



the crisis should have passed, he might agreeably surprise the sovereign and their friends by their re-appearance. He began also to act on the offensive, making various incursions into the enemy's territory; and his return from thence laden with booty wonderfully revived the spirits of his adherents.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1502.

The zamorin, meantime, with his mighty host in full array, was bearing down upon Cochin. That city possessed a very defensible position, as it could only be approached across a number of islands separated from the continent by narrow channels. But these channels were passable by fords, to defend which became the main object of the Portuguese. The invader, supported by a fleet of 160 vessels, marched towards one of these shallows, at a place where his squadron had room to act. They immediately began an attack upon four European barks, and at the same time the whole army attempted to pass over. Pacheco awaited the onset with 400 of his countrymen and 500 chosen troops of Cochin. The latter, however, as soon as they saw the mighty host in glittering armour advancing with loud shouts into the water, fled at full speed, leaving only their two chiefs, whom Pacheco detained, that they might be witnesses of European valour. The first attack was made by the fleet, of which the proas covered the sea; yet his little squadron kept up a fire so well directed, that all the ships which approached were either sunk or dispersed. The hardest conflict was with twenty, which were bound together by an iron chain; but Pacheco, by a well-aimed discharge from a large cannon, cut the chain in two, and they were scattered like the others. The land-army, meantime, were making furious efforts to pass the ford, darkening the air with their javelins, which they discharged from a huge turret with powerful effect. The attack was continued so long, that the Portuguese were nearly overpowered with fatigue; yet their little band maintained their ground so firmly, and kept up so destructive a fire, that the enemy was finally beaten off. Of the defenders a few were wounded, but not a single

Defence of  
Cochin.Assault of the  
fleet.





CHAP. IV. man killed; while more than a thousand of their opponents were believed to have fallen.

A. D. 1513.

Increased preparations of the zamorin and their failure.

The zamorin, most deeply mortified by this issue, determined to make another grand effort. He augmented his fleet to upwards of two hundred vessels, and put 15,000 troops on board, designing to make a combined naval and military attack. Pacheco, on seeing this armament approach, ordered his men not to move till the enemy should come up, when he opened a tremendous fire, which struck them with such amazement, that, in spite of the utmost exertions on the part of their leaders, the whole betook themselves to a shameful flight. Repeated attempts, always with the same result, were made on successive days by the Indian sovereign. On the last occasion the Portuguese were rather hard pressed, and suffered some loss; but the casualties on the other side were also greater than ever, and sickness having broken out in his army, he renounced all hopes of success, and returned to Calicut.

Foundation of European empire in India.

These advantages may be considered as having laid the foundation of European empire in India. It hence became manifest, that the innumerable multitude of the native people, and the vast armies which they brought into the field, would not avail either for conquest or defence, and that a handful of disciplined warriors possessed an irresistible superiority over the countless hosts of Asia. Pacheco pointed out the road of victory to Albuquerque, by the brilliancy and extent of whose exploits his own name was afterwards eclipsed; yet, with inferior means, he commanded more uniform success, and was perhaps superior to him in wisdom and talent, as well as in humanity. He was at length superseded by Lope Soares, who arrived with a fleet and army from Portugal, but who treated him with merited distinction, and on their return home loaded his character with the highest commendations. In his zeal for the public service he had neglected his private fortune, which the king gave him an opportunity of retrieving by appointing him Governor of El Mina, the chief settlement on

Arrival of a fleet and army from Portugal.





the coast of Africa. Here, however, a violent faction was raised against him; he was sent home in chains, and kept long in confinement; and though at last honourably acquitted, died without receiving the rewards due to his signal merits.

CHAP. IV  
A.D. 1503.

Wrongs of  
Pacheco.

Soarez, on reaching the coast of India, was immediately waited on by a Moor called Coje Bequi, accompanied by a Portuguese boy who had been a captive at Calicut. They brought overtures of peace from the zamorin, who offered to release all the prisoners, and to grant every commercial privilege the admiral could desire. This chief appears to have been now in earnest, and Lope agreed to steer for Calicut, whence a ship brought out to him a supply of provisions with several of the principal captives, who were delivered unconditionally. The treaty seemed to be proceeding in the most favourable train, when the Europeans added a condition, that the Milanese who had assisted the zamorin in the late war should be delivered up. The Moorish negotiator replied, that an article which so deeply affected his master's honour could not be concluded without special reference to himself; for which purpose a certain delay was craved, as he was then at some distance in the interior. But Soarez, with that overbearing temper to which his countrymen were too prone, demanded immediate assent; and this being withheld, he opened a fire upon the city, and reduced a great part of it to ashes. He then sailed for Cochin, the king of which earnestly pressed him to destroy Cranganor, a frontier town strongly attached to the zamorin. He found this a somewhat difficult task; however, after an obstinate contest, he took the place, burned it, and carried the fleet in triumph to his head establishment. Having afterwards destroyed a considerable squadron stationed at Panane, he returned to Europe.

Overtures of  
peace.

Terms proposed by  
Soarez.

His cruel reprisals.

In 1505, the King of Portugal sent out a large fleet under Francisco Almeyda, who bore for the first time the pompous title of Viceroy of India. Having spent some time in establishing the dominion of his flag over

First Viceroy  
of India.





CHAP. IV. Eastern Africa, he sailed across to Malabar. In resentment for some acts of piracy, he attacked Onor, and obtained temporary possession of that place; but the enemy came down in such vast numbers, that he was soon obliged to re-embark. However, as they had suffered severely, and as his strength was still formidable, they were induced to grant his demands. He was soon afterwards flattered by the arrival of an embassy from the King of Narsinga, a mighty Mohammedan potentate, whose capital, Bismagar, was justly described as far surpassing in magnificence the greatest of the maritime cities. The unrivalled splendour of the gems which they brought as presents bore ample testimony to the wealth of their master. They carried a most courteous message from this great sovereign, who even offered to bestow in marriage on John, the young prince of Portugal, his daughter, a virgin of exquisite beauty. What reply was made respecting the lady historians have not recorded; but Almeyda's answer showed a disposition to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the monarch himself.

Embassy  
from the  
King of Nar-  
singa.

Changes at  
Cochin.

Rash pro-  
ceedings of  
the Portu-  
guese agent

On repairing to Cochin he found a remarkable change. Triumpara, the old and faithful friend of the Portuguese, was now a fakir, living on herbs, clothed in tatters, renouncing the world, and entirely absorbed in the contemplation of the mysterious essence of Brahma,—a transformation of which the West has presented only one signal example, but which is much less foreign to oriental ideas. Anxious as he was to show every mark of respect to this benevolent devotee, it would have been superfluous to bestow his rich presents on one who had bidden adieu for ever to the earth and all its concerns. He tendered them to his nephew, Nambadin, who, by the law of nayr succession, had already ascended his uncle's throne. Meantime Coulan, a port frequented on account of the abundance of excellent pepper which it afforded, had become the scene of a dreadful tragedy. Homo, whom Almeyda had stationed there, finding it difficult to make up his cargo, determined upon using the most violent means for effecting his ob-





ject. He caused all the Moorish ships to be dismantled, and would not allow them to take on board a pound of the spice till the Portuguese had completed their lading. This outrageous prohibition was as annoying to the natives as to the Moors; and the former were easily induced to join in a scheme of revenge. They assembled in vast numbers, and attacked the aggressors, who, amounting to no more than thirteen, fled to a chapel dedicated to the Virgin. The mob soon surrounded this sanctuary; but not being able to force an entrance, they brought a quantity of wood, and succeeding in setting fire to it, they destroyed the edifice with all who were in it. Almeyda censured and even degraded Homo, who, however, had left the place before this crisis; yet, deeming it not the less necessary to inflict a memorable chastisement on the Coulanites, he sent an armament under his son Lorenzo, who destroyed a part of their fleet.

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1505.

Indignation  
of the natives

The viceroy now found himself exposed to a danger of the first magnitude, and which threatened to shake the very foundation of Portuguese ascendancy. The Sultan of Cairo, inflamed at once by that bigoted zeal with which the Mohammedan creed inspires its votaries, and by the injuries which his vessels had sustained from European pirates, fitted out a large fleet, and sent it, under the command of Mir Hocem, to the coast of India, to extirpate that infidel race who were extending conquest and devastation over all the Eastern Seas. At the time he received intelligence that this flotilla was under sail, a considerable part of his squadron was still out under Lorenzo, to whom he sent instructions to attack the enemy before they could arrive on the coast and be joined by any of the native princes. The young admiral, who had anchored off the port of Chaul, was busily preparing to execute his father's directions when the Egyptians were seen approaching the harbour. The enemy, having a favourable wind and tide, entered the river, and at once drew up their ships in order of battle. The Portuguese fought for two days with the most desperate valour, not only keeping up a constant

Moorish armament sent  
against the  
PortuguesePreparations  
to oppose it





CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1505.

Overpower-  
ing force of  
the Moorish  
fleet.

Perilous posi-  
tion and fate  
of the admiral.

Bravery of  
Lorenzo.

cannonade, but boarding and capturing several of the sultan's galleys; and Lorenzo was only prevented by an adverse current from taking the commander's ship. But on the second morning Mir Hocem was reinforced by Melique Az, the viceroy of Din. At the end of that bloody day the squadron under the son of Almeyda was dreadfully shattered; the principal officers, including the gallant leader himself, were wounded; and the force of the enemy was so immensely superior, as to leave no hope of a successful resistance. It was determined, in a council of war, to take advantage of a favourable tide, and proceed out to sea. This movement having been commenced at midnight, was going on successfully, when, by a fearful mischance, the ship in which Lorenzo himself sailed ran foul of some fishing-stakes. Pelagio Sousa, who commanded the nearest galley, fastened a rope, and, plying all his oars, endeavoured to tow her off, but in vain. Meantime the whole of the enemy's fleet, having discovered what was going on, pressed close behind. Sousa's men, apprehending that they would be involved in the fate of the vessel to which they were attached, basely cut the rope, when their ship was irresistibly borne out to sea by the current, leaving the admiral to contend alone with his numerous pursuers. He was now entreated to enter a boat, in which he might still have easily regained the fleet; that brave and high-spirited youth, however, declared his fixed determination not to abandon his crew in this extremity, but to share their fate whatever it might be. He had not yet lost all hope that, by prodigious exertions of valour, he might hold out till the advancing tide should float his ship. He drew up his hundred men, of whom seventy were wounded, with such skill, that the enemy durst not attempt to board. They merely collected their vessels round him, and opened a tremendous fire, which wrapped the combatants in a cloud of flame and smoke. Lorenzo having received a ball in the thigh, which rendered him unable to move, caused himself to be lashed to the mast, whence he continued to direct and cheer





his men. At length another ball struck him in the breast; he fell down and expired. Still the crew resisted three successive attempts to board, till Melique Az, a prince equally distinguished for bravery and humanity, prevailed on the twenty survivors, all of whom were wounded, to surrender, and treated them with the most tender care and sympathy. De Barros adds, that he wrote a letter to Almeyda, deeply condoling with him on the death of his son, whose valour had commanded his warmest admiration.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1506.

Magnanimity of the Moorish leader.

Conduct of the viceroy.

It was a most painful task to communicate to the governor the loss of his only son, cut off in the midst of such a high and hopeful career. He received the tidings with fortitude and piety, declaring that he had much less desired for the youth long life than a distinguished character. Gratified in this point, and trusting that he was now enjoying the reward of his excellent conduct, he did not feel any cause to mourn. Meantime, however, he was eagerly preparing to avenge his death, and that too, we are sorry to add, in a temper ill accordant with the meek spirit of the faith which he had just professed. He had got ready a fleet of nineteen ships, having on board an army partly Portuguese, partly natives of Cochin, and was about to sail, when his path was crossed by a most unexpected event.

Despatch of reinforcements.

In the year 1506, Alphonso Albuquerque was despatched with a large reinforcement to the fleet now in India. He went out burning with hope, and big with vast schemes of ambition, aspiring to the reputation of spreading the Portuguese sway over all the East. Having sailed first to Arabia, he reduced Curiat, Mascat, and other important cities on that coast. He then attacked the celebrated kingdom of Ormuz, and, after several dreadful combats by sea and land, had so far succeeded as to impose a treaty which rendered its king tributary, and was erecting a fort that would have commanded the city, when the treacherous desertion of three of his officers compelled him for the present to relinquish the fruit of his victories. Almeyda, who was friendly to moderate

Proceedings of Alphonso.





CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1506.

Almeida arrested.

measures, and averse to schemes of conquest, had sent a disavowal of these violent and ambitious assaults. But what was his astonishment when Albuquerque arrived at Cochin, and presented a commission constituting himself Governor-general of India. To be thus checked in an undertaking to which he was impelled by such powerful motives was more than he could endure. Finding that his principal officers, by whom he was idolized, were ready to support him even in resistance to the royal will, he told his successor that, under present circumstances, it was impossible to carry the order into effect, and more especially until, by vanquishing the Egyptian fleet, he had avenged his son's death. The other replied indignantly, and not without reason, that the king's mandate was imperative and unconditional, and that any delay in obeying it was equivalent to setting the royal authority at open defiance. The former adhered to his resolution, and even, on polite pretences, declined allowing to his successor any share in the expedition, who retired in disgust to Cochin.

Almeida  
sails against  
the enemy

Almeida now sailed to attack the enemy; but on his way having learned that Dabul, one of the greatest commercial establishments on this coast, had embraced with zeal the Egyptian cause, he determined to turn aside and reduce it. This station was very strongly defended, not only by a trench and palisade, but by a fort with powerful batteries, to disembark in the face of which appeared a very perilous enterprise. The Portuguese commander, however, caused the ships to be drawn up in a line facing the shore, then ordered his troops to enter the boats, and push full speed towards the land. They followed his directions with enthusiasm, and even with rapture leaped on shore, striving which should be foremost, and pressed on to the rampart. By this rapid and skilful movement the artillery pointed against the ships, having a somewhat high range, passed over the heads of the advancing soldiers, who without any annoyance reached the gates. They could then advance only by three narrow passages between the city and the beach, each stoutly defended

Assault of  
Dabul.





by large bands of armed citizens. The contest was dreadful; the piles of dead formed a barrier more formidable than even the palisade; and the assailants thronging behind impeded each other. Almeyda, perceiving these obstacles, ordered Vasco Pereyra to penetrate by another passage less open but also less diligently guarded, by which he entered the city, and soon placed it in possession of the Portuguese. The conqueror gave it up to plunder; and his followers, it is reluctantly admitted, stained their glory by inexpressible cruelties. The streets streamed with blood, and the parent besought in vain for the life of his child. The distracted multitudes fled in crowds to the great mosque, but soon finding that no place was sacred in the eyes of their enemies, hastened through the opposite gates, and sought refuge in the caves of the neighbouring mountain. The commander took up his quarters in the holy edifice; but confusion still reigned through the city, and in the morning an alarm was given that a fire had broken out in the eastern quarter. The flames spread rapidly through the light fabrics of timber; and the sparks flying from roof to roof, street after street was enveloped in the conflagration. Almeyda and his officers fled before it; and in a few hours there remained of this magnificent city only a pile of smoking wood and ashes. The fire also reached the shipping, which was entirely consumed, and even the Portuguese vessels were in danger. According to Osorio and other historians, this conflagration was ordered by the admiral himself, as the only means of withdrawing his men from plunder, and preventing an entire loss of discipline; but De Barros mentions this only as a rumour, and it certainly appears somewhat improbable.

From this disgraceful triumph the victor hastened to his main object of attacking the combined fleets in the Gulf of Cambay. Overtures of peace were received, but being considered, apparently with little reason, as insidious, they obtained no notice. The enemy's squadrons were strongly posted in the harbour of Diu, where Melique Az advised his ally to await the onset;

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1508.

Capture of  
Dabul.Cruelties of  
the conquer-  
ers.Conflagra-  
tion of the  
city.Sail for Cam-  
bay.





## CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1508.

Assault of  
the fleet.Bravery of  
the Portu-  
guese lead-  
ers.Their com-  
plete success.Treaty of  
peace.

but the impetuous spirit of Mir Hocem impelled him to leave the harbour, keeping, however, so near the shore as to be supported by a chain of batteries. The large vessels were linked two and two, and defended against boarding by a sloping network of strong rope. The Portuguese, notwithstanding, advanced to the attack with the utmost intrepidity; and Vasco Pereyra, the hero of the fleet, undertook to bear down upon the emir himself. The enemy opened a terrible fire, one discharge of which killed ten of his men. Undismayed by this loss, he was soon on board of their ship; where, having for a moment lifted his helmet, a ball pierced his throat and he expired. Tavora with his followers had mounted the network, when, part of it breaking, they fell down upon the deck: still, notwithstanding this accident, the Egyptians were at length all either killed or forced to quit the vessel. Pedro Cam also attacked another ship, and before the grappling-irons could be fixed, thirty-eight of his sailors were on the network; but while they were unfortunately entangled in it, his head was struck off, and they themselves could not use their weapons with freedom; yet, being seasonably supported by another party, they rallied and in the end subdued the crew. In fine, all the large vessels were either sunk or taken; the remainder, discomfited and shattered, retreated far up the river, where the victors could not follow. The captured ships were found to contain ample booty, the whole of which Almeyda divided among his people.

After this signal defeat, Melique Az sent to treat for peace. The conqueror assumed at first a very high tone, demanding that Mir Hocem, the inveterate enemy of the Christian name, should be delivered into his hands. The Cambayan prince, with that lofty sense of honour which had always distinguished him, declared that such treatment of a firm and faithful ally was altogether inadmissible, and he could only engage to restore unconditionally all the European captives. With this Almeyda, after such a dear-bought victory, thought it expedient to be satisfied. We grieve to add that, inspired by a





feeling very different from that of his antagonist, on arriving off the port of Cananor, he disgraced his cause by a general massacre of the prisoners. It is lamentable to reflect that a commander, who had previously gained some reputation for clemency, should have been stimulated to such actions by grief for the death of a son, who had fallen in open and honourable battle against a generous foe.

CHAP. IV

A. D. 1509.

Excessive  
cruelty of the  
victors.

On his return to Cochin, he was again summoned by Albuquerque to yield up the command assigned by the sovereign to himself; but, encouraged by his partisans, he still held the reins of power, and even went so far as to place his rival under a nominal arrest. At this juncture, however, arrived Fernando Coutinho, a nobleman of high character, with fifteen ships and a considerable body of troops. This officer immediately undertook to mediate between the contending parties, and by representing to Almeyda how very irregular the course was into which he had been betrayed, persuaded him amicably to resign the viceroyalty. Having made this sacrifice to duty, he set sail for Portugal. In passing along the southern coast of Africa his men involved themselves in a scuffle with a band of Hottentots, when he hastened to their aid with a party nearly unarmed, and full of contempt for this rude and almost savage enemy. These barbarians, however, swift and fearless, made so terrible an onset, that Almeyda, deserted by his troops, was mortally wounded with a javelin in the neck and fell. The Portuguese writers lament it as a singular caprice of fate, that this illustrious commander, who had fought in all the Indian Seas, and had vanquished the mightiest warriors of the East, should perish thus miserably on an unknown shore, in a contest with a handful of naked and deformed wretches scarcely entitled to the name of men.

Almeyda  
summoned  
to resign the  
vice-royalty.

His fate.

Albuquerque now determined not to lose a moment in entering on his vast schemes of conquest. The first object of attack was Calicut, the chief seat of a power which had the most resolutely opposed his countrymen.

Vast scheme  
of Alberquer-  
que.





## CHAP. IV

A. D. 1510.

Assault of  
Calicut.

First success.

Impetuous  
rashness of  
Coutinho.

Coutinho, who was about to return to Portugal, insisted upon being allowed to take the lead upon this occasion, which his rank and the friendship that subsisted between them made it impossible for him to refuse. The fleet arrived on the 2d January 1510 in front of Calicut; but as the city could only be approached by narrow avenues through thick woods, in which the whole army had not room to act, it was arranged that the two commanders should advance in separate divisions. Albuquerque's party scarcely slept, so much were they excited by the joyful and eager anticipation of landing; and as soon as day dawned, they could no longer be restrained, but sprung on shore and rushed against a fortified palace, which was to be the first object of assault. A few minutes placed it in their possession; and Coutinho, whose march had been delayed by several accidents, came up and found the prize won. He burst into a torrent of invective against the viceroy, for having anticipated him contrary to faith and agreement, declaring that he should not be so cheated in regard to the attack on the principal palace, which stood on the other side of the city. Albuquerque attempted to explain, and besought him not to advance without having secured a retreat; but the other would not listen either to advice or remonstrance. He forced his way with impetuous valour through the streets of Calicut, and reached the royal residence, which, as is common in the East, formed a little town surrounded by a wall, and was the only regular fortification in the city. It was, besides, defended by the main strength of the army; but nothing could arrest Coutinho, who soon forced open the gates, and rendered himself master of the whole enclosure. Deeming his victory already complete and secure, he allowed his men full license to plunder, and, repairing himself to the regal halls, sought rest and refreshment after the toils of the battle. The Indians had been surprised, but were not dismayed; perhaps they had allowed Coutinho to advance so far, with the view of drawing him into a trap. The chief nayr uttered a cry which, repeated from mouth to





mouth to the distance of several miles, drew quickly around him thirty thousand men well armed, and determined to conquer or die. They fell first upon Albuquerque, who with his troops occupied the city, maintaining a communication with the fleet. He found himself wholly unprepared to sustain this attack. The Indians, occupying the roofs and all the most advantageous coverts, poured upon the Portuguese a continued shower of darts; while they, entangled in narrow lanes and avenues, could neither advance nor recede. Their chief, after seeing some of his bravest men fall, had no resource but to set fire to this part of the city; when the enemy, being dispersed by the flames, the Europeans, taking advantage of the confusion, made a rapid retreat, and reached the ships. Coutinho meantime received repeated warnings of the alarming state of affairs; but secure in fancied triumph, and viewing the natives with fixed contempt, he shut his ears to all intimations of peril. Soon, however, when his colleague had given way, and the whole force of the enemy was turned against himself, the danger became too pressing to be any longer overlooked. He then sprung to the head of his troops, and fought like a lion. The palace was set on fire; and his men, completely surrounded by a vast army, in a disadvantageous position, sought only to cut their way through to the ships. In this disastrous day Coutinho himself fell; and, in endeavouring to defend him, Vasco Sylveira and other chiefs of the noblest families in Portugal shared his fate. De Barros reckons that, out of 1600, eighty were killed and 200 wounded. Albuquerque, stunned by repeated blows, remained for some time apparently dead; but he was carried off by his followers, and conveyed to Cochin, where he slowly gained strength.

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1510.

Muster of the  
native forces.Fate of Cou-  
tinho.Ardeur of the  
viceroy.

This inauspicious commencement in no degree cooled the ardour of the viceroy. Scarcely had he recovered from his wounds, when he resumed his boldest schemes of conquest; and though he no longer ventured to attack the metropolis of the zamorin, he still wished to gain some great city which his countrymen might establish as their





## CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1510.

Goa.

Expedition  
against Goa.Submission  
of the citi-  
zens.

capital, where he might safely moor his fleets, and thence realize his plans of victory and colonization. Timois, an Indian pirate, the trusty friend of the Portuguese, drew his attention to Goa. This town is situated upon an island twenty-three miles in circuit, if island it may be called, which is separated from the land only by a salt-marsh fordable in many places. The surface is fertile, diversified by little hills and valleys, and almost sufficient of itself to supply a great city with every necessary of life. The adjoining territory, called Canara, forms the seacoast of the Deccan. It had been conquered by the Mogul, and annexed to the dominions of Delhi; but, in the distracted state of that empire, several independent kingdoms had arisen in the south, among which Narsinga, with its capital of Bisnagar, set the example. Of these rulers the sovereign of Goa, called the zabaim, was the most powerful. Timois, however, gave notice that this prince, being occupied in war with several states of the interior, had left his own almost unprotected. Albuquerque, readily embracing this suggestion, hastily assembled an expedition, and, in conjunction with his guide, arrived off Goa on the 25th February 1510. Several of the forts which defended the approaches having been taken, and the fleet of the besiegers brought up close to the walls, the citizens, who were chiefly persons connected with trade, began seriously to ponder the consequences likely to ensue were the place to be taken by storm, especially by an enemy whose mercy had never been conspicuous. They sent, therefore, a deputation, composed principally of merchants, who privately intimated that the Portuguese commander might obtain admission on certain conditions, including full protection to commerce and private property. Albuquerque granted these terms, and was immediately put in possession of the town. He fulfilled his stipulations in the strictest manner, adopting every measure calculated to preserve order and prosperity, and even continuing many of the natives in their civil employments. Having occupied the palace of the zabaim, he assumed





at once the character of a great eastern potentate; sending an embassy to the King of Narsinga, and receiving, in the most gracious manner, those of Persia and Ormuz, who were then on a mission to the sovereign of Goa. But he soon found himself by no means in the secure and agreeable position he at first imagined. The zabaim, on hearing that his capital was in the possession of those hated foreigners, roused all his energies, and disregarded every object in comparison with their immediate expulsion. He at once concluded peace with his enemies, several of whom made common cause with him against this powerful adversary; and an army of upwards of 40,000 men began its march under his direction. Albuquerque undauntedly viewed its advance, though threatened with an internal danger perhaps still more formidable. In this distant service, the spirit of discipline was not easily maintained, and both men and officers had acquired a habit of criticising the proceedings of their general. There arose a numerous party, who argued, that with so small a number of troops, and without any prospect of reinforcement, it was madness to attempt making head against the numerous host now approaching, surrounded by a population generally hostile, and in the heart of an immense city, whose inhabitants only watched for an opportunity to aid in their destruction. These fears and reasonings were by no means without foundation; but the lofty spirit of Albuquerque indignantly repelled the idea of tamely relinquishing so magnificent a prize. The faction, amounting to nine hundred, insisted that so brave an army ought not to be sacrificed to the obstinacy of one man, and began to form a scheme for wresting the power from their commander, and carrying into effect their own counsels. But having traced this plot to its origin, he surprised the conspirators at a secret meeting, and threw the ringleaders into prison. The remainder sued for pardon, which he could not well refuse, being unable to want the services of any of his small number of troops; they were therefore, with a very few exceptions, restored to their employments.

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1510.

Assumption  
of the vice-  
roy.His difficul-  
ties and dan-  
gers.Conspiracy  
among the  
PortugueseThe ringlead-  
ers seized.





## CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1510

Advance of  
the zabaim.Viceroy's  
firmness.Retires to the  
fort.Compelled to  
evacuate the  
fortress.

The zabaim meantime was advancing upon the city. The chief hope of Albuquerque depended upon his success in defending the approaches to the island; but the channel separating it from the mainland was so narrow, and in many places so shallow, that it presented by no means an insuperable obstacle. He stationed chosen troops at all the exposed points, covering them with walls and intrenchments. The native prince, completely baffled in his first attempts, had almost resigned himself to despair; but at length he bethought himself of a nocturnal attack, favoured by the monsoon. The night of the 17th May being dark and stormy, two large bodies advanced at different points, and though unable to surprise the Portuguese, succeeded in forcing their way into the island. The whole army was soon transported over, and commenced operations against the city. The viceroy stood his ground with his characteristic firmness; but as the enemy was aided by repeated risings within the walls, while his own officers took occasion to renew their remonstrances as to the untenable nature of the place, he found at last that no alternative remained but to retire into the fort, whence, by means of the river on which it was situated, he could still communicate with the fleet. But the zabaim, having taken possession of the town, immediately commenced operations for reducing this stronghold. By sinking large ships in the stream, he endeavoured to interrupt the communication, and at the same time provided pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles, for the purpose of setting fire to the Portuguese squadron. Albuquerque, unable to obstruct the progress of these fatal measures, at last felt that he must evacuate the fortress. Even this was become difficult; but he executed his resolution with vigour and success. Having conveyed privately on board all the guns, ammunition, and provisions, and seen the troops embark in profound silence, he himself went last into the flag-ship. He might have reached the fleet unnoticed and unmolested, had not the explosion of a magazine, which roused the enemy, given rise to a severe encounter.





CHAP. IV

A. D. 1510.

Surprise of  
Pangin.Bravery of  
the Andra-  
des.Mutual cour-  
tesies of the  
rivals.

Being in this manner compelled to move out to sea, he was anxious to do something which might redeem the honour lost in his late undertaking, and revive the spirits of his men. At Pangin, near Goa, the enemy had formed a strongly intrenched camp, and frequently sent out vessels to annoy the Portuguese. He therefore fitted out an expedition, which, approaching in deep silence, reached the shore at the first dawn, suddenly landed, and having sounded the drums and trumpets, and raised loud shouts, the Indians awoke in such a panic, that they ran off without once facing their assailants; upon which the latter, at their leisure, carried off a great quantity of artillery and stores, as well as a large supply of provisions. Learning soon after that a squadron was preparing to attack him, he anticipated the movement by sending a number of ships, under his nephew, Antony Noronha, who was met by the Indian chief at the head of thirty paravs; but, after an obstinate conflict, the zabaim was compelled to retreat full speed to the shore. The conquerors followed, when Peter and Ferdinand Andrade, with five men, boarded the principal vessel; but their captain, mounting behind them, was severely wounded, and fell into the boat. Amid the general anxiety, and while all efforts were employed to remove their leader out of danger, the Andrades and their party were forgotten; the ship, by the receding of the tide, was left on dry land; and they were attacked by greatly superior numbers, against whom they could only defend themselves by prodigies of valour. When their condition was observed, it was for some time doubtful how to reach them; at length eight bold mariners pushing on shore in the long-boat, attacked and made themselves masters of the ship; but, being unable to tow it off, were obliged to content themselves with the feat of rescuing their comrades. It is pleasing, amid the ferocity of this war, to find an exchange of chivalrous courtesy. The zabaim sent messengers, expressing his admiration of the valour of the Portuguese; and a polite answer was returned. Even a negotiation for peace was opened, though without success.





## CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1510.

Second  
attempt on  
Goa project-  
ed.Great dispar-  
ity of the  
forces.Assault of  
the town.Gain an ex-  
trance.

The pride of the enemy being humbled, and the spirits and courage of the Portuguese revived by these exploits, Albuquerque sailed to Cananor, where he refitted his fleet, and received considerable reinforcements; resolving, as soon as the season allowed, to make a second attempt upon Goa. His confidence of a happier issue on this occasion seems to have been founded chiefly on the fact that the zabaim was involved in war with the kingdom of Marsinga, which was likely for some time to occupy the greater part of his forces. Unable, however, to muster more than 1500 European and 300 native troops, it was a very serious undertaking to attack a large and strong capital, garrisoned by upwards of 9000 men. It had been farther strengthened by a new wall and ditch, and by a stockade drawn through the water, behind which the ships were moored in security, and stood like so many towers. However, having arrived in front of the city, he determined not to delay the assault, though there was no appearance of his ally Timoja. In the morning, accordingly, he opened with his cannon a tremendous fire, and the whole shore was wrapt in a cloud of smoke, illumined only by the flashes. He landed and divided his troops into two parts, one of which was led by himself, and attacked the northern quarter; the other, in three separate bands, proceeded in an opposite direction. One division, led by the Limas and other chosen heroes, having anticipated their commander, drove the enemy within the walls; and as they were shutting the gate, Fernando Melos thrust in a large spear, which prevented it from closing. Several others following this example, it was, after a most desperate struggle, forced open, and the assailants entered along with the fugitives. These, however, still made a resolute stand in the houses and corners of the streets, particularly in the palace of the zabaim. Here a strong body had taken post, and twenty Portuguese, who rashly advanced, were almost entirely cut to pieces. John de Lima, on forcing a passage, found his brother Jeronymo, with several of his comrades, lying in the agonies of





death; but the fallen chief professed perfect resignation to his fate, and entreated that there might not, on his account, be a moment's delay. The enemy, driven from the palace, rallied on a neighbouring hill. The commander, who had been extremely surprised to find the battle raging in the city, now entered, but had still to wage a hard contest of six hours' duration before it was completely in his power.

Albuquerque, being left for some time in the undisturbed possession of this capital, applied himself to secure it as a permanent acquisition to his country. His views on this subject materially differed from those of Almeida, who conceived it wisest to keep their fleets united and at sea, only touching occasionally at friendly ports. So combined, they appeared to him more formidable than when dispersed over different stations and settlements, while they could at the same time overawe the native powers without giving any reasonable ground of jealousy. Albuquerque's opinion, on the contrary, was, that a large city and a spacious port, which they could call their own, were essential to the maintenance of Portuguese supremacy. They would then have a secure station for their fleets, a fixed point for receiving reinforcements, and a retreat in case of disaster, without depending on the precarious friendship of their allies. He studied, therefore, to render Goa a suitable capital for an eastern empire. He sent and received ambassadors, whom he astonished by the display of a pomp surpassing even that of India; and he surprised them still more by the extensive fortifications and useful works which he had already constructed. He viewed it also as an essential object to attach the natives to his government, for which purpose he adopted a somewhat singular expedient. Having numerous female captives, some belonging to the first families in the country, he treated them in the most honourable manner; but, not satisfied with this, he proceeded to arrange matrimonial connexions between them and his European followers, without leaving much choice on either side. Some such

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1510.

The city taken.

Plans of Albuquerque for securing Portuguese supremacy.

His extensive fortifications.

Singular expedients.





## CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1512.

Success of his  
scheme.Curious di-  
lemma.Plans of con-  
quest.

procedure is at least alluded to by De Barros, when he compares his mode of cementing the Portuguese power to that employed by Romulus for peopling his infant state of Rome. It was made an absolute condition with the brides that they should embrace Christianity; an obstacle which was not found insurmountable; the prejudices of caste and religion being less deeply rooted there than in other parts of the East. A few such marriages being formed, the viceroy showed the parties peculiar favour, and bestowed on the husbands some of his best appointments. The principal families, finding themselves aggrandized by these connexions, so far from objecting to them, gave their countenance to new matches. An odd story is told of a great number of weddings being celebrated at once with a splendid festival, when the lights being prematurely extinguished, it became difficult for the parties to recognise each other, and they fell into many mistakes. Next morning an investigation was proposed; but, on mature reflection, it was judged best, that each should remain content with the wife who had accidentally fallen to his lot, though different from the one to whom the church had united him; and the affair furnished to the army only an occasion of mirth.

Having thus settled the government, the viceroy resumed the consideration of his more distant schemes of conquest. Two objects engrossed his mind,—Ormuz, the splendid emporium of the Persian Gulf, which had been snatched from him almost in the moment of victory; and Malacca, a native kingdom, considered then as the key to the remotest regions and islands of Asia. The latter obtained the preference. The capital, though situated upon the coast of a barren peninsula, was enriched in an extraordinary degree by being the centre of the commerce carried on between Hindostan, China, and the eastern islands,—a trade which now gives prosperity to Singapore. Albuquerque sailed thither with a force of eight hundred Portuguese and six hundred Indians; to oppose which the king had mustered a





garrison that has been represented as exceeding 30,000. Negotiations were opened, and professions made on both sides of a desire for peace; but it was obvious that such an expedition could terminate only in an appeal to arms. A vigorous resistance was made by means of wooden machines, cannon, and a species of artificial fire peculiar to the East; but the intrepidity of Albuquerque and his followers finally triumphed. Having expelled all the native troops, and become complete master of the city he immediately began to erect a strong fort out of the materials of the shattered palaces; he settled the government on that firm yet conciliatory principle which distinguished his policy; and opened negotiations with Siam, Java, and Sumatra, from which countries it is even asserted that he received friendly embassies.

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1512.

Capital of  
Malacca  
taken.

During his absence on this expedition, the zabaim again mustered his forces, and sent a powerful army under successive commanders, who forced their way into the island of Goa, erected there a strong fort called Benaster, and pressed the city very closely. Having, after some delay, arrived with a considerable reinforcement, he obliged the enemy to raise the siege, but was completely repulsed in an attack on the garrison; and it was not till after repeated assaults that he was able to drive them from their fortress, and finally establish the Portuguese supremacy.

Attempt of  
the zabaim  
to recover  
Goa.

The viceroy again resumed his plans of distant conquest, but was baffled in two successive attempts upon Aden, then the chief emporium of the Red Sea. At length he equipped a great armament to achieve the most favourite object of his ambition. With 1500 European and 600 Asiatic troops he sailed against Ormuz, where his strength was considered so formidable, that the king did not venture to oppose his demand for permission to erect a fort. Having performed this task with his usual diligence, he forthwith suggested the great convenience of transporting to this station all the cannon in the city. The unfortunate monarch, conscious of the state to which he was reduced, felt it no longer

Expedition  
against Or-  
muz.





## CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1513.

Close of Albuquerque's career.

Lope Soarez appointed viceroy.

Despair of Albuquerque.

possible to refuse even this request, and the celebrated Ormuz became completely a Portuguese establishment; a triumph which left the ambitious commander hardly any thing to wish in that part of the world, where he had firmly established the flag of his country.

But this brilliant career was approaching to its close. Albuquerque was now somewhat advanced in years, and his constitution, exhausted by so many toils, began to exhibit symptoms of decay. Finding his health in an infirm state, he became anxious to revisit Goa; and as he passed along the coast of Cambay, tidings arrived which struck him to the heart. A new fleet had been sent out, and Lope Soarez, the name of all others which he most detested, not only commanded it, but was appointed to supersede him as Governor of India. New officers were nominated to the principal vessels and forts, —all of them known to be most hostile to his interest. His power and influence, he felt, were at an end. The Portuguese writers, always silent on every thing which might affect the credit of their sovereign, give no hint of the motives that induced him to cast off so suddenly the man who had conquered for him a great empire. European counsellors, it may be presumed, possessed the ear of the monarch, and might whisper that the viceroy was becoming too great to continue a subject. There was not even a letter or any other mark of honour to soften this deep disgrace.

A death-blow was now given to this great leader, who no longer wished to live. Amid his agonies, it was suggested to him that the attachment of his adherents was so devoted as might enable him to defy the mandate of an ungrateful master, and still remain ruler of the Indian Seas. His mind seems to have opened for a moment to the temptation; but he finally repelled it, and sought only in the grave a refuge for his wounded pride and honour. Violently agitated, refusing food and refreshment, and calling every hour for death, he could not be long of finding it. As his end approached, he was persuaded to write a short letter to the king in





favour of his son, expressed in the following proud but pathetic terms :—" Senor,—This is the last letter which, in the agonies of death, I write to your Highness, of the many which I have written during the long period of my life, when I had the satisfaction of serving you. In your kingdom I have a son, by name Braz de Albuquerque, whom I entreat your Highness to favour as my services may merit. As for the affairs of India, they will speak for themselves and for me." Feeling that he must die before reaching Goa, his mind became tranquilized ; he ascribed the present change to the ordination of Providence, and turned all his thoughts to that other world on which he was about to enter. A light barge sent before him brought out the vicar-general, who administered to him the sacraments of the church ; and on the morning of the 16th December 1515 he expired. He was carried in pomp to the shore, where his funeral was celebrated by the tears both of his own countrymen and of the natives, whose hearts he had completely attached to him. Thus died Alphonso d'Albuquerque, who stood foremost among his countrymen, and ranks with the greatest naval commanders of modern Europe.

At his death the Portuguese empire in the East, so recently founded, had reached its utmost limits. Only a few points on the remoter coast of Africa, and two or three settlements on the shore of Coromandel, were afterwards added to it. Their dominion, according to the boast of their historian Faria y Sousa, stretched from the Cape of Good Hope to the frontier of China, and comprehended a coast 12,000 miles in extent. It is impossible however not to observe that this is somewhat of an empty boast, since over this immense space there were not perhaps more than thirty factories established,—and the nearest of them separated by upwards of a thousand miles. In many, perhaps in most cases, they possessed not a spot of ground beyond the walls of the fortress. Their real sovereignty was on the ocean, where their ships, armed and manned in a manner superior to those of the native powers, were victorious in almost every encounter.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1515.

Letter to the king.

His death.

Extent of Portuguese empire in the East.

Its very partial possession.





## CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1536.

Influence of  
Portuguese  
supremacy.Nuno da  
Cunha.Immense  
force levied  
against him.

This species of government, with the exclusive commerce between Europe and India, they retained for upwards of a century. Their history, during this period, consists chiefly of the struggles to maintain their ground against the natives, whom their domineering, bigoted, and persecuting spirit, soon inspired with the bitterest enmity. These contests, which usually ended in the repulse of the latter, and in the two parties being replaced in their wonted position, are too monotonous to justify a detailed narrative. One or two of them, however, were so memorable as to deserve to be here recorded.

In 1536, Nuno da Cunha, then governor-general, obtained permission to erect a fort at the important city of Diu, in a situation highly favourable for trade, but which brought his people in contact with the powerful kingdom of Cambay and Guzerat. Badur, ruler of the former of these nations, who at first welcomed their approach, soon began to view them with jealousy. In a visit that he paid to the settlement a scuffle ensued, in which he himself was killed, while the commandant and several other European chiefs shared the same fate. Sylveira, who succeeded to the charge, made the greatest efforts to justify the conduct of his countrymen in the eyes of the natives, and appeared at first to have succeeded; yet there still remained a leaven of discord. This was strongly fomented by Khojah Zofar, a Moorish chief, who had at first embraced with apparent zeal the cause of the Portuguese, but afterwards became their bitterest enemy. Through him a great force was levied in Guzerat, with which Solyman Pasha, the governor of Cairo, was ordered by the Grand Seignior to co-operate. This officer sailed from Suez with seventy galleys, having on board 7000 of the best Turkish soldiers, and a superb train of artillery. He was joined on his arrival by upwards of 20,000 troops of Guzerat, and early in September 1538 laid close siege to the Portuguese fort. Sylveira had only 600 men, many of whom were sickly; and in consequence of an interregnum in the general government, occasioned by the appointment of Garcia de Noronha to supersede





CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1536.

Nuno da Cunha, no succours were received from Goa. He, however, prepared for resistance with the utmost vigour; and the siege which he sustained is considered one of the most memorable in the annals of Portuguese domination in Asia. Exploits of the most daring valour were achieved, the women vying with the other sex in courage and enthusiasm. Donna Isabella de Vega assembled the females within the fort, and, representing that all the men were required to bear arms against the enemy, induced them to undertake the laborious task of repairing the works shattered by the incessant fire of the batteries. Ann Fernandez, lady to a physician, ran from post to post, even while the assault was hottest, cheering and encouraging the soldiers; and her son falling in one of the attacks, she carried away his body, then returned to the scene of combat, and remained till the close, when she went to perform his obsequies.

Isabella de Vega.

Under the impulse of this high feeling, the enemy were defeated in successive attempts, made during several weeks, to carry the fortress by storm. The garrison, however, who suffered in each attack, were at length reduced to less than half their original number, and these so exhausted that they could ill continue such severe exertions. The besiegers, wearied out and exasperated with the length and obstinacy of the defence, determined to make one grand and desperate effort. They first began by withdrawing their galleys, as if intending to raise the siege, then at midnight suddenly returned, and immediately applied scaling-ladders to the sea-wall. The garrison were instantly roused, and hastened to meet the attack; but the others persevered with such fury, that they at length forced an entrance into one of the principal bulwarks. They were repulsed by an almost preternatural valour, and are reported to have had 1500 men killed and wounded in the assault. But after so long and desperate a conflict, the Portuguese had not above forty soldiers fit for duty; Sylveira was already oppressed by the most gloomy apprehensions, when, to his joyful surprise, he found that the besiegers had made their

Defeat of the assailants.

Immense losses on both sides.





CHAP. IV last effort. Solymán, not aware, it may be presumed, of the desperate situation of his adversary, weighed anchor on the 5th November, and set sail for Egypt with all his fleet.

Khojah Zofar  
invests the  
Castle of Diu.

Khojah Zofar, who continued to retain the supreme sway in Guzerat, still cherished the most inveterate rancour against the Portuguese. Seven years after the period now mentioned, he assembled an army nearly as large as the former, and invested the castle of Diu, defended by Don Juan Mascarenhas with a garrison of only 210 men. With this slender force the governor most stoutly and gallantly maintained his post, keeping up a very destructive fire on the besiegers. The King of Cambay, who had come in the firm expectation of witnessing the fall of the castle, was so alarmed by a ball which penetrated his tent and killed an officer at his side, that he departed, leaving his generals to prosecute the siege. Zofar, soon after, had his head carried off by a cannon-shot; but his son, Rumi Khan, inherited his daring spirit as well as his enmity to Christians. Notwithstanding the valour with which the besieged repulsed every assault, their numbers were gradually thinned, and they began to suffer the extremities of famine. At length Alvaro de Castro brought a reinforcement of 400 men; but these troops, having insisted on being led out against the enemy, were driven back after suffering great loss.

Don Juan de  
Castro, the  
new viceroy.

In October 1545, however, the new viceroy, Don Juan de Castro, one of the ablest and most distinguished of the Portuguese officers, arrived; and having a powerful armament, he considered himself in a condition immediately to commence offensive operations. He broke through the enemy's intrenchments, obliged them to give battle, and drove them, with prodigious slaughter, into the city. Thence they again sallied to the amount of 8000, whom De Castro totally routed, and entering along with them, was soon master of Diu; but he stained his glory by giving it up to indiscriminate plunder and massacre. Returning to Goa on the 11th April 1548, he made a most splendid triumphal entry,





with bands of music, his head crowned with laurel, and the royal standard of Cambay dragged behind him. The streets were hung with silk, and resounded with acclamations. Queen Catherine, however, on receiving the account of this ostentatious procession, is said to have remarked, that the governor had indeed conquered like a Christian, but had triumphed like a pagan.

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1548

De Castro held the office of viceroy only from 1545 to 1548, during which time he established a high reputation, and made the Portuguese name dreaded on all the coasts of India. He appears to have been zealous in the service of his country, and singularly disinterested; since, after holding the government during the period we have mentioned over this rich province, he died in extreme poverty. But the dreadful barbarities of which he was guilty, though they do not seem to have shocked the historians of his own country, must tarnish his fame in the view of all nations possessing more humane feelings.

Death of De Castro.

The most critical situation in which the Portuguese settlements were ever placed was in 1570, during the government of Don Luis de Ataíde. Adel Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk, two distinguished officers under the Mogul, formed an alliance with the zamorin; uniting with the firm resolution to expel this foreign people from the shores of India. The siege of Goa, considered the most important enterprise, was undertaken by the former, who collected for this purpose his whole force, estimated at 100,000 men, and commanded it in person. His army spent eight days in defiling through the Ghats; after which, being encamped in tents ranged in straight lines, in that regular and magnificent order observed by the Mogul soldiers, it presented the appearance of a handsome and spacious city. The viceroy was apparently taken by surprise, not having in Goa above 700 troops, with 1300 monks and armed slaves. By stopping a fleet about to sail for Europe, he might have obtained a reinforcement of 400 men; but he intrepidly rejected this resource, on account of the inconvenience

Critical situation of the Portuguese.

Siege of Goa.

Intrepidity of Don Luis de Ataíde.





CHAP IV. which would be occasioned at home by the vessels not  
A.D. 1570. arriving; he was also, perhaps, ambitious to show that he  
could defend the town with only its own garrison, and  
such soldiers as might be obtained from the neighbour-  
ing settlements. The enemy began a series of most for-  
midable attacks, attempting to cross into the island. Don  
Luis, however, not only repulsed them with success,  
but, on receiving some reinforcements, made repeated  
sallies into their quarters, on which occasions his troops  
acted with their usual courage and barbarity. Having  
killed numbers of the natives, the soldiers sent into the  
city cart-loads of heads, to afford to the people the savage  
encouragement derived from this spectacle. At the end  
of two months Adel Khan began to despair, and even  
opened a correspondence with the governor; but as each  
party not only concealed his wish for a termination of  
the siege, but assumed an air of haughty defiance, the  
negotiation made very slow progress. Ataïde received  
various accessions, particularly one of 1500 men from  
the Moluccas, and was thereby rendered so strong,  
that the enemy could scarcely cherish any hope of suc-  
cess. The Mongolian general, however, observing a point  
which, from confidence in its natural strength, had been  
less carefully fortified, resolved on a desperate attempt  
to effect a passage. On the 13th April, Solyman Aga,  
captain of the guards, made an attack so sudden and  
vigorous, that, in spite of the most resolute resistance,  
part of his troops forced their way into the island; but  
the Portuguese soon mustered their forces, and, after a  
brisk conflict, drove back or cut in pieces the whole of  
the assailants. Adel Khan, who viewed from the opposite  
bank this obstinate engagement and the discomfiture of  
his troops, was equally enraged and disheartened. From  
this time all his operations were conducted in a languish-  
ing manner; yet his pride induced him to persevere  
several months longer, till, about the end of August, he  
struck his tents, and withdrew from before the city, after  
sustaining during the siege a loss of 12,000 men.  
Meantime Nizam-ul-Mulk, in fulfilment of his part

Courage and  
barbarity of  
the Portu-  
guese.

Accessions to  
the garrison.

Discomfiture  
of Adel Khan.





of the stipulation, advanced with an army equally formidable against Chaul, then a settlement of considerable importance near Bombay. The defence of this place appeared still more hopeless, it being situated entirely on the continent, and defended only by a single wall, with a fort little superior to a common house. The governor-general was therefore advised to withdraw his troops without any attempt at resistance; but he formed a resolution more worthy of him, and Luis Freyred'Andrada the commander of the town, having had his garrison augmented to 2000 men, undertook to supply all deficiencies by his valour and genius. After some unsuccessful attempts to carry the place by a *coup de main*, the enemy opened a regular battery of not less than seventy cannon. At the end of a month the town had suffered considerable injury, the wall was entirely beaten down, and the assailants were attacking house after house. Each mansion, however, was in its turn converted into a species of fortress, and defended with the utmost obstinacy. The Moors, attempting a general assault, penetrated the city at different points, but were every where completely driven out. In one house that the Portuguese found themselves obliged to evacuate, they lodged a mine, which unfortunately springing before they left it, killed forty-two of their number. Another dwelling was defended six weeks, and a third during a whole month. In the beginning of June, after the siege had continued nearly half a year, and many thousands of the natives had perished, some overtures were made for an accommodation, but without any result. The nizam then renewed the attack with greater vigour than ever, and carried successively the monastery of St Dominic, the houses of Nuno Alvarez and of Gonzalo Meneszez. But this progress was too slow to fulfil his object, though it encouraged him to attempt one desperate assault. On the 29th June, the whole army rushed forward with barbarous shouts against the ruined works, on which the small body of Portuguese had taken their stand. The artillery in full play alternately illumined

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1579.

Assault of  
Chaul.Courage of  
the governor.Determined  
assault by  
the Moors.





## CHAP. IV

A. D. 1570

Defeat of the  
Moors.Total dissolution  
of the  
native  
league.Supremacy  
secured.

Dutch republic.

the sky and wrapped it in darkness. The shock was terrible; the enemy planted their colours on several of the remaining bulwarks, and seemed repeatedly on the eve of obtaining full possession of the city; but the valour and discipline of the Europeans were in the end triumphant. The Mongolian general, after continuing the attack till night, drew off his army, and soon after opened a negotiation, which terminated in a league offensive and defensive.

The zamorin manifested little zeal to fulfil his part in the grand alliance. Indeed, on seeing the Portuguese hard pressed by the two other confederates, he offered, on certain conditions, to withdraw from it altogether, and conclude a separate treaty. But the pride of Ataide disdained, even in this extreme peril, to purchase peace by any humiliating concession; he defied the monarch's power; trusting to his own talent, and the bravery of his countrymen, to extricate him from every difficulty. The zamorin then sent some small aid to the nizam, and afterwards laid siege to Chale, a fort about two miles from Calicut. But this place being defended with the usual vigour, and its garrison reinforced, he was obliged to withdraw; hence this formidable combination, which had comprehended the greatest powers of Southern India, was, by the conduct of the governor and the courage of his troops, entirely dissolved.

By these and other achievements, the subjects of Portugal, during the whole of the sixteenth century, maintained their possessions on the coasts, and their supremacy in the seas of India. Even after their military enterprise relaxed, the high name which they had established deterred the natives from any attempt to shake off the yoke. But about the year 1600 a new enemy appeared, much more formidable than any power which they had yet encountered in that quarter of the globe. The Dutch, driven to desperation by the tyranny of Philip II., had revolted against Spain, and after a long, hard, and glorious struggle, raised themselves to the rank of an independent republic. Even before the neighbouring





states fully recognised them in this character, they had gained the reputation of being the first naval power in Europe. Owing to the narrow extent of their territory, they themselves, as well as the multitude of refugees who found among them the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, were induced to seek on the ocean the means of subsistence and wealth. The happy situation of their coasts, both for commerce and fishery, had already led to considerable progress in these branches of industry, which now attained a magnitude before unexampled in modern times. After embarking so deeply in these pursuits, their attention could not fail to be attracted by the trade of India, to which has always been assigned an overrated importance. They were not, however, yet prepared to encounter the naval armaments of Spain and Portugal, which guarded with the most jealous care all the approaches to the Eastern Seas. They were hence induced to attempt a passage by the north of Asia, which the imperfect knowledge then possessed respecting the extent of that continent, and the character of its Arctic shores, led mariners to regard as not impracticable. Three successive expeditions were accordingly sent, chiefly under the command of Barentz; in the last of which the people were obliged to winter on the dreary shores of Nova Zembla; but they failed altogether in their hope of discovering a north-east passage, which, if it does at all exist, must, it was found, be too difficult to be ever productive of any practical utility.

They now felt the impossibility of rivalling the Portuguese by any other route than that round the Cape of Good Hope; and their courage and resources having been augmented in the course of a successful struggle for liberty, they no longer hesitated to brave all the dangers of this undertaking. The necessary information was obtained through Cornelius Honiman, who collected it during a long residence at Lisbon. The jealous government there, displeased with his active and diligent inquiries, threw him into prison, whence he was liberated only on the payment of a considerable ransom. But by

CHAP. IV

A. D. 1600

Dutch turn  
their atten-  
tion to India.

Attempt to  
discover the  
north-east  
passage.

Resolved to  
follow the  
route of the  
Portuguese.





## CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1596.

Houtman's  
voyage to  
Java.Return to  
Europe.Companies  
established  
in Holland.Large squa-  
drons sent  
out to India.

his instructions the Dutch in three months equipped a squadron of four vessels, well armed and provided with the materials of trade. Houtman set out in the autumn of 1596, and after a tedious voyage, without however encountering any important opposition or obstruction, arrived off Bantam in the island of Java. He was at first extremely well treated, but afterwards, seemingly through his own rashness and violence, became involved in a quarrel with the king, was thrown into prison, and obtained release only by sacrificing part of his investment. He then effected a safe return to Europe, where he was received with the highest exultation, having evinced the practicability of a fleet finding its way without molestation from the enemy, to those remote and opulent shores. The original company, augmented by one more recently formed, sent out early in 1599 no fewer than eight ships under the joint command of Houtman and Van Neck. They reached the coasts of Sumatra and Java, where they carried on a successful traffic; and at length the second of these officers returned to Amsterdam with four of the vessels laden with spices and other valuable commodities.

This favourable beginning encouraged the Hollanders to prosecute the Indian trade with the utmost activity. Several new companies were established, without being invested with any exclusive privileges, or apparently actuated by any hostile rivalry: and thus mutually aiding and co-operating with each other, they soon raised this branch of commerce to the highest prosperity. In 1600, not five years after the first of their squadrons had sailed round the Cape, they sent out forty vessels bearing from 400 to 600 tons; and, by their superior diligence and punctuality, had almost completely supplanted the Portuguese in the spice-market. Hitherto they had studiously shunned any interference with that people, selecting the spots not occupied by them; while the latter seem not to have ventured on any violent measures to enforce their monopoly. However, as they became stronger, they began to form schemes for the





expulsion of their rivals. They studied by every art to foment the discontent of the natives, who had themselves begun to observe that the Portuguese were more intent on conquest than commerce, and who were besides disgusted with the harsh means employed for inducing them to renounce the Mohammedan faith. Impelled by these motives, the Malays at Acheen, aided by some Dutch volunteers, surprised the fort which the subjects of Portugal had erected in the bay, and made a general massacre of the garrison. They were deprived in a similar manner of several stations on the Molucca Islands; losing in this way some important seats of trade, while those of the Hollanders were continually extended.

Philip II., who, on the death of Don Sebastian, had seized the crown of Portugal, felt highly indignant at finding his people expelled from those valuable possessions by the arms of a rebellious province, which his own oppression had driven into resistance, and in fact raised to its present maritime greatness. Having learned that the Dutch East Indiamen were expected home, he fitted out an armament of thirty ships, mostly of a large size, and sent them to intercept the fleet. Near the Cape de Verde Islands, this squadron met eight of their vessels going out under the command of Spilbergen; but the latter, by their bravery and skilful manœuvres, succeeded in beating off the assailants, and made their way to India without any serious loss. From this time Philip seems to have given up every attempt to contend at sea with this rising people, and directed all his efforts, though without effect, to subjugate them by military force. He satisfied himself with issuing proclamations, prohibiting them, under the severest penalties, from trading in any of the Spanish possessions. The Portuguese in India, aided by his subjects from the Philippines, still kept up a harassing piratical warfare, to which the Dutch determined to put a stop by wresting from their antagonists all the remaining settlements in the Spice Islands. In 1606 they reinforced their fleets with nineteen fresh vessels, having on board two thou-

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1600.

League with  
the natives.Philip II. of  
Portugal.Unsuccessful  
attempt to in-  
tercept the  
Dutch fleetPiratical  
warfare.





## CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1605.

sand veteran soldiers. They then invested, and successively reduced, all the forts which their opponents had erected in the islands of Amboyna and Tidor, capturing the shipping which lay under their protection, and finally lading their own with valuable spices. The supremacy of the Dutch in the Indian Seas was thus fully established.

The Dutch  
establish su-  
premacy in  
the Indian  
seas

To complete this triumph, the Admiral Matelief sailed against Malacca, which the Portuguese had made the capital of their possessions in the more eastern parts. The place, however, was so well prepared for defence, that, after several weeks spent in the most vigorous efforts, he gave up the attempt. But what was his surprise, when on reaching Amboyna he was saluted with a heavy fire, and saw the Spanish flag flying on the walls of the castle! This revolution had been effected by a naval force from the Philippines, which, taking advantage of his absence, had sailed to those important islands, and finding them almost defenceless, completely reduced them. Matelief was at first a little disconcerted; but, encouraged by the valour of his men, he landed, attacked the fortress, and carried it by storm, making, as was too common, a general massacre of the unfortunate garrison. Inspired by this success, he proceeded against the other settlements, and in two months brought all of them again under the dominion of the United Provinces.

Settlement of  
Ceylon.

The Dutch were soon afterwards induced to form a settlement in the island of Ceylon; an expedition was sent thither in 1605, under the command of De Weert, who was at first favourably received. Having, however, not only violated a solemn engagement in the first instance, but afterwards, when he went to court, conducted himself with the *hauteur* which his countrymen had now generally assumed, he was seized, and struck dead with a scimitar. His brave companions, who attempted with unequal strength to avenge his loss, only shared his fate. The tragical issue of this adventure did not discourage Borth the governor-general, who imputed the disaster of De Weert solely to his





rash and culpable violence, from sending a fresh armament under Marcellus Boschkoureur, an officer of distinguished talent and address. He arrived at the critical moment when the Portuguese were advancing from their principal settlement at Columbo in such force against Candy, that the rajah scarcely hoped to be able to resist them. The Dutch commander, however, both by directing the operations of the Candians, and by affording to them the aid of his own troops, gained for them a complete victory. The power of their rivals was thus humbled, while they themselves obtained from the grateful monarch ample liberty to form an establishment on the most advantageous footing. But it was not till 1656, after a long and bloody struggle, that they gained the complete mastery over their competitors. In that year Columbo surrendered, after a siege of seven months, and the Portuguese were completely expelled from Ceylon. We reserve for the chapter on the English Settlements in India an account of the contest in which the Hollanders were involved with our countrymen, and the means that they used to thwart their success. Having obtained the complete command of the Oriental Islands, they determined to build a city which might become the capital of their Asiatic conquests, and the centre of all their political and commercial transactions. They fixed upon a spot near the western extremity of the north coast of Java,—a very happy situation, commanding the route to the Spice Islands, and enjoying an easy communication with Sumatra, Borneo, and Celebes. Having overcome the resistance of the native powers, they founded a city which, being named Batavia, from the ancient appellation of their country, was subsequently rendered by them a great and flourishing station. Europeans, however, suffer severely from its climate, the evils of which are increased by canals drawn round the place and even through its very streets, exhaling in that tropical climate the most pernicious vapours.

The Dutch made repeated efforts to drive the Portuguese from Malacca, the capital of their possessions in

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1605.

Dutch alliance with the Candians.

The capital of Batavia.

Obtain possession of Malacca.





## CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1640.

that quarter of India. At length, in 1640, after encountering an obstinate resistance, they effected their object, and they then became complete masters of the Eastern Islands and Seas, with the exception of some settlements made by the English on the coast of Sumatra. But as they never formed any important or extensive establishment on the continent of India, to which this volume specially relates, we have not thought it necessary to give more than a short summary of their oriental career.

First appearance of the English.

In the western provinces the Portuguese found themselves chiefly opposed by the English, and they soon, as will hereafter appear, found the contest very unequal. Notwithstanding their influence with the Mogul, they were gradually supplanted at Surat and the other ports of Guzerat by the superior power and policy of their new rivals. An expedition, jointly undertaken by our countrymen and Shah Abbas, king of Persia, deprived them of Ormuz; while the Imam of Mascat, seconded by the natives, expelled them from most of their possessions on the coast of Africa. They were thus stripped of their vast dominions almost as rapidly as they had acquired them; and now Goa and Mozambique, in a very decayed condition, form nearly the sole remnant of that proud empire which formerly extended over so great a part of the eastern world.





## CHAPTER V.

*Early English Voyages and Settlements.*

Importance always attached to Indian Trade.—Mission by Alured.—The English attempt to penetrate to India by the North-East, and through Russia.—By the North-West.—Voyage of Drake.—Of Cavendish.—Newbery and Fitch, by way of Aleppo and Ormuz.—Fitch visits many Parts of India.—First English Voyage by the Cape.—Its Disasters.—An Association formed.—Voyage of Lancaster.—Middleton.—Michelborne.—Keeling and Others.—Sharpey.—Loss of his Vessel.—Sir Henry Middleton.—His Adventures at Surat.—Hippon.—Settlements on Coromandel.—Saris.—Profits of the Trade.—Quarrels with the Dutch.—Massacre at Amboyna.—Acquisition of Bombay.—Settlements on the Coromandel Coast.—In Bengal.—Disputes with the Mogul.—Company begin to form Plans of Conquest.

FROM the first dawn of maritime enterprise and adventure in Britain, the trade of India was contemplated as its grandest object,—the chief fountain of commercial wealth. Into the sanguine conceptions formed on this subject there entered, no doubt, a considerable degree of illusion. A more enlightened school of political economy seems to have demonstrated, that agriculture and manufactures open more copious sources of prosperity than traffic of any description; that the home trade, from its quick returns, is more productive than the foreign; and the intercourse between closely contiguous countries more valuable than that with distant regions. A commerce, therefore, of which the market is at the opposite extremity of the globe, can never do more than employ the surplus capital of a community already wealthy. Yet there were circumstances which, even at

CHAP. V

British Enterprises.





CHAP. V.

A. D. 883.

Products of  
India.

that early stage of mercantile speculation, threw a peculiar lustre on the trade of India. The staple articles consisted of finer and richer fabrics than any that had yet been produced in the West; and, besides, there were diamonds, pearls, jewels the most beautiful and brilliant, and spices the most fragrant and grateful to the senses. The great scale, too, on which operations were conducted, and the large fortunes occasionally made, gave to this traffic a character of grandeur not belonging to the smaller transactions which took place within the limits of Europe. Even the mysterious remoteness of the regions that were to be the theatre of this intercourse,—the train of adventure and uncertainty through which they were to be reached,—heightened their attraction, and were altogether congenial to the spirit of that bold and enterprising age.

Records of  
an early voy-  
age to India.

It may be proper here to observe, that some record exists of a voyage from England to India at a much earlier period. Hakluyt has quoted two passages from different chronicles by William of Malmesbury, in which it is asserted that King Alfred, in the year 883, sent Sigehelmus, bishop of Sherburn, into the East, that he might present gifts at the shrine of St Thomas. He is said to have happily performed this great undertaking, and to have returned laden with gems and rich spices, the produce of that celebrated region. It is added that, at the time the chronicle was written, some of these commodities were still preserved in the church of Sherburn. Such a mission was worthy of that great monarch, whose views, far in advance of his age, were doubtless more enlightened than those which the annalist here ascribes to him. But it must be very difficult, from such meagre notices, to determine whether so very distant a pilgrimage could at that period have been really performed. Without pronouncing it absolutely impossible, we may be allowed to suspect that he merely reached those eastern shores of the Mediterranean, to which Indian commodities have always, by some channel or other, been conveyed in large quantities.

Its doubtful  
ness.





The reign of Edward VI., and more especially that of Elizabeth, formed the era at which industry and naval enterprise received that impulse which has since carried them to so unprecedented a magnitude. Prior to this period Britain was surpassed in manufactures by the Flemings, in navigation by the Italians, and still more by the Spaniards and Portuguese. These last, then her bitterest enemies, she had seen, with grief and humiliation, gain unrivalled glory by discovering a new passage to the East, and a new world in the West. They had thus almost completely preoccupied the ground of discovery and settlement, and were, moreover, prepared to defend it in the most vigorous manner against all who should attempt any encroachment. The English, therefore, in the new career on which they were ambitious to enter, had to encounter not only the disadvantages of a long voyage, but the active opposition of the two greatest powers who at that time claimed the dominion of the ocean.

CHAP. V.

A. D. 1550.

Era of English naval enterprise.

But the nation was not to be deterred by such considerations. Nor was the ardour of discovery confined to merchants, whose estimates might have been more cautious and professional; it was fully shared by courtiers, statesmen, and warriors. Under the auspices of Elizabeth there arose a brighter galaxy of great men, than had adorned any former period of English history. They began, however, by attempting to reach India by some new path undiscovered by the Portuguese, and where there was no chance of coming in contact with those formidable rivals. The first effort was made on the northern coast of Asia; but, like that of the Dutch in an earlier age, it was founded on a most imperfect knowledge both of the great extent of that continent and of its dreary and frozen boundaries. This expedition, fitted out by a company of merchant-adventurers, and commanded by the gallant Sir Hugh Willoughby, with three well-appointed vessels, had a most disastrous issue. He was driven upon the coast of Lapland, where, in the course of the ensuing winter, he and his crew perished by cold

Ardour of all classes for discovery.

North-east passage attempted.





CHAP. V. and famine. Richard Chancellor, however, with one of the vessels, reached the White Sea, and proceeded to Moscow, where he opened a communication with the court of Russia, then almost unknown in Western Europe. The adventurers having made several other unsuccessful attempts by water in those high latitudes, conceived the idea of opening an intercourse with India across the Russian and Persian empires. They expended in vain much capital and enterprise in this arduous undertaking. Several of their agents penetrated across the Caspian into Persia, and even reached Bokhara, the capital of Independent Tartary. But at length they became sensible that no commodities could pay the cost of such an immense circuit, both by land and sea, besides the hazards attendant on the conveyance through the territory of so many barbarous nations. Even when this journey should prove the most prosperous, the goods could not be so cheaply carried as by the direct route across Persia and Syria to Aleppo.

A. D. 1553.

Attempts to establish an overland trade.

North-west passage attempted.

The next attempt was made by the north-west passage, round the Arctic shores of America. This continent was, at that early era, imagined to terminate, at a high latitude, in a point or cape, the passing of which would enable the mariner to enter the South Sea, and reach by a direct course the wealthy shores of India and Eastern Asia. Most intrepid, energetic, and persevering efforts to effect this object were made by a succession of illustrious navigators,—Cabot, Frobisher, Davis, Hudson,—and the pursuit has been continued down to the present time. But though brilliant displays have been exhibited of courage and heroism, and striking views obtained of the shores and their rude inhabitants, every attempt to find a practicable passage to India by this route has ended in disappointment.

Failure of these attempts.

The abortive and even calamitous result of successive efforts to penetrate by the northern extremity of the great continents, or by journeys overland, at length turned the attention of the English nation to the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, as that from which alone





CHAP. V.

A.D. 1577.

Exclusive  
claims of Por-  
tugal.

any positive benefit could be derived. The exclusive right, however, to this line of navigation was claimed by Philip II., who had now succeeded as King of Portugal; and the claim was somewhat in unison with the laws generally admitted in that age respecting distant discovery. The government was afraid of bringing itself into premature collision with the greatest monarch of the time; while private and unarmed vessels, obliged to pass near the coasts of Portugal as well as of her numerous settlements in Africa and India, and exposed to meet her ships continually passing and repassing, could scarcely hope to escape her hostile attacks.

Plans of  
Drake.

But as the views of British navigators expanded, and their country began to rise to the first rank among maritime nations, a new path suggested itself, from which their haughty rivals would in vain seek to exclude them. Drake, after having served with distinction in the West Indies and on the coast of America, conceived the design of penetrating into the South Sea. The wealth acquired in his former expeditions was expended in fitting out five vessels, the largest not exceeding 100, and the smallest only 12 tons. He equipped them very completely, taking on board rich furniture, fine specimens of British manufacture, and even a band of expert musicians. He prepared every means, in short, by which he might dazzle and conciliate the natives of the unknown regions which he was about to explore. He sailed from Plymouth on the 13th December 1577, and in August the following year he accomplished a passage through the Straits of Magellan. He then cruised for some months along the western coast of Spanish America, not hesitating to appropriate some rich prizes that presented themselves in the course of his voyage. Having obtained great wealth, though his fleet was reduced to a single vessel, he determined to attempt a return homeward by the north-west passage. He sailed to the coast of California, of which he claimed the discovery, and called at New Albion; but finding his main object impracticable, he resolved to cross the Pacific, and proceed to Europe by

Passage of  
Macao  
StraitsDiscovery of  
California.





CHAP. V

A. D. 1580.

Friendly reception by the King of Ternate.

Return to England.

Cavendish.

His unscrupulous proceedings.

Return to England.

the Moluccas. He steered directly through the ocean, pausing nowhere till he found himself among the Spice Islands, the valuable productions of which were then the subject of general interest in the West. The King of Ternate, who was in a state of hostility with the Portuguese, gave a friendly reception to the English navigator, who first began that commerce with India which has since been carried to so immense an extent. Having coasted along Java, he proceeded to the Cape without touching at any part of the Asiatic continent. He took in supplies at Sierra Leone, and arrived at Plymouth on the 26th September 1580, after a voyage of two years and ten months. His arrival was hailed with the utmost exultation by his countrymen, who regarded so successful a voyage as having raised to the highest pitch the naval glory of the realm. The queen, after some cautious delays, visited him on board his vessel, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

This brilliant career of Drake encouraged other commanders to tread in his footsteps. Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of extensive property in Suffolk, after having served his naval apprenticeship under Sir Richard Grenville, determined to sell his estate, and embark the produce in a voyage to the South Sea, and round the world. Having left Plymouth on the 21st July 1586, he reached, early next year, the western coast of South America, and, being restrained by no very nice scruples, made a number of valuable prizes. Stretching thence across the Pacific he touched at Guahan, one of the group to which the Spaniards give the appellation of Ladrões. He passed afterwards through the Philippines, observing with surprise their extent and fertility, and holding communication with the natives, who expressed a decided preference of the English to the Spaniards, by whom these islands had been occupied. Sailing next through the Moluccas, and along the coasts of Floris and Sumbawa, he opened a friendly correspondence with some of the princes of Java; and, following the course of Drake, reached England in September 1588, by the Cape of Good Hope.





Notwithstanding the admiration excited by so many successful voyages, they were on too large a scale to be considered as models for commercial enterprise. Yet, invention being now employed to discover some more suitable channel of intercourse, a body of adventurers resolved upon attempting one hitherto untried by Britons. They proposed to proceed up the Mediterranean,—land on the coast of Syria,—travel by way of Aleppo and Bagdad to the Persian Gulf,—and to sail thence by Ormuz, in order to reach the shores of Malabar. Mr Stevens, who had made a voyage in a Portuguese vessel to Goa, sent home a most favourable report of the fertility of the region in which that city is placed, the opportunities it afforded for trade, and the liberality with which the port was opened to vessels of every nation. John Newbery and Ralph Fitch, the leading parties in this undertaking, were furnished with two letters, the first to the Mogul emperor Akbar, under the title of “Zelabdin Echebar, king of Canabaya.” It solicited his kind offices to men who had come from a remote part of the world to trade in his dominions, promising reciprocal aid and kindness to his subjects. The other, to the King of China, was expressed in nearly the same terms. The travellers set out early in 1583.

Newbery's letters from Aleppo and Bagdad relate almost entirely to commercial subjects. In regard to the latter place, he complains that the sale of goods was very slow and difficult; though, had he been well provided with money, he might have obtained abundance of valuable spices at very reasonable rates. From Bagdad he proceeded to Bassora, and thence to Ormuz, where he was allowed at first to carry on business without molestation. In six days, however, a charge was raised against the adventurers by Michael Stropene, an Italian, jealous of rivals in a trade which he himself had found very lucrative; whereupon both Newbery and his companion Fitch were arrested and thrown into prison. The former writes in considerable dismay to his associates at Bassora, saying—“It may be that they will cut our

CHAP. V.

A. D. 1583.

Novel  
scheme of  
English ad-  
venturers.

Letters fur-  
nished to the  
leaders.

Newbery's  
letters.

Rival jea-  
lousy.





## CHAP. V.

A. D. 1583.

Imprisoned  
at Goa.

His release.

Threatened  
dangers and  
flight.

throats, or keep us long in prison,—God's will be done."

They were soon sent to Goa; but immediately upon their arrival, after a tedious voyage, they found themselves again in confinement. The principal charge related to Captain (Sir Francis) Drake, who was stated to have fired two shots at a Portuguese galleon near Malacca. Newbery professed total ignorance as to this transaction, which in fact could in no shape be brought home to him. He represented how unjust it was, that while French, Flemings, Germans, Turks, Persians, Moscovites,—all the nations of Europe and Asia,—were allowed freely to reside and traffic at Goa, Englishmen alone should be thus barbarously treated. He was, however, remanded to prison; but, after being kept in durance for about a month, was set at liberty, having been required to sign a bond, amounting to 2000 pardaos, not to quit the town without permission. At the time of writing he had no inclination to leave it, having taken a house in one of the princip' streets, and finding his mercantile transactions very advantageous. He met with much friendship from Stearns, who had formerly been a student at New College, Oxford, and had entered the service of the Archbishop of Goa; also from John Linscot or Linschoten, an intelligent Dutch navigator.

According to the accounts given afterwards by Fitch, these favourable appearances proved delusive. They had many of their articles purloined, were obliged to give large presents, and to spend much money in procuring sureties. Having, after a residence of five months, made an appeal to the governor, they received a very sharp answer; being told that they would be better sifted ere long, and that there was further matter against them. This reply gave occasion to a very serious alarm lest they should be made slaves, or, according to some hints that were dropped, be exposed to the *strapado*. They determined, while they yet enjoyed any measure of liberty, to effect their escape, and on the 5th April 1585 fled out of the town. Proceeding into the interior of India they passed through Belgaum, where there was a





great market for diamonds and other precious stones; and afterwards they arrived at the royal city of Bejapore. Here they saw all the pomp of Hindoo idolatry, the neighbouring woods being filled with numberless temples and idols. "Some be like a cow, some like a monkey, some like peacocks, and some like the devil."

Fitch, who is now the narrator, was struck with the majesty of the war-elephants, and the abundance of gold and silver. He proceeded to Golconda, which he describes as a fair and pleasant city, the houses well built of brick and timber, in a country abounding with delicious fruits, and having in its vicinity rich diamond-mines. He heard of Masulipatam as a great port enjoying a very extensive traffic. From Golconda he struck northward through the Deccan till he reached Burhampoor, the capital of Candeish.

He represents the country as surprisingly fertile and populous, though the houses were built only of earth and thatch; and in the rainy season, which now prevailed, the streets were rendered almost impassable by streams of water. He viewed with much surprise the matrimonial arrangements of the Hindoos, seeing boys of eight or ten married to girls of five or six; and these unseemly unions being celebrated with extraordinary pomp, the two parties riding through the streets "very trimly decked, with great piping and playing."

He passed next through Mandoo, the former capital of Malwa, which he describes as a very strong town built on a high rock, which it had cost Akbar twelve years to reduce. Thence he proceeded to Agra, a great and populous city, superior to London, well built of stone, and having fair and large streets. The emperor, however, then resided at Fatepoor, which, according to him, was still larger though less handsome than the other. Being a place of decidedly inferior importance, it must have derived this temporary greatness from being the residence of the court and camp of Akbar. The

whole way between these great cities resembled a market, "as full as though a man were still in a town." He was struck by seeing the grandees conveyed in little

CHAP. V.

A. D. 1585.

Hindoo Idols.

Fitch's account of Candeish.

Visits Mandoo the capital of Malwa.





CHAP. V.

A. D. 1585.

The Bramins

Indian devotees.

William Leader's experience at Agra.

Allahabad.

carts, carved and gilded, covered with silk or very fine cloth, and drawn by two little bulls of the size of dogs. On the banks of the Jumna he had an opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies and ablutions performed by the Bramins. "They come to the water, and have a string about their necks made with great ceremonies, and lave up water with both their hands. Though it be never so cold, they will wash themselves in cold water. They pray in the water naked, and dress their meat and eat it naked, and for their penance they lie flat upon the earth, and rise up and turn themselves about thirty or forty times, and use to heave up their hands to the sun, and to kiss the earth with their arms and legs stretched along out. Their wives do come by ten, twenty, and thirty together, to the water-side singing, and there do wash themselves, and then use their ceremonies." He saw also a number of naked beggars, of whom great account was made. One in particular appeared "a monster among the rest;"—his beard of enormous growth, his hair hanging more than half down his body, his nails two inches long; "he would cut nothing from him, neither would he speak; he would not speak to the king." The Bramins are represented by Fitch, as also indeed by modern writers, to be "a crafty people, worse than the Jews."

On the departure of the fugitives from Agra, William Leader, the jeweller of the party, remained in the service of Akbar, who allowed him a house, a horse, five slaves, and a regular pension. There must, therefore, have been some communication held with that great monarch, of which it is to be regretted the narrator has omitted all the particulars.

From Agra the traveller went to Allahabad, which he calls Prage, a corruption of the name Prayaga, signifying the junction of rivers, and therefore specially applied to the union of the Ganges and Jumna. He descended the former of these streams to Benares, and viewed with wonder that grand seat of Hindoo commerce and superstition, and the numerous and splendid temples with





which it was filled. || He beheld the idolatries of this country on a still greater scale than before; almost every place was filled with idols of various shapes and sizes, but none worthy of admiration. "Many of them are black and have claws of brass with long nails, and some ride upon peacocks and other fowls which be evil favoured, with long hawk's bills, some with one thing and some with another, but none with a good face. They be black and evil favoured, their mouths monstrous, their ears gilded and full of jewels; their teeth and eyes of gold, silver, and glass." The observances in honour of these uncouth deities were also very various and fantastic,—particularly the modes of ablution in the Ganges. "They never pray but in the water, and they wash themselves over-head, and lave up water with both their hands. Some of them will make their ceremonies with fifteen or sixteen pots, little and great, and ring a little bell when they make their mixtures; and they say divers things over their pots many times, and when they have done they go to their gods, and strow their sacrifices, which they think are very holy." He was witness also to the burning of women on the death of their husbands, in failure of which "their heads be shaven, and never any account is made of them afterwards." When a person is sick, they are said to lay him all night before the idol, and if next morning there be no signs of recovery, "his friends will come and sit a little with him and cry, and afterwards will carry him to the water's side, and set him upon a little raft made of reeds, and so let him go down the river." A very odd picture is also drawn of some marriage ceremonies to which the traveller was witness. The two parties are represented going into the water along with a priest, a cow, and a calf; "and the man doth hold his hand by the old man's hand, and the wife's hand by her husband's, and all have the cow by the tail, and they pour water out of a brass pot upon the cow's tail, and then the old man doth tie him and her together by their clothes. Then they give somewhat to the poor, and to the Bramane or priest they give the

CHAP. V.

A. D. 1586.

Native idols

Burning of  
widowsMarriage  
ceremonies





## CHAP. V.

A.D. 1585.

Patna.

Native Devo.  
1668.

Buddhists.

cow and calf, and afterwards go to divers of their idols and offer money, and lie down flat upon the ground, and kiss it divers times, and then go their way."

From Benares he proceeded to Patna, once the capital of a kingdom, but at that time subject to Akbar; and though a large city, it contained only houses of earth and straw. The country was much infested by robbers, wandering like the Arabians from place to place; whence we may conclude, that the system of *decoit-gangs* was already in full force. The people were greatly imposed upon by idle persons assuming the appearance of sanctity. One of these sat asleep on horseback in the market-place, while the crowd came and reverentially touched his feet. "They thought him a great man, but sure he was a lazy lubber,—I left him there sleeping." Fitch went next to Tanda in Bengal, also belonging to Akbar, and thence made an excursion northward to Couche, which appears to be the country situated along the foot of the mountains of Bootan; being described as so moist, that every district could be easily inundated knee-deep, and rendered impassable. The people, who appear attached to the religion of Boodh, showed the usual fantastic reverence for animal life, keeping hospitals for lame or aged creatures, and giving food to ants. Four days' journey beyond was the country now called Bootan, said to be of great extent, and filled with mountains so lofty that they could be seen at the distance of six days' travel,—a report which was so far correct; but imagination only could have induced the inhabitants to assert that from the top of those eminences the sea could be descried. It was frequented by merchants from cold regions in the north, dressed in woollen cloths, hats, white hose, and boots (the Tartars); and by others without beards from a warm land in the east (Chinese). The former reported that their country contains a numerous breed of small but active horses, whose long tails, covered with a luxuriant growth of hair, formed an article of import into India, where they were greatly valued.





Fitch now went southward to Hoogley, "the chief keep of the Portuguese," and then undertook a journey through Orissa, the borders of which he found almost a wilderness, with few villages, "grass longer than a man, and very many tygers." The haven of Angeli, which we know not how to identify, was found the seat of a very great trade, frequented by vessels from Sumatra, Malacca, and various quarters of India. Returning to the Ganges, he made an excursion also into the eastern district of Tippiara, whose inhabitants were engaged in almost continual warfare with the Mogen (Mugs), occupying the kingdom of Arracan. Again reaching the banks of the river, he notices Serampore, and several other towns situated on its lower branches. The people of this part of India, he observes, were in a state of regular rebellion against the Emperor Akbar, being favoured by the numerous islands and river-channels, and especially by the facility of retreat from one to another. He justly characterizes the cotton fabrics in this district as of superior quality to those made in any other part of the empire.

CHAP. V.

A. D. 1582.

Hoogley.

Serampore.

From Serampore our traveller obtained a passage in a vessel to Negrais in the kingdom of Pegu, and had an opportunity of visiting that capital as well as Malacca, then a great Portuguese emporium, where he learned some particulars respecting China and Japan. Returning to Bengal, he "shipped himself" for Cochin, and in his way touched at Ceylon, which he found "a brave island, very fruitful and fair." The Portuguese also held a fort at Columbo, which the king often attacked with a hundred thousand men, "but naked people all of them," though partially armed with muskets. Having doubled Cape Comorin, and observed the extensive pearl-fishery upon this coast, he passed by Coulan, and reached Cochin, which he found by no means a desirable residence; the water was bad, and victuals very scarce, the surrounding country producing neither corn nor rice; yet the want of a conveyance obliged him to remain there for eight months. The Zamorin of Calicut, he understoo

Negrais in  
the kingdom  
of Pegu.





CHAP. V.  
A. D. 1589.

Close of  
Fitch's ex-  
pedition.

Impractica-  
ble nature  
of the over-  
land traffic.

Jealousy of  
the Spaniards  
and Portu-  
guese.

First English  
ships pass  
the Cape.

continued still hostile to the Portuguese, and carried on a species of piratical war, sending out numerous proas with fifty or sixty men in each, which swept the whole coast, boarding and plundering every vessel which they encountered.

Leaving Cochin, Mr Fitch sailed successively to Goa and Chaul, whence he obtained a passage to Ormuz, after having achieved the most extensive journey that had yet been performed in India by any European.\*

Although this expedition was executed in a manner creditable to the adventurers, and much information collected respecting the trade and commodities of the country, still it was evident that commerce, carried on by a tract so circuitous, and exposed to so many perils, could neither be safe nor profitable. It was in fact one of the channels by which that traffic had been conducted by the Venetians, who were much better situated for it than the English, and who had yet been unable, ever since the discovery of the passage by the Cape, to sustain the rivalry of the Portuguese. The mercantile interest began now to contemplate the last-mentioned route, as alone affording the prospect of a secure and advantageous intercourse. It was guarded, however, with the most jealous care by the Spaniards and Portuguese; and the government of Elizabeth, though then at war with these nations, hesitated to sanction arrangements which would shut the door against accommodation. Mr Bruce found in the State-paper office a petition, presented in 1589 from sundry merchants, requesting to be allowed to send to India three ships and three pinnaces. The answer does not appear; but in 1591 three ships were actually sent out under Captains Raymond, Kendal, and Lancaster, who sailed from Plymouth on the 10th April. In August, when they reached the Cape,

\* An ingenious writer, *Maritime and Inland Discovery*, vol. iii. p. 191, expresses a doubt as to the authenticity of this statement. I cannot perceive on what his scepticism is founded. The voyage is inserted in the standard collection of Hakluyt, and the narrative appears to me to bear every mark of truth.





the crews had already suffered so much from sickness that it was found necessary to send Captain Kendal home with the invalids. The two others proceeded on their voyage; but near Cape Corrientes they were overtaken by a most tremendous tempest, in which the *Raymond*, the admiral's ship, was separated from its companion, and appears to have perished. Lancaster's vessel alone remained; but a few days after there occurred such a dreadful thunder-storm, that four men were killed on the spot, and all the others either struck blind, severely bruised, or stretched out as on the rack. Having in some degree recovered, they sailed onwards, and reached the island of Comoro, where they took in a supply of water. The natives at first gave them no annoyance; but, after confidence had been fully established, two parties of sixteen each, when busily employed on shore, were suddenly surrounded by a vast troop of these treacherous people; and Lancaster had the distress of seeing his men almost entirely cut in pieces, without the possibility of affording them any aid. Sailing thence with a heavy heart, he touched at Zanzibar, where he found good anchorage, and put his vessel into tolerable repair; but though not openly opposed by the Portuguese, he learned that they had formed a scheme to attack his boat. Adverse gales now carried him out of his course, till he approached the island of Socotora, when the wind becoming favourable he stood directly for Cape Comorin. He doubled it in May 1592, and having missed the Nicobar group, proceeded to Sumatra, and thence to the uninhabited islands of Pulo Penang, where he spent what he calls the winter, being the season distinguished by the heavy storms to which those seas are exposed in July and August. Sailing along the coast of Malacca he fell in with three vessels of 65 or 70 tons, one of which struck to his boat alone; and, as it was found to belong to a certain body of Jesuits, he felt no scruple in making it a prize. Determined to persevere in this practice, he stationed himself off the Straits of Malacca, through which the Portuguese vessels were obliged to

CHAP. V.

A. D. 1591.

Disasters of  
the voyagersTreachery of  
the natives of  
Comoro.Lawless  
mode of pro-  
ceeding.





CHAP. V. pass in their way to China and the Moluccas. He soon  
A. D. 1592. took one of 250 tons, from Negapatnam, laden with rice.  
A fine ship of 400 tons from St Thomas escaped; but a  
short time afterwards he fell in with a splendid galleon  
of 700 tons from Goa, which almost immediately sur-  
rendered. She was found richly laden with all the  
commodities fitted for the Indian market. The captain  
and crew contrived by a stratagem to effect their escape,  
when Lancaster, displeased with the disorderly conduct  
of his own men, took out the most valuable articles, and  
allowed her to drive to sea. He then sailed for the Bay  
of Junkseylon, where he obtained some pitch to refit  
his vessels, and from thence he made for the Point  
de Galle in Ceylon. There he took his station to wait  
for the Bengal and Pegu fleets, which were under the  
necessity of passing this way; but the seamen, satisfied  
with their previous success, and fatigued with so hard a  
voyage, insisted upon forthwith returning home. They  
reached the Cape in the beginning of 1593, and, after a  
tedious passage round Africa, were obliged by the scarcity  
of provisions, especially of bread, to make for Trinidad.  
They entered by mistake the Gulf of Paria; whence they  
found their way through the whole group of the West  
Indies, till they reached the Bermudas. In this quarter  
they were assailed by a violent tempest, and driven  
back. The ship was finally carried out to sea, leaving the  
captain and crew on a desolate island, where they must  
have perished but for some French vessels, which took  
them up and conveyed them to Dieppe. They arrived  
there on the 19th May 1594, after a voyage of three  
years and two months, being double the time usually  
spent by the Portuguese in this navigation.

Visits Cey-  
lon.

Return to the  
Cape.

Lose their  
ship.

New Eng-  
lish expedi-  
tion.

The ardour of the English seems to have been for some  
time chilled by the unfortunate issue of this expedition.  
On learning, however, that the Dutch, in 1595, had sent  
out four vessels, they were inspired with a sentiment of  
emulation; and an association, formed in 1599, subscrib-  
ed £30,000, to be employed in fitting out three ships  
for the Indian trade. The queen not only gave full





CHAP. V.

A. D. 1499.

sanction to the undertaking, but even sent out John Mil-  
denhall as ambassador to the Great Mogul, to solicit the  
necessary privileges. Of this mission some account will  
be given in treating of the reign of the celebrated Akbar,  
who at that time occupied the throne of Hindostan; but  
the envoy having died in Persia on his way home, his  
journey led to no practical result. Before, however, he  
could have returned, the adventurers had entered on their  
project. The first association merged, in 1600, into one  
on a greater scale, having at its head George, earl of Cum-  
berland, with 215 knights, aldermen, and merchants, who  
were constituted the "Governor and Company of Mer-  
chants trading to the East Indies." They were invested  
with the too ample privileges which it was then cus-  
tomary to bestow on mercantile corporations, being not  
only allowed to export bullion to the amount of £30,000,  
and English goods for the four first voyages without  
duty, but obtaining the right of exclusive trade in all  
the countries beyond the Cape. The charter was granted  
for fifteen years, but liable to be annulled at any time  
on two years' notice. They began on the footing of a  
joint-stock company; though, as the subscribers were  
slow in paying up their shares, a certain number of the  
more zealous took the concern altogether into their own  
hands, supplying the funds on condition of reaping the  
profits. They expended £75,373, of which £39,771 was  
invested in shipping, £28,742 in bullion, and £6860 in  
goods. It was the wish of the court that Sir Edward  
Michelborne should be nominated to a command; but  
the merchants expressed their resolution not to employ  
*gentlemen*, "but to sort their business with men of their  
own quality." They therefore appointed Lancaster,  
whose conduct in his former bold though unfortunate  
expedition was considered highly creditable to his spirit  
and talents.

Foundation  
of the East  
India Com-  
pany.Mercantile  
spirit.

On the 2d of April 1601, this navigator sailed, having  
the command of five ships, varying from 600 to 130 tons.  
He passed the Cape of Good Hope without encountering  
any unusual difficulty. The almost exclusive objects of

Lancaster  
passes the  
Cape.