province of Lar, wished to disposses the Portuguese of Ormus, and their other lordships in

* Purchas fays, to the amount of 9,000l.

the



ESTABLISHMENT OF THE

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at sea, which he foresaw might be furnished by the English

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 Navier worked more essicaciously at Agra, by prossers and apologies, which gained the emperor's mother from motives of religion, and his wife by expectation of presents; at whose folicitations 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.

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

Sept.

Aug.

Zulfacar Caun, vexed at the detriments which the flate and revenues of his new government had fuftained 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, confisted

^{*} We find this fecond 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.



ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT.

1615. Sept.

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of the following articles, "That neither the emperor, nor the " vice-roy should hold any correspondence either with the En-" glifh or the Dutch: that they should not shelter either of these " nations in their ports; but obliged themselves to drive them " out of the fea 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 loffes on both fides being forgot, the Moguls and " Portuguese should trade freely in each others ports: that " the prisoners on both fides should be restored, and the Mogul " restore all effects in his possession belonging to the Portu-" guese, after paying himself seventy thousand xerasins, " 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 Meccu, " 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 veffels navigating the gulph of Cambay." We cannot afcertain the date of this treaty; which FARIA places towards the end of this year 1615, and it might have been

*The Rehemy, fee page 325 and 346.

Thomas

3 A

executed





ESTABLISHMENT OF THE

1615. executed in September, foon after the arrival of Zulfacar Sept. Caun; who at all events could not prefume 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 person of more distinction than any who at this time sought their mercantile service. Accordingly fir Thomas Roe was appointed; but, as if the royal commission required not the accompaniments of splendor, srugality prescribed his allowances, his retinue, and even the present to the Mogul, with little conformity to the sumptuous prejudices of the most magnificent court in the universe.

March. Sept. Sir Thomas Roe embarked in one of four ships which sailed together. They left the land's end on the 6th of March of 1615, touched at the Cape, at Mohila, and at Socotra; 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 surnish the embassador'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, notwithstanding 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 fir Thomas

ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT.



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

1615.

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On his arrival at the city, his own person, with sour of his followers, were exempted, but not until after remonstrance, from the custom-house search; but Zulfacar resused 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 embassador 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 sactory there, was fined and imprisoned by the government. The letters from court ordered proper respect to fir Thomas Roe; who sat out from Surat on the 30th of October.

Octob

At BRAMPORE were encamped the Sultan Parviz, second fon 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.

3 A 2

Buck

the



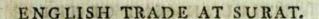
1615. the Mogul's present. Sickness detained him at Brampore for Decemb: some days. On the 23d of December he arrived at Azmir, to which the Mogul had removed from Agra, and was met the day before by Edwards the resident, and Thomas Coryat the traveller.

1616.

His fickness delayed the first audience until the 10th of January: he was received by the Mogul with more than the usual courtesy to embassadors in the east, and delivered the prefents from the KING. On the 14th he visited Sultan Currom, with one, as from the company; and demanded redrefs 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 promifed that the grievances thould be immediately remedied. On the 24th fir Thomas, at a public audience, reprefented to the emperor the violences and indignities which the factors had fuffered 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 thefe orders were not foon and punctually obeyed.

6

But



But these professions were only occasional reliefs, and no earnest for fuch a treaty as fir Thomas Roe was instructed to obtain for the general and permanent fecurity 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 perfuaded by the jefuit, 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 fifter, Noormahil*, was married to the emperor, and rarely failed to influence all his refolutions. The aunt and father-in-law indulged the prejudices of the Sultan, and thwarted the fuccess of fir Thomas Roe; who having borne the delays and excuses of office for two months, and finding nothing confonant in the terms offered by Sultan Currom, fpoke directly to the emperor, and requested a definitive answer to his own proposals. emperor asked what presents he should receive yearly, expected rubies and diamonds (which the Portuguese gave) but feemed content with the promife of curious manufactures, and wished to have a large English horse. Renewing the

1616. Jan.

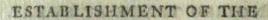
March 13th.

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

discourse

-50000





1616. March.

discourse of the treaty, fir Thomas Roe said that the English had been often wronged, and could not continue on fuch terms. The emperor caught the word, and afked, with much emotion, By whom wronged? Sir Thomas ordered his interpreter, 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 fon was accused, and feolded him roundly, before he would liften 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 fpoke out in favour of the Portuguese, and slightingly of the English, and was feconded by the jefuit; to which fir Thomas Roe replied, that he offered them a conditional peace, but fet their friend-Thip at a mean rate, and their hatred and force at lefs. The emperor faid, his demands were juft, his refolution noble, and bade him propound. But Afiph Jah, who had hitherto been filent, although very fignificant, was apprehensive that more diffrute would break out, and proposed, that the English demands fhould be prefented to the emperor in writing; fir Thomas, that the Sultan's terms should accompany them, which was agreed to with feeming fatisfaction on all fides, but with diffembled by Sultan Currom. On the 26th of March, fir Thomas Roe delivered his demands to the emperor at the public audience; they were disposed into ninenineteen articles*, which comprehended every necessary provision for the safety and success of the company's trade in

1616. March.

the

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

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

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

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

IV That the merchants and their fervants shall not be fearched or ill used.

v. That no prefents fent 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 fent to the merchant's house, there to be opened and rated within fix 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 fervice.

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.

1x. That whatfoever goods the English buy in any part of the Mogal's dominions, they may fend 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 go-

vernor or officers of the place where they were bought.

XI. That no confifcation 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' fervants, 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 fuch things as he shall defire, at reasonable prices.

xvii. The

1616. March.

the Mogul's dominions, and guarded, by fpecial expression, against the repetition of such injuries and indignities as he himfelf had feen or fuffered at Surat.

1615. Octob.

Novemb.

The vice-roy Azevedo, on his return to Goa, armed a fleet of twelve thips and twelve fmaller 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 passage, as well as at the outlet, took under their convoy all the trade of the coast bound to the northward. From Balzar, near Daman, two of the ships 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 suppose *, the English ships, 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 shall be ready to affist the Mogul against all his

xix. Laftly. That the Portuguese may come into this peace within ax months; or, if they refuse, the English be at liberty to exercise all hostilities against them.

The journal of captain Peyton, who commanded the ship 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 ships; so that we speak 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 hidalgoes, commanding or ferving in the different veilels; and commemorates with complacence the gallant difinterestedness of their admiral.

officers.



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officers, with two boats from the city, laden, as he faid, with provisions, which he requested Ruy Freyre to accept: but they contained bales of curious cloths and filks; which Freyre opened, examined, praifed, and returned to the officers, in the presence of all his captains, whom he had summoned to participate in the refufal; but referved one piece. which was a fhawl, and professed the same assurance of his fervices to the governor, as if he had accepted the whole prefent. The flawl was dedicated to the fairest mistress. The fleet failed to Din and Gogo, whilft the trading veffels were preparing at Cambay, which joined at the end of December, and was the largest convoy of many years. Off Decemb. Daman they were affailed by a violent tempest, which wrecked or funk four thips of the armada, and only one man was faved out of three of them; of the other, all. Thus ended this cruife, without giving any molestation to the English fhips, notwithstanding the late pretended treaty with the government of Surat; who were probably deterred by the respect with which they were ordered to treat fir Thomas Roe, from encouraging the armada to the hostilities they wished.

In February the English ships failed from Swally, and proceeded as ufual down the coaft. 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 -

1616.

Feb.

March.

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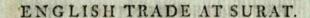


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GL

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his own port, the fame of captain Downton's defence at Surat in the preceding year, fent his minister to invite the English general, Keeling, to meet him at Crangainore, which he was befigging. In the way thither, the fhips took another prize; and, on receiving a hoftage for the vifit, 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 promifes, opening with these words: "As I have been ever " an enemy to the Portuguese, so do I purpose to continue " for ever." He then "promifes to give the fort and island " of Crangainore, when taken, with nine mile of the coaft; " but referves 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 thared; and laftly, exempts them from all duties " and cuftoms throughout his dominions: the terms to be " perpetual:" which induced Keeling to leave three factors, with a youth, to manage fome trade, and a gunner to ferve the Samorin. The fhips failed from Crangainore on the 10th of March, when one went off for England; the other three took two more prizes before they quitted the coaft, when feparating, two went for Atchin, and the other for Bantam. The Samorin, inflead of favouring the factors he had invited to remain in his country, exacted prefents from them, and they



they were glad to get away with their goods to Callicut, where they took up their refidence in April, and met with all discouragement, excepting open violence, which was sometimes threatened, in consequence of their own indiscretions. Such was the origin of the factory at Callicut, which has continued ever fince.

1616. April.

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 prefence of the emperor; who repaired their affronts by the conftant courtefy 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, infomuch that fir Thomas Roe had made no progress in the treaty at the end of July, when 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, befides other advantages, a faving

July.

^{*} 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.

[&]quot;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 defire, making



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

to

" making his firmen to BAROOCH most effectual to receive our nation, and to " give them a house near the governor; strictly commanding no man to molest "them by fea or land, or to take any custome of them, or any way trouble them " under colour thereof. Finally, that they might buy, fell, and transport any " commodity at their pleafures, without any moleflation, concluding, that if they fhould expect to hear no other from him, and therefore they fhould be " careful in execution. I received with it a letter from himfelf, which was more ve civility than all the Indies yielded me, full of courtene and humanity, and " great respect, protesting his defire 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 defired me to write, and it should be performed. The " copies are worthy the feeing, 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): fo that BOROOCH is provided for a good retreat from the PRINCE'S " injuries, and the custom given, whereby fifteen hundred pounds per annum " will be faved, befides all manner of fearches 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 to feareth not, nor needeth any man, being "the only beloved man of the king, and fecond person in his dominions, and " in all his life to liberal of his purie, and honourable of his word, that he hath " ingressed good reports from all others: and concerning custome, the king " takes none, the governors make it their profit, which he profesieth to fcorn, " 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 sir Thomas Roe as one of the principal generals in the army commanded by Sultan Parviz and Chan Chanan at Brampore, but could scarcely be the governor of this city, since sir 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 sather had assigned him from Brampore to Surat, and all Cambaya to Amadabat, the governors of Baroch, Jaunbasser, Medapore, and of the maritime goalt, Goga, Diul, Naysary, Mangerelpore, and Ormepore; as also out of

" Mando,



ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT.

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.

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The emperor's birth-day fell on the 2d of September; and at the affembly of congratulation, fir Thomas Roe told Afiph Jah, the vizier, that having now waited feven 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. Asiph Jah apologized, imputing the hindrance to the preparations for the seast (which as usual had superseded all other attentions) but promised, now it was over, to expedite

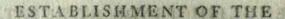
Sept.

"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 feventy thousand horse, he marches towards Mando, as if he intended a contrary progres." 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," fays fir 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 Bro-dera, eighty; Jownbasser, thirty; and Janagar, in Soret; each of which now enjoys peculiar podestates: howbeit, the Mogal has received hereout, as an annual tax or tribute, no less than one million two hundred and threescore thousand mammooders (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.

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1616. Sept.

the privileges he folicited before all other bufiness: but in the discussion which ensued by appointment, Asiph Jah at last declared, that feeing the terms were fo drawn as to exempt the English, and their trade at Surat, from any dependance on the authority of Sultan Currom, he himfelf would never give his confent to them. Sir Thomas Roe kept his temper, offered to make a new model, and fent it, with request that it might receive the feal, or he be permitted to receive the denial from the emperor, and fo depart the country. Afiph Jah refused the feal, but offered Sultan Currom's phirmaund, which he faid would be fufficient. Sir Thomas, feeing no better refource, changed his ground, and adopted the appearance of relying entirely on the Sultan's favour; to whose fecretary, Socorolla, he had fent four articles* to be expedited for the use of the factory at Surat, when the thips expected from England thould 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 vifited 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 fir Thomas Roe's journal.

1616. Septemb.

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 businesses 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.

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 Afcention, 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,

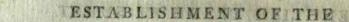
under captain Nicholas Downton, in 1614, 1615.

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

the



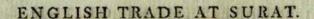


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August.

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 fize, bearing the Portuguese flag at the main-top-mast head, and freering the fame courfe. The Globe, which failed 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 flot, each of which went through her, whilft the returned eighteen, of much less effect, and fell aftern. The carrack was commanded by Don Manuel de Menefes, admiral of three, which had failed this year from Lifbon bound to Gon. 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 fent his own, which brought three officers with a meffage, "that " Don Menefes had promifed his mafter, 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 faid to the officers, "that he would fink by his " fide, or compel him." Menefes perfifted; the fight began; in a few minutes a fhot 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



of the James, who was the vice-admiral, took the command of the Charles, and the fquadron. Menefes kept out a light to direct his enemies; but the next morning, of the 7th, was at anchor fo near the shore, that Pepwell did not deem it pru-

dent to attack him in that fituation. In the evening Menefes fet fail, leading out to the open fea; and when dark, again hoifted his light, which led to the encounter at fun-rife.

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Captain Pepwell had inftructed his fhips to engage by turns, and began himfelf in the Charles; which had not continued half an hour, when a bullet from the carrack ftruck one of the iron guns, which shivered it: its fragments could not have chosen better execution; for, besides dangerously wounding three of the common feamen, 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 difabled fuperiors, and deferved 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 refifted until three in the afternoon, by which time her main-maft and mizen-maft were brought by the board, her fore-top-mast shot away, and her fides shattered into several breaches. The island of Angazija was not far off, to which she turned with what little fail she could fet, and flood in fo near the shore, that the English ships would not venture to follow her close; but a boat was fent with Mr. Connock, the principal merchant, and a flag of 3 C





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1616. Sept. August. 378

truce, as a fignal of parley, which was accepted by another. Menefes received Mr. Connock with courtefy; but was not moved, either by the offers, or admiration due to his valour, to defift from his first resolve; and said that if able, he would get out to fea again on the morrow, and renew the fight; when, if taken, he expected the treatment of a gentleman *. In the night the wind and furf grew high; the carrack drove, and, for want of fail to weather the danger, ftruck, and was jammed between two rocks; which firetching inward within a ftep of the fhore, relieved the crew from the folicitude 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 fhips kept near throughout the next day, in hopes of gleaning valuable drifts, but took up nothing; and bore away for refreshment to the neighbouring ifland of Mohila, where they arrived on the 10th. The natives of Angazija regarded the crew of the shipwreck as invaders, and affailed them with stones; but ceased on the display and offer of presents, until they had received them; when, inflead of returning provifions, they renewed their attacks; on which the Portuguefe employed their hand-guns, and loft, in the retreat of the natives, the only hopes of fuftenance. In this diffress the admi-

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^{*} FARTA fays, he threatened to hang the next person who should bring him a proposal offurrender.



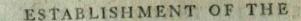
ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT.

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ral Menefes yielded to the advice of his cannoncer, as more practifed in the voyages of India, to throw their guns into the fea: when the natives returned in great numbers, and overpowered them; and then ftripped them of all their clothes and raiment, fetting fo much value on every thing which might ferve for their own, that they threw away the dollars, in order to put their heads into the empty bags. The Portuguefe wandered in different companies to gain food; many endured much diffrefs, and fome died; but all were protected by their nakedness from farther infult. The pilot, and a few more, went in the boat (for, notwithftanding 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 Madagafcar. This man took up the boat, and, having influence with the chief of that part of the island where the ship was wrecked, failed thither, collected all the Portuguese, clothed them, gathered their treasure, secured their jewels, and fent them away in his own veffels 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 Menefes were received by the viceroy, Azevedo, and the city, with the highest veneration; he was fent back to Lifbon in an advice-boat, and arrived fafe, to receive the fame acknowledgments in his own country. And indeed his defeat merited a trophy of victory; for his force 3 C 2





1616. 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, fir 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 sight; 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

Sir Thomas Roe fays, 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.

^{*} Edward Terry, who was afterwards chaplain to fir Thomas Roe, failed 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 failed 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-mace, when she was beside her." Also, that only sive men were killed in the sight, three in the Charles, two in the James, and about twenty wounded in all the four ships.

The state of the s

of Surat was his fon's; but fent for him, and gave positive orders in public concerning the presents and people, conformably to fir Thomas Roe's desire.

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Octob.

The company, although they had approved, and perhaps folicited, the embaffy of fir Thomas Roe, had not empowered him to controul the conduct of their own fervants at Surat and its dependencies; who feem 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.

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

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

much

^{*&}quot; Your factors fent me four or five clauses of your commission that con"cerned Persia, a fort, a plantation in Bengala, all which they knew were not

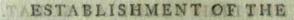
[&]quot; of use: with no other proposition or resolution they will acquaint me. They cannot abide I should understand or direct them. If they resolve of any thing

[&]quot; in their opinion for your profit, I will effect the court-part; but you will find

[&]quot; in my letters and journal how they use me; which doubtless at first was fowed

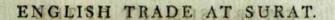
[&]quot; by fome jealoufy of yours, which will cost you dearly."





1616. Odob.

much respect in our times, which permit no enthusiasms to cover or confecrate the latent views of luxurious ambition. ANTHONY SHIRLEY, the elder brother of Robert, was a dependant on the Earl of Effex, who fent him, in 1598, with fome foldiers to fight for the duke of Ferara against the pope; but, by the time they arrived in Italy, the quarrel was reconciled. Effex nevertheless, unwilling that his knight should return to England with the derifion of having done nothing; not only conferted to his propofal of proceeding to Perfia with offer of fervice to Shah Abbas, whose fame had spread with much renown throughout Europe; but also furnished him with money and bills for the journey. SHIRLEY embarked from Venice, in May 1599, with twenty-five followers, fome of education, all of resolution, and amongst them his brother 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 caravan to Bagdad, Shirley professing himself a merchant, who expected goods by the next; but this pretence, and the number of his retinue, excited fufpicions, and all he brought was feized at the cuftom-house; which reduced them to live on the piece-meal fale of the clothes they wore: his anxiety in this fituation was observed by a Florentine named Victorio Spiciera, who was proceeding to Ormus in order to embark for China, and had frequently converfed with Shirley during the journey from Aleppe. He tried by repeated questions to discover





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difcover his real condition and purpose, but failing, made up his own conjectures, that Shirley intended fome fignal 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 perfonate romantic dignity, the Florentine determined not only to extricate him from the dangers of his prefent fituation, but enable him to profecute his views, whatfoever they might be. The emergency preffed: for the fecond caravan from Aleppo was come within ten days of Bagdad, and Spiciera knew, that when the goods which Shirley had pretended to expect, fhould not appear, he and all his followers would be doomed to imprisonment, if not worfe. 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 prefervation and fuccefs, confirming these affurances by the delivery of a great fum in gold, and many rarities of great value; fo much in the whole amount, that Shirley declines to mention it, because he fays 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 fuspicions of his escape by living in Shirley's house, shonmon.

1616. Octob. to whom he pretended to have lent his own, that he might 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 janifaries were fent in purfuit of Shirley, but miffed the caravan; which employed fifty days on the march to Cashin; where the aids of Spiciera enabled Shirley to equip himfelf and followers in fumptuous array, to live splendidly, and to make prefents; which procured commendations to Shah Abbas, who arrived at Cafbin a month after, and was faluted by Shirley and his company at his entrance into the city, when the king diftinguished him with the most honourable notice. The next day Shirley fent the king a prefent 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 refift the complacence of regarding the refort of this band of ftrangers as a fignal 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 difcern those he employed, by familiarities. Shirley was solemn in behaviour, pompous



1616. Odob.

pompous in elocution, quick in apprehension, and guarded in argument; and having ferved both at land and fea, was capable of fuggefting the military ideas of Europe; which could not fail to attract the attention of a monarch whose ruling paffion was the fame of war: he even vifited Shirley in his house, to examine a book of fortifications; and having, during a daily converse of fix 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 fervice, and referred him to the treafurer; who, as foon as the king was gone, fent to Shirley a prefent, which confifted of money to the amount of fixteen thousand ducats, forty horses, all accoutred; two, intended for his brother and himfelf, with faddles plated with gold, and fet with rubies and torquoises; the others, with filver and embroidered velvet; twelve camels laden with tents, and all furniture, not only for the field, but for his house in Casbin, which likewife was bestowed on him: he was ordered to follow the king to Caffan, from whence he accompanied him to Ifpahan, and was treated by him with the fame deference as before he had accepted his fervice.

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

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