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07-8.34

MENTEM ALIT ET EXCOLIT



K. K. HOFBIBLIOTHEK
ÖSTERR. NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK

73. Aa. 208

73. Ga. 208

A True
RELATION

of the
UNJUST, CRUEL
and **BARBAROUS**

PROCEEDINGS against
the **ENGLISH** at

A M B O Y N A

In the *East-Indies* by the Nether-
landish **G O V E R N O U R**
& **COUNCIL** there.

Also the Copie of a Pamphlet of the *Dutch*
in Defence of the *Action*.

With *Remarks* upon the whole matter.

Published by Authoritie.

L O N D O N,

Printed by WILL. BENTLEY,
for *Will. Hope*, at the *Anchor* under *S. Bar-*
tholomew Church near the *Royal Exchange*,
Anno Domini 1651.





To his
EXCELLENCIE
The
LORD GENERAL
CROMWEL.

My Lord,



Be here a piece
of Babarism,
which hath
lain so long
both as an in-
jurie, and a dishonour to our
Nation brought again to
light, by which, as we may
compare the difference of
these blessed times, from those
unhappie ones when this was
acted and passed by; so we must
needs remember to bless God
* 2 for

for that victorious hand of
yours, which hath in so great
a manner led us a good part
out of the Wilderness ; And
therefore I thought it but a
piece of publick gratitude ,
(besides private) to throw
it at your Excellencies feet ;
whose great soul, I presume,
will rather descend to look
into this business , wherein
your Countrey is so highly
concerned, that in respect a-
broad you have been a fierie
wall about her , so at home
you are become her great In-
telligence , and guid those
great motions of her peace
and securitie : Which great
work , as I hope God will
grant you to see finished , so
wish I you may live long to
enjoy the fruits and comfort
of it.



A N
ADVERTISEMENT
TO THE
READER.



IF we consider
how loud and
pressing the
crie of blood
is , or with
what high severity God
ever proceeds against it,
though his wrath for some
small time may seem to be
asleep , we have just cause
to fear, that there is a heavy
account must be given by
the *Dutch* for that execra-
ble Tyrannie of theirs exe-
cuted

07-8.34

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73.Aa.208



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To the Reader.

cuted upon the bodies of
several *English* at *Amboyna*.
To take away any mans
life without due course of
Justice, though it be with
the greatest civility and ea-
siness of death that could
be, is a crime which God
hath denounced murder, and
will visit accordingly; but
to heighten and multiply a
death with all the previous
Tortures that a passionate
Diabolical malice can in-
vent, cruelty inflict, or the
frame of mans body under-
go, is so far from being
manly or Christian, that it
is beyond savageness and
bestiality, and approaches
that accursed frame of spi-
rit that he hath plunged
himself into, who sits in the
seat of darkness.

For

To the Reader.

For my part as I delight not to be curious in these speculations, which acquaint the mind with extremities and Criticisms of sin, so it is a grief that the Theory of wickedness should be so much enlarged as it would be by the treatise which thou hast in thy hands. Which, as it hath bruitishly out-done all former records and examples of cruelty, so it may unluckily possibly serve for instruction to some future inventive and poisoned spirits. And indeed as I wish the occasion of publishing of it had never been, so do I wish justice once required and had, that the remembrance of it might have been buried. But the breach being so nationalio-

To the Reader.

tional, and to this day unsatisfied, and the blood there spilt no doubt crying loud, it had been injustice in us to have buried it in silence, and not displayed it to the sun. For as the beginning of those Torments were from a causeless and and slight suspicion of an improbable and ineffective plot, so by that means were we forced from our possessions in those parts, and the injury became complicated, both as against justice and interest.

True it is that the *East-India* Company made the most diligent addresses to King *James* for revenge that could be, but that blazing Star of Fortune, that was after removed by a stab,

To the Reader.

stab, prepossessed by a great sum of money, interposed between the judgement of that King, and over-ruled his affection, so that he, who was naturally un-active and drowsie enough, being lull'd by such a *privado*, fell asleep, and snorted out the rest of his idle reign in debauchery and silence. The *East-India* Company seeing themselves obstructed in the prosecution, thought fit to preserve the memorie of such a butchery, by getting the several Tortures done at large in Oyl, but the Table was scarce sooner hung up, but the Murderers began to fear it would bleed at the nose; so that *Buckingham* was appeased by another sacrifice, and the Picture com-

12 *To the Reader.*

commanded to be taken down.

In King *Charles*'s time the business was not stirred in; he had too great designs at home, than to preserve our Honour, or remedy our injuries abroad; but now since that yolk of Kingthip is taken off our necks, we think we should like men, whose shackles are taken off them while they are asleep, leap up nimbly, and make use of our Liberty. It were the most irrational thing in the World to think of forgiving of them, who, though they received assistance from us in their greatest affliction and lowest miserie, have refused not onely to assist us now, when their case is ours, but have been
more

To the Reader.

more than neutral against us, jealous, it should seem, that their way of Government, which they have so grown and thriven under, should have the same effects with us. But I hope God will give us hearts to make use of the advantages in our hands, and persist in doing wonderfull things for us. And as he hath brought us out of the desert in so high and fearfull a manner, so no doubt if we walk answerably, we shall see his countenance shine upon us, and improve this blessed peace at home, to make good our peace abroad, and so by his good assistance enjoy such earthly blessings, as may render us safe, if not terrible to the Nations round about us.

Grayes-Inne. Sept. 10. 1651.



To the
READER.

GEntle Reader, thou
mayest (perhaps) wonder why this Relation
of the business of Amboyna,
so many Moneths since taken
upon the Oaths and depositions
of our people that came
hence, and presented to his
Majesty, and the Lords of
his Privy Council, cometh
now at last to the Press, and
was not either sooner pu-
lished, or altogether sup-
pressed. The truth is; the En-
lish East-India Company
have ever been very tender
of the ancient amity and
A good

To the Reader.

good correspondence held between this Realm and the Neatherlands, and have been very loath, by divulging of the private injuries done them by the Neatherlands East-India Company, to give the least occasion of any distast or disaffection, which might happily grow between these two Nations, for the sake, and on the behalf of the two Companies respectively. For which cause, although the wrongs and injuries, or rather contumelies done unto the English by the Dutch in the Indies, have been as intolerable as manifold; as to say nothing of those great heaps of them buried in the Amnesty of the Treaty of the year 1619. and onely to point at the general heads of those
com-

To the Reader.

*committed since that Treaty,
and grossely contrarie to the
main intent, and express
words and disposition of the
same: first, in the point of
hostility; the invasion of the
Islands of Lantore and Po-
laroone; then and before in
the quiet possession of the
English, in the name of the
Crown of England; the ta-
king of the same Islands by
force; the razing and demo-
lishing of the English Forts;
the binding of the English
(that had not so much as re-
sisted them) to stakes with
ropes about their necks, throt-
tling them with the same,
and flourishing their naked
swords about them, as if they
wou'd presently have di-
spatched them; then taking
them so amazed and bound,*

A 2 and

To the Reader.

and tumbling them down the rocks ; and after , carrying their crushed and bruised carcasses away in irons : secondly, in the point of their usurped sovereignty ; their taking upon them the Consuance of controversies between the English and the Indians , for matters passed far without the compass of the Neatherlands pretended jurisdiction, and executing their sentences thereupon by plain force; seizing of the English Companies goods , fining , imprisoning , stocking , yea, whipping our people at a post in the open market-place , and after , washing them with vinegar and salt : thirdly, in point of partnership with the English , their putting great sums to the common account, which

To the Reader.

which were disbursed to the private and sole behoof of the Dutch; giving great presents for the glory of the Dutch, without consent of the English, and making war for the enlargement of their own dominions, yet bringing the charge to the common account; together with infinite other the like, the particulars whereof would arise to a just and ample volume: Nevertheless, the English Company from time to time contented themselves with informing his Majestie, and his Honorable Privy Councel with their grievances privately in writing, to the end, that necessary relief and reparation might be obtained, without publishing any thing to the World in print, thereby to

To the Reader.

stir up or breed ill blood between these Nations, which are otherwise tied in so many reciprocal obligations. And the same course they have hitherto holden also in this crying business of Amboyna; onely offering to the Manes of their murdered Countrey-men, Factors and Kinsfolks, their effectual endeavours in a dutifull course unto his Majesty for justice for their innocent blood, and reparation of the honour of the Nation herein interested. In which their wonted way they were so constant, that they could not be driven out of the same by the contrary course of some of the other party; that not glutted nor mollified with the blood of these innocents, nor

with

To the Reader.

with all the other sufferings of the English in the Indies, published a Pamphlet in print in the Neatherlands Language, not onely in justification of this barbarous butchery, but withall in disgrace of the English Nation, and the Laws and justice of the same. But behold now further, the same Pamphlet, being called in by an Edict of the States General, was yet afterwards translated and printed in English, and dispersed even in this Realm it self, to brave and disgrace us at our own dores, and in our own language. This, no English patience can bear: the bloud of the innocent cries out against it: the honour of the Nation suffereth in it. Wherefore the

To the Reader.

English East-India Company is hereby enforced, contrary to their desire and custom, to have recourse also to the Press, to maintain the reputation of those their Countrey-men and servants, that lost their lives unjustly; and to acquaint the World with the naked truth of this cause, hitherto masked, muffled, and obscured in a fog of factions, concealments, and crafty conveyances of the Author of this Pamphlet, and his clients, the Governour and Councel (so termed) of Amboyna.

() Having thus acquainted thee, gentle Reader, with the reasons why this business was no sooner published in print, it remaineth yet further, that thou be satisfied in an objection*

To the Reader.

jection or two more, which common reason will suggest unto thee. Without doubt, reading this discourse, and being a true Patriot of thine own Countrey, and a well-willer of the Neatherlands (as we presume and wish thee to be,) thou wilt wonder how it cometh to pass, that our Nation, which hath not been wont to receive such disgraces, should now be so weak and unprovided in the Indies, as to suffer such indignities, and to be so grossly overtopped, outraged and vilified there? as a so thou wilt no less admire, that any of the Netherlands Nation, which hath received such and so many favours and supports from hence, and held so good and antient corre-

To the Reader.

sspondence with our Nation, should now offer and commit such odious contumelies on English men, their partners, and allies by special Treaty. Herein thou wilt soon answer thy self, if thou but consider the different end and design of the English and Dutch Companies trading in the Indies, appearing by their several course and practise respectively. The English being subjects of a peaceable Prince, that hath enough of his own, and is therewith content, without affecting of new acquests; have aimed at nothing in their East-India Trade, but a Lawfull and competent gain by commerce and Traffick with the people of those parts. And although they have in some places

To the Reader.

places builded Forts , and
setled some strength , yet that
hath not been done by force
or violence , against the good
will of the Magistrates or
people of the Countrey ; but
with their desire , consent,
and good liking , for the se-
curity onely of the Trade, and
upon the said Magistrate and
peoples voluntary yielding
themselves under the obe-
dience and Sovereignty of
the Crown of England ; their
own ancient Laws , Customs
and Priviledges , neverthe-
less reserved. Further, the
same English had undoubted
confidence in the Neather-
lands Nation there also
trading, especially being late-
ly conjoynd with them in
the strict alliance and social
confederacy of the year 1619.
and.

To the Reader.

and therefore attended nothing from them , but the offices of good affection and partnership. Upon these grounds , the English Company made their equipages answerable onely to a course of commerce and peaceable traffick ; not expecting any hostility , neither from the Indians , nor especially from the Dutch. On the other side, the Neatherlanders, from the beginning of their trade in the Indies , not contented with the ordinary course of a fair and free commerce , invaded divers Islands , took some Forts, built others , and laboured nothing more , than the conquests of Countries, and the acquiring of new dominion. By which reason, as they were accordingly provided

To the Reader.

vided of shipping, souldiers, and ali warlike provision, as also of places of Rendezvous upon the shore, and thereby enabled to wrong the English as well as others: so the cost and charges of their shipping, Forts, and Souldiers, imployed upon these designs, rose to such an height, as was not to be maintained by the trade they had in those parts. Wherefore, for a supply, they were forced (as some of their own Countrey-men and Adventurers in their Company, affirm) to fish with dry nets, that is to say, to pick quarrels with the Indians, and so to take their ships, and make prize of their goods. Which yet not answering their charge and adventure, they proceeded also to quarrel with
the

To the Reader.

*the English , to debar them of trade to free places ; and for attempting such trade , to take their ships and goods. Touching which, when a good order was set by the said treaty of the year 1619. yet they saw , they could not make their reckoning to any purpose, unless they utterly drive the English out of the trade of those parts ; thereby to have the whole and sole traffick of the commodities of the Indies in these parts of Europe , in their own hands ; and so to make the price at their pleasure, sufficient to maintain and promote their conquests , and withall to yield them an ample benefit of their trading. Which unless they can, by this and the like worry-
ing*

• To the Reader.

ing and wearying of the English bring to pass, it is easie to be judged by those that understand any thing of the course and state of the trade of those parts, that albeit their returns hereafter should prove as great continually, as of late extraordinarily they have happened to be, yet the main stock and Estate of the Company must needs abate and decay by some hundred thousands of pounds yearly. Thus, Reader, thou seest what hath made us unprovided against such accidents, and what now enforceth the Dutch East-India Company, or their servants in the Indies, against the common Genius of their Nation, and the wonted firm affection between these two Na-

To the Reader. •

Nations mutually, thus to degenerate, and break out into such strange and incredible outrages against their nearest allies and best deserving friends. Farewell.



A



A TRUE
RELATION

Of the late Unjust, Cruel, and Bar-
barous proceedings against the Eng-
lish at *Amboyna* in the *East Indies*,
by the *Netherlanders* there,
upon a forged pretence
of a conspiracie of the
said English.



After the fruitless
issue of two se-
veral Treaties:
the first Anno
1613. in *Lon-*
don; and the o-
ther An. 1615.

at the *Hague* in *Holland*, touch-
ing the differences between the
English and *Dutch* in the *East-*
Indies, at last by a third Treaty,
Anno 1619. in *London*, there was
a full and solemn composition
made of all the said differences,
and a fair order set for the future
pro-

proceeding of the Supports of both Companies in the *Indies*, as well in the course of their Trade and commerce, as otherwise. Amongst sundry other points, it was agreed, That in regard of the great blood-shed and cost, pretended to be bestowed by the *Hollanders*, in winning of the Trade of the Isles of the *Molluccos*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, from the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, and in building of Forts for the continual securing of the same, the said *Hollanders* therefore should enjoy two third parts of that Trade, and the *English* the other third; and the charge of the Forts to be maintained by Taxes and Impositions, to be levied upon the Merchandize. Wherefore in consequence of this agreement, the *English East-India Company* planted certain Factories for their share of this Trade; some at the *Molluccos*, some at *Banda*, and some at *Amboyna*. Of the two former of these, there will be, at this present small occasion to speak further; but the last will prove the Scene of a sad Tragedy.

This

This *Amboyna* is an Island lying near *Seran*, of the circuit of forty leagues, and giveth name also to some other small Islands adjacent. It beareth Cloves; for gathering and buying in whereof the *English* Company for their part had planted five several Factories: the head and Rendezvous of all, at the Town of *Amboyna*; and therein first Master *George Muschamp*, and afterward Master *Gabriel Towerson*, their Agents with directions over the smaller Factories at *Hitto* and *Larica* upon the same Island, and at *Lobo* and *Cambello*, upon a point of their neighbouring Island of *Seran*.

Upon these Islands of *Amboyna*, and the point of *Seran*, the *Hollanders* have four Forts, the chief of all is at the said Town of *Amboyna*, and is very strong, having four Points or Bulwarks with their Curtains, and upon each of these Points six great pieces of Ordinance mounted, most of them of brass. The one side of this Castle is washed by the Sea, and the other is divided from the land

land with a Ditch of four or five fathom broad, very deep, and ever filled with the Sea. The garrison of this Castle consisteth of about 200 *Dutch* Souldiers, and a Company of free Burgers. Besides these, there is always a matter of three or four hundred *Mardikers* (for so they usually call the free Natives) in the Town, ready to serve the Castle at an hours warning. There lie also in the road (for the most part) diverse good Ships of the *Hollanders*, as well for the guard of the place by Sea, as for the occasions of Traffick: this being the chief Rendezvous, as well for the *Island of Banda*, as for the rest of *Ambosyna*. Here the *English* lived; not in the Castle, but under protection thereof, in a house of their own in the Town; holding themselves safe, as well in respect of the ancient bonds of amity between both Nations, as of the strict conjunction made by the late Treaty before mentioned.

They continued here some two years, conversing and trading together with the *Hollanders*, by
 vertue

vertue of the said Treaty. In
 which time there fell out sundry
 differences and debates between
 them: The *English* complaining
 that the *Hollanders* did not on-
 ly lavish away much money in
 building, and unnecessary ex-
 pences upon the Forts and other-
 wise, and bring large and unrea-
 sonable reckonings thereof to the
 common account; but also did,
 for their part, pay the Garrisons
 with victuals and cloath of *Coro-*
mondell, which they put off to the
 Souldiers at three or four times
 the value it cost them, yet
 would not allow of the *English*
 Companies part of the same
 charge, but onely in ready mony;
 thereby drawing from the *Eng-*
lish (which ought to pay but one
 third part) more than two thirds
 of the whole true charge. Here-
 upon, and upon the like occasi-
 ons, grew some discontents and
 disputes and the complaints were
 sent to *Jaccatra*, in the Island of
Java Major, to the Councel of
 defence of both Nations there re-
 siding: who also, not agreeing
 upon the points in difference,
 sent

sent the same hither over into *Europe*, to be decided by both Companies here; or, in default of their agreement, by the Kings Majesty, and the Lords the States General, according to an Article of the Treatie of the year 1619. on this behalf. In the mean time the discontent between the *English* and the *Dutch*, about these and other differences, continued, and dayly encreased, untill at last there was a sword found, to cut in sunder that knot at once, which the tedious disputes of *Ambonyna* and *Jaccatra* could not untie. And this was used in manner as followeth.

About the eleventh of *February* 1622. *Stilo veteri.* a *Japoner* Souldier of the *Dutch* in their Castle of *Ambonyna*, walking in the night upon the wall, came to the Sentinel (being a *Hollander*,) and there, amongst other talk, asked him some questions touching the strength of the Castle, and the people that were therein. It is here to be noted, that those *Japoners* (of whom there is not thirty in all the Island) did, for the

the most part, serve the Dutch as Souldiers, yet were not of their trusty bands always lodged in the Castle, but upon occasion called out of the Town to assist in the watch. This *Japoner* aforesaid, was for his said conference with the Sentinel apprehended upon suspicion of Treason, and put to the Torture. Thereby (as some of the *Dutch* affirmed) he was brought to confess himself, and sundry others of his Countrey-men there, to have contrived the taking of the Castle. Hereupon, other *Japoners* were examined and Tortured, as also a Portugal, the Guardian of the Slaves under the *Dutch*. During this examination, which continued three or four dayes; some of the *English-men* went to and from the Castle upon their business, saw the prisoners, heard of their tortures, & of the crime laid to their charge; But all this while suspected not, that this matter did any whit concern themselves, having never had any conversation with the *Japoners*, nor with the *Portugal* aforesaid.

At

*Abel
Price ex-
amined.*

At the same time there was one *Abel Price*, Chirurgion of the *English*, prisoner in the Castle, for offering in his drunkenness to set a *Dutch* mans house on fire. This fellow the *Dutch* took, and shewed him some of the *Japo-ners*, whom they had first most grievously tortured, and told him, they had confessed the *English* to have been of their confederacy for the taking of the Castle; and that if he would not confess the same, they would use him even as they had done these *Japo-ners*, and worse also. Having given him the Torture, they soon made him confess what ever they asked him. This was the fifteenth of February 1622. *Stilo veteri.* Forthwith, about nine of the clock the same morning, they sent for Captain *Towerson*, and the rest of the *English* that were in the Town to come to speak with the Governour in the Castle: They all went, save one that was left to keep the house. Being come to the Governour, he told Captain *Towerson*, that himself and others of his Nation were accused of a con-

conspiracie to surprise the Castle, and therefore, until further Trial, were to remain prisoners. Instantly also they attached him that was left at home in the house, took the Marchandize of the *English* Company there into their own custody by Inventorie, and seized all the Chests, Boxes, Books, Writings, and other things in the *English* house. Captain Tomerson was committed to his Chamber with a guard of Dutch Souldiers. Emmanuel Tomson was kept prisoner in the Castle; the rest, viz John Beaumont, Edward Collins, William Webber, Ephraim Ramsey, Timothy Johnson, John Fardo, and Robert Brown were sent aboard the *Hollanders* Ships then riding in Harbour, some to one Ship, and some to another, and all made fast in Irons. The same day also the Governour sent to the two other Factories in the same Island, to apprehend the rest of the *English* there. So that Samuel Colson, John Clark, George Sharrock, that were found in the Factory at Hitto, and Edward

B

Col-

Collins, *William Webber*, and *John Sadler* at *Larica*, were all brought prisoners to *Amboyna*, the sixteenth of *February*. Upon which day also *John Powl*, *John Wetberal*, and *Thomas Ladbroke*, were apprehended at *Cambello*, and *John Beomont*, *William Grigs*, and *Ephraim Ramsey*, at *Lobo*, and brought in irons to *Amboyna* the twentieth of the same moneth. In the mean time the Governour and Fiscal went to work with the prisoners that were already there : And first they sent for *John Beomont*, and *Timothy Johnson*, from aboard the *Unicorn* ; who being come into the Castle, *Beomont* was left with a guard in the Hall, and *Johnson* was taken into another room. Where, by and by, *Beomont* heard him crie out verry pitifully ; then to be quiet for a little while, and then loud again. After taste of the torture, *Abel Price* the Chirurgeon ; that first was examined and tortured (as is above remembred) was brought in to confront and accuse him : But *Johnson* not yet

confessing any thing , *Price* was
 quickly carried out, and *John-*
son brought again to the torture ;
 where *Beomont* heard him some-
 time crie aloud , then quiet a-
 gain ; then roar afresh. At last,
 after he had been about an hour
 in this second examination , he
 was brought forth wailing and
 lamenting , all wet , and cruel-
 ly burnt in divers parts of his
 body , and so laid aside in a by-
 place of the Hall , with a Soul-
 dier to watch him that he should
 speak with no body. Then was
Emanuel Tomson brought to exa-
 mination ; not in the room where
Johnson had been , but in an-
 other , something farther from
 the Hall. Yet *Beomont* being in
 the Hall , heard him roar most
 lamentably , and many times.
 At last , after an hour and an
 half spent in torturing him , he
 was carried away into another
 room another way, so that he came
 not by *Beomont* through the
 Hall. Next, was *Beomont* called
 in , and being demanded many
 things , all which he denied with
 deep Oaths and protestations ,

*Emanuel
 Tomson
 examined.*

was made fast to be Tortured , a cloath tied about his neck , and two men ready with their Jarres of water to be poured on his head. But yet for this time the Governour bad loose him , he would spare him a day or two, because he was an old man. This was all Saturdays work , the fifteenth of *February* aforesaid.

Upon Sunday the sixteenth of *February*, *William Webber*, *Edward Collins*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, and *Robert Brown* , were fetcht from aboard the *Rotterdam* , to be examined. At the same time came *Samuel Colson*, *William Grigs*, and *John Clark* , *George Sbarrock*, and *Iohn Sadler* , from *Hitto* and *Larica* , and were immediately , upon their arrival , brought into the Castle Hall.

Robert
Brown
examined.

Robert Brown Tailor was first called in ; and being tormented with water, confessed all in order as the Fiscal asked him.

Edward
Collins
examined.

Then was *Edward Collins* called in, and told , that those that were formerly examined , had confest him as accessarie to the plot of taking the Castle. Which,
when

when he denied with great Oaths and execrations, they made his hands and feet fast to the Rack, bound a cloath about his throat, ready to be put to the torture of water. Thus prepared, he prayed to be respited, and he would confess all. Being let down, he again vowed and protested his innocencie; yet said, that because he knew that they would by torture make him confess any thing, though never so false, they should do him a great favour, to tell him what they would have him say, and he would speak it, to avoid the torture. The Fiscal hereupon said; What, do you mock us? and bad, Up with him again; and so gave him the torment of water: which he not able long to endure, prayed to be let down again to his Confession. Then he devised a little with himself, and told them, That about two moneths and a half before, himself, Tomson, Johnson, Brown, and Fardo, had plotted, with the help of the Japoners, to surprize the Castle. Here he was interrupted by the Fiscal, and asked whether

Captain *Towerson* were not of that conspiracie. He answered, No. You lie, said the Fiscal; did not he call you all to him, and tell you, that those daily abuses of the *Dutch* had caused him to think of a Plot, and that he wanted nothing but your consent and secrecie? Then said a Dutch Merchant, one *John Joest* that stood by, Did not you all swear upon a Bible to be secret to him? *Collins* answered with great Oaths, that he knew nothing of any such matter. Then they bad make him fast again: whereupon he then said, All was true that they had spoken. Then the Fiscal asked him, whether the English in the rest of the Factories, were not consenting to this Plot. He answered, No. The Fiscal then asked him, whether the President of the English at *Jaccatra*, or Master *Welden* Agent in *Banda*, were not Plotters or privy to this business. Again he answered, No. Then the Fiscal asked him, by what means the *Japo-ners* should have executed their pur-

purpose. Whereat, when *Collins* stood staggering and devising of some probable fiction, the Fiscal help him, and said, Should not two *Japoners* have gone to each point of the Castle, and two to the Governours Chamber door; and when the hurly-burly had been without, and the Governour coming to see what was the matter, the *Japoners* to have killed him? Here one that stood by, said to the Fiscal, Do not tell him what he should say, but let him speak of himself. Whereupon the Fiscal, without attending the answer to his former question, asked what the *Japoners* should have had for their reward. *Collins* answered, 1000 Ryals apiece. Lastly, he asked him, when this plot should have been effected. Whereunto, although he answered him nothing (not knowing what to devise upon the sudden) yet he was dismissed, and very glad to come clear of the Torture, though with certain belief that he should die for this his confession.

Samuel
Colson

examined.

Next was *Samuel Colson* brought in, being newly arrived from *Hitto*, as is before touched, and was the same day brought to the Torture, who, for fear of the pain wherewith he saw *Collins* come out, in such a case, that his eyes were almost blown out of his head with the Torment of water; chose rather to confess all they asked him: and so was quickly dismissed, coming out weeping, lamenting, and protesting his innocencie.

John
Clark

examined.

Then was *John Clark*, that came with *Colson* from *Hitto*, fetcht in, and a little after was heard (by the rest that were without in the Hall) to crie out amain, They Tortured him with water and with fire, by the space of two hours. The manner of his Torture (as also of *Johnsons* and *Tomsons*) was as followeth: First they hoisted him up by the hands with a cord on a large-dore, where they made him fast upon two staples of Iron, fixt on both sides at the top of the dore posts, haling his hands one from the other as wide as they could stretch. Being thus made

made fast, his feet hung some two foot from the ground; which also they stretcht asunder as far as they would reach, and so made them fast beneath unto the dore-trees on each side. Then they bound a cloth about his neck and face so close, that little or no water could go by. That done, they poured the water softly upon his head untill the cloath was full up to the mouth and nostrils, and somewhat higher; so that he could not draw breath, but he must withall suck in the water: which being still continued to be poured in softly, forced all his inward parts, came out of his nose, ears, and eyes, and often, as it were stifling and choaking him, at length took away his breath, & brought him to a swoon or fainting. Then they took him quickly down, & made him vomit up the water. Being a little recovered, they triced him up again, & poured in the water as before, & soon taking him down as he seemed to be stifled. In this manner they handled him three or four several times with water, till his body

dy was swoln twice or thrice as big as before, his cheeks like great bladders, and his eyes staring and strutting out beyond his forehead : yet all this he bare , without confessing any thing ; inso-much as the Fiscal and tormentors reviled him , saying, that he was a Diuel , and no man , or surely was a Witch , at least had some charm about him , or was enchanted , that he could bear so much. Wherefore they cut off his hair very short , as supposing he had some witchcraft hidden therein. Afterwards they hoised him up again as before , and then burnt him with lighted candles in the bottom of his feet , untill the fat dropt out the candles ; yet then applied they fresh lights unto him. They burnt him also under the elbows , and in the palms of the hands ; likewise under the arm-pits, untill his inwards might evidently be seen. At last , when they saw he could of himself make no handsome confession, then they led him along with questions of particular circumstances , by themselves framed.

Being.

Being thus wearied and overcome by the torment, he answered, yea, to whatsoever they asked: whereby they drew from him a body of a confession to this effect; to wit, That Captain *Townerson* had upon New-years day last before, sworn all the *English* at *Amboyna* to be secret and assistant to a plot that he had projected, with the help of the *Japoners*, to surprise the Castle, and to put the Governour and the rest of the *Dutch* to death.

Having thus martyred this poor man, they sent him out by four Blacks: who carried him between them to a dungeon, where he lay five or six dayes, without any Chirurgion to dress him, untill (his flesh being putrified) great Maggots dropt and crept frō him in a most loathsome and noisome manner. Thus they finished their Sabbath dayes work; & it growing now dark, sent the rest of the *English* (that came that day from *Hitto*, & till the attend- ed in the Hall) first to the Smith's Shop, where they were loaden with Irons, and then to the same loath-

loathsome dungeon, where *Clark* and the rest were, accompanied with the poor *Iaponers*, lying in the putrefaction of their tortures.

The next morning being Monday the seventeenth of February, old stile, *William Griggs* and *Iohn Fardo*, with certain *Iaponers*, were brought into the place of examination.

William Griggs
examined

Iohn Fardo ex-
amined.

The *Iaponers* were first cruelly tortured, to accuse *Griggs*, which at last they did : and *Griggs*, to avoid the like torture, confessed all that the Fiscal demanded. By and by the like, also was done by *Iohn Fardo*, and other *Iaponers* : but *Fardo* himself endured the torture of water, and at last confessed whatsoever the Fiscal asked him ; and so was sent back to prison.

Iohn Beomont ex-
amined.

The same day also *Iohn Beomont* was brought the second time to the Fiscals chamber ; where one Captain *Newport* a Dutch mans son (born in England) was used as an Interpreter. *William Griggs* was also brought in to accuse him ; who said, that when the consultation for taking of the Castle.

Castle, was held, then he (the said *Beomont*) was present. *Beomont* denied it with great earnestness and deep Oaths. At last being triced up, and drenched with water till his inwards were ready to crack, he answered affirmatively to all the Fiscals interrogatories : yet as soon as he was let down, he clearly demonstrated to Captain *Newport*, and *Johnson* a Dutch Merchant, then also present, that these things could not be so. Nevertheless he was forced to put his hand to his confession, or else he must to the torture again, which to avoid, he subscribed ; and so had a great iron bolt and two shackles riveted to his legs, and then was carried back to prison.

After this, *George Sharrock*, Assistant at *Hitto*, was called in question ; who, seeing how grievously others were martyred, made his earnest prayer to God (as since upon his Oath he hath acknowledged) that he would suffer him to make some such probable lies against himself, as the Dutch might believe, and so he might

George Sharrock examined

might escape the torment. Being brought to the Rack, the water provided, and the candles lighted, he was by the Governor and Fiscal examined, and charged with the conspiracie. He fell upon his knees, and protested his innocencie. Then they commanded him to the Rack, and told him; Unless he would confess, he should be torment-ed with fire and water to death, and then should be drawn by the hee's to the gallows, and there hanged up. He still persisting in this his innocencie, the Fiscal bad him be hoisted up. Then he craved respite awhile, and told them, that he was at *Hitto*, and not in *Amboyna*, upon New-years day, when the consultation was pretended; neither had been there since *November* before, as was well known to sundry of the *Hollanders* themselves that resided there also with him. Hereupon, they commanded him again to the Rack: but he, craving respite as before, now told them, that he had many times heard *John Clark* (who was

was with him at *Hitto*) say, That the *Dutch* had done them many unsufferable wrongs, and that he would be revenged of them : to which end, he had once broken with Captain *Towerson* of a brave Plot. At which word the Fiscal and the rest were attentive, encouraging him to proceed. So he went on, saying, that *John Clark* had intreated Captain *Towerson*, that he might go to *Macassar*, there to consult and advise with the Spaniards to come with Gallies, and rob the small Factories of *Amboyna* and *Seran*, when no ships were there. Here they asked him, what Captain *Towerson* said to this. He answered, that Captain *Towerson* was very much offended with *Clark* for the motion; and from thenceforth could never abide him. Hereupon the Fiscal called him Rogue, and said he prated all from the matter, & should go to the torture. He craved favour again, and began another tale; to wit, that upon Twelf-day then last past, *John Clark* told him at *Hitto*, that there was a practise to

to take the Castle of *Amboyna* ; and asked him, whether he would consent thereunto. Whereupon he demanded of *Clark* , whether Captain *Towerson* knew of any such matter. Which, *Clark* affirming; then he (the said *Sbarrock*) said, that he would do as the rest did. Then the Fiscal asked him, what time the consultation was held. He answered, In *November* last. The Fiscal said , That could not be : for, the consultation was upon *New-yerrs* day. The Prisoner said as before in the beginning, that he had not been in *Amboyna* since the first of *December*, till now that he was brought thither. Why then, quoth the Fiscal, have you belied your self ? whereto the Prisoner resolutely answered, that all that he had spoken touching any treason, was false and feigned, onely to avoid torment. Then went the Fiscal out into another room to the Governour, and anon returned, and sent *Sbarrock* unto the Prison again. The next day he was called again , and a writing presented him ; wherein was framed

framed a formal confession of his last conference with *Clark* at *Hitto*, touching the plot to take the Castle of *Amboyna*: which being read over to him, the Fiscal asked him, whether it were true, or no. He answered, No, Why then, said the Fiscal, did you confess it? He answered, For fear of Torment. The Fiscal and the rest in a great rage told him he lied; his mouth had spoken it, and it was true, and therefore he should subscribe it. Which as soon as he had done, he fell presently into a great passion, charging them bitterly to be guiltie of the innocent blood of himself and the rest, which they should look to answer for at the day of Judgement: withall he grappled with the Fiscal, and would have stopped him from carrying in the confession to the Governour, with whom he also craved to speak; but was instantly laid hold on; and carried away to prison.

William Webber, being next examined, was told by the Fiscal, that *John Clark* had confessed him

William Webber examined.

him to have been at *Amboyna* on New-years day , and sworn to Captain *Towerson's* plot, &c. All which he denied , alledging , he was that day at *Larica* : yet being brought to the torture , he then confessed, he had been at the consultation at *Amboyna* upon New-years day , with all the rest of the circumstances in order as he was asked. He also further told them, he had received a letter from *John Clark* ; after which was a Postscript , excusing his brief writing at that time , for that there was great business in hand. But one *Renier* a Dutch Merchant , then standing by, told the Governour, that upon New-years day , the time of this pretended consultation, *Webber* and he were merry at *Larica*. So the Governour left him, and went out. But the Fiscal held on upon the other point, touching the Postscript of *Clark's* Letter , urging him to shew the same. Which when he could not do , though often terrified with the torture, he gave him respite ; promising to save his life , if he would produce that Letter.

Then

Then was Captain *Towerson* Gabriel Tower-son examined. brought to the examination, and shewed what others had confessed of him. He deeply protesting his innocencie, *Samuel Colson* was brought to confront him: who being told, that unless he would now make good his former confession against Captain *Towerson*, he should to the torture, coldly re-affirmed the same, and so was sent away. They also brought *William Grigs* & *John Fardo* to justify their former confessions to his face. Captain *Towerson* seriously charged them, that as they would answer it at the dreadfull day of Judgement, they should speak nothing but the truth. Both of them instantly fel down upon their knees before him; praying him for Gods sake to forgive them, & saying further openly before them all, that whatsoever they had formerly confessed, was most false, and spoken onely to avoid torment. With that the Fiscal & the rest offered them again to the torture: which they would not endure, but then affirmed their former confessions to be true. When

When *Colson* (who had accused Captain *Towerson* before) was required to set his hand to his confession, he asked the Fiscal, upon whose head he thought the sin would lie; whether upon his that was constrained to confess what was false, or upon the constrainers. The Fiscal, after a little pause upon this question, went in to the Governour then in another room; but anon returning, told *Colson* he must subscribe it: which he did; yet withall made this protestation: Well, quoth he, you make me to accuse my self and others of that which is as false, as God is true: for, God is my witness, I am as innocent as the child new born.

Thus have they examined all that belong to the *English* Company in the several Factories of the Island of *Amboyna*.

John
Wetheral
examined.

The one and twentieth of February, they examined *John Wetheral*, Factor at *Cambello* in the Island of *Seran*. He confessed, he was at *Amboyna* upon New-years day: but for the consultation, whereof he was demanded, he

he said he knew of no other but touching certain cloath of the *English* Company, that lay in the Factories rotting and worm-eaten, which they advised together how to put off to the best avail of their Imployers. The Governour said, they questioned him not about cloath, but of treason: whereof when he had protested his innocencie, he was for that time dismissed. But the next day he was sent for again, and Captain *Towerson* brought to confront and accuse him, having before (it seems) confessed somewhat against him. But Mr. *Towerson* spake now these words onely: Oh, M. *Wetheral*, M. *Wetheral*, speak the truth, and nothing but the truth, as God shall put into your heart. So Captain *Towerson* was put out again, and *Wetheral* brought to the torture of water with great threats; if water would not make him confess, fire should. He prayed them to tell him what he should say, or to write down what they would, he would subscribe it. They said, he needed no Tutor; they

they would make him confess of himself. But when they had triced him up four several times, and saw he knew not what to say, then they read him other mens confessions, & asked him from point to point, as they had done others: and he still answered, Yea, to all.

John
Powl exam-
ined.

Next was called in *John Powl*, *Wetherals* assistant at *Cambello*: but he, proving that he was not at *Amboyna* since November (save now when he was brought thither prisoner) & being spoken for by one *Iohn Iooft*, who had long been well acquainted with him, was dismissed without torture.

Thomas
Ladbrook
examined.

Then was *Thomas Ladbrook*, servant to *Wetheral* & *Powl* at *Cambello*, brought to be examined: but proving that he was at *Cambello* at the time of the pretended consultation, and serving in such quality, as that he was never acquainted with any of the Letters from the Agent of *Amboyna*, he was easily and quickly dismissed.

Ephraim
Ramsey
examined.

Ephraim Ramsey was also examined upon the whole pretended conspiracie, and particularly questioned concerning Captain *Vel-*

den

den the *English* Agent in *Banda*, but denying all, and proving that he was not at *Amboyna* at New-years tide, being also spoken for by *Iohn Iøst*; was dismissed, after he had hanged in the Rack a good while, with irons upon his legs, and the cloath about his mouth.

Lastly, *Iohn Sadler*, servant to *William Grigs* at *Larica*, was examined; and being found to have been absent from *Amboyna* at New-years tide, when *Grigs* and others were there, was dismissed.

John Sadler examined.

Thus have we all their examinations, tortures, and confessions, being the work of 8. days, from the 15. to the 23. of *February*. After which, was two dayes respite before the sentence. *John Powl*, being himself acquitted as before said, went to the prison to visit *John Fardo*, one of those that had accused *Captain Tower-son*. To him *Fardo* religiously protested his innocencie; but especially his sorrow for accusing *Master Tower-son*: for, said he, the fear of death doth nothing dismay me; for, God (I trust) will be mercifull to my soul,

ac-

according to the innocencie of my cause. The onely matter that troubleth me, is, that through fear of Torment I have accused that honest and godly man Captain *Towerson*, who (I think in my conscience) was so upright and honest towards all men, that he harboured no ill will to any, much less would attempt any such business as he is accused of. He further said, he would before his death receive the Sacrament, in acknowledgement that he had accused Captain *Towerson* falsely and wrongfully, onely through fear of Torment.

The five and twentieth of *February*, old stile, all the prisoners, as well the *English*, as the *Portugal* and the *Iaponers*, were brought into the great Hall of the Castle, and there were solemnly condemned, except *Iohn Powel*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, *Iohn Sadler*, and *Thomas Ladbroke*, formerly acquitted, as aforesaid.

Captain *Towerson* having been (during all his imprisonment) kept apart from the rest, so that none of them could come to
speak

speak with him ; writ much in
 his Chamber (as some of the
 Dutch report,) but all was sup-
 pressed, save onely a Bill of debt,
 which one *Tk. Iohnson*, a free
 Burgher got of him by favour of
 his keepers for acknowledgement,
 that the English Company owed
 him a certain sum of mony. In
 the end of this Bill he writ these
 words: *Firmed by the Firm of me*
Gabriel Towerfon now appointed
to die guiltles of any thing that can
be justly laid to my charge. God
forgive them their guilt ; and re-
ceive me to his mercie. Amen. This
 Bill being brought to *M. Welden*
 the English Agent at Banda, he
 paid the money, and received in
 the acknowledgement.

William Griggs (who had be-
 fore accused Captain *Towerfon*)
 writ these words following in
 his Table-book: *We, whose names*
are here specified ; John Beemont,
Merchant of Loho, William
Griggs Merchant of Larica, Abel
Price, Chirurgian of Amboyna.
Robert Brown, Tailor, which do
here lie Prisoners in the Ship
Rotterdam, being apprehended
 C for

for conspiracie , for blowing up the Castle of Amboyna : we being judged to death this fiftb of March. Anno 1622. which we throug torment were constrained to speak, that which we never meant, nor once imagined ; the which we take upon our deaths and salvation : they tortured us with that extream torment of fire and water , that flesh and bloud could not endure: and this we take upon our deaths, that they have put us to death guiltless of our accusation. So therefore we desire, that they that shall understand this ; that our Imployers may understand these wrongs, and that your selves would have a care to look to your selves : for their intent was to have brought you in also; they askt cöcerning you; which if they had tortured us, we must have confessed you also. And so farewell; written in the dark.

This Table-book was afterwards delivered to M. Welden afore-named by one that served the Dutch

Samuel Colson also, another that accused Captain Towerson, writ as followeth in the waste leaves of a book, wherein were bound together

ther the Common-Prayers, the Psalms, and the Catechism.

In one page thus ;

March 5. *Stilo novo*, being Sunday, aboard the *Rotterdam*, lying in Irons :

U*nderstand that I Samuel Colson, late Factor of Hitto, was apprehended for suspicion of conspiracie ; and for any thing I know, must die for it : Wherefore, having no better means to make my innocencie known, have writ this in this book, hoping some good Englishmen will see it. I do here upon my salvation, as I hope by his death and passion to have redemption for my sins, that I am clear of all such conspiracie ; neither do I know any English man guilty thereof ; nor other creature in the World. As this is true : God blest me.*

Sam. Colson.

On the other side, upon the first page of the Chatechism, is thus written :

I*n another leaf you shall understand more, which I have written in this book.*

Sam. Colson.

C 2

In

In the beginning of the Psalms and in the leaf so referred unto, is thus written, viz.

THe Iapons were taken with some villany, and brought to examination: being most tyrannously tortured, were asked if the English had any hand in their Plot. Which torture made them say, Yea. Then was Master Tomson, M. Johnson, M. Collins, John Clark brought to examination, and were burned under the arms, arm-pits, the hands, and soles of the feet, with another most miserable torment to drink water; some of them almost tortured to death, and were forced to confess that which they never knew, by reason of the torment which flesh and blood is not able to endure. Then were the rest of the English men called one by one (amongst which I was one) being wished to confess, or else I must go to torment; withall caused M. Johnson, who was before tormented, to witness against me, or else he should be tormented again; which rather than he would endure, he said, What they would have, he would

would speak. Then must I confess that I never knew, or else to go to torment; which rather than I would suffer, I did confess that, which (as I shall be saved before God Almighty) is not true, being forced for fear of torment. Then did they make us witnesse against Captain Towerison, and at last made Captain Towerison confess all, being for fear of most cruel torment: for which we must all die. As I mean and hope to have pardon for my sins, I know no more than the child unborn of this business. Written with my own hand the first of March, Stilo novo.

Sam. Colson.

Yet in another page were these words:

I Was born in New-Castle upon Tyne, where I desire this book may come, that my friends may know of my innocencie.

Sam. Colson.

This book he delivered to one that served the *Hollanders*, who sowed it up in his bed, and afterward, at his opportunity delivered it to M. *Velden* before named

All these said writings are yet extant under the hands of the several parties, well known to their friends here in *England*.

The six and twentieth of February, *Stilo veteri*, the Prisoners were all brought into the great Hall of the Castle (except Captain *Towerson* & *Emanuel Tomson*) to be prepared for death by the ministers. The *Japoneers* now all in general, as some of them had done before in particular, cryed out unto the English, saying; Oh you English men, where did we ever in our lives eat with you, talk with you, or (to our remembrance) see you? The English answered, Why then have you accused us? The poor men, perceiving they were made believe each had accused others, before they had so done indeed; shewed them their tortured bodies, and said, If a stone were thus burnt, would it not change his nature? how much more we that are flesh and bloud?

Whilst they were all in the Hall, Cap. *Towerson* was brought up into the place of examination and two great Jarres of water carried after

after him. What he there did or suffered was unknown to the English without : but it seemeth they made him then to underwrite his confession. After supper *John Powl*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, *Th. Ladbroke*, and *Iohn Sadler*, who were found not guilty, as aforesaid, were taken from the rest, and put into another room. By and by also were *Samuel Colson*, and *Edward Collins* brought from the rest; into the room where *Emanuel Tomson* lay: The Fiscal told them, it was the Governours mercie, to save one of them three: and it being indifferent to him, which of them were the man, it was his pleasure they should draw lots for it, which they did, and the free lot fell to *Edward Collins*; who then was carried away to the Chamber, where *John Powl* and the rest that were quit, lodged, and *Samuel Colson* back into the Hall. Anon also *John Beomont* was brought out of the Hall into the Chamber, where *John Powl*, and the rest of the acquitted persons were, and was told, that he was beholding to

Peter Iohnson the Dutch Merchant of *Lobo*, and to the Secretary; for they two had begged his life.

So then there remained in the Hall ten of the English; for Captain *Towerson* & *Emmanuel Tomson* (as is said before) were kept in several rooms apart from the rest. To these that remained in the Hall, came the Dutch Ministers, who telling them how short a time they had to live, admonished and exhorted them to make their true confessions; for it was a dangerous and desperate thing, to dissemble at such a time. The English still professed their

innocencie, and prayed the Ministers that they might all receive the Sacraments, as a seal of the forgiveness of their sins; and withall, thereby to confirm their last profession of their innocence. But this would by no means be granted. Whereupon *Samuel Colson* said thus unto the Ministers; You manifest unto us the danger of dissimulation in this case. But tell us, if we suffer guiltless, being otherwise also true

believers in Christ Jesus, What shall be our reward? The Preacher answered, By how much the clearer you are, so much the more glorious shall be your resurrection. With that word, *Colson* started up, imbraced the Preacher, & gave him his purse, with such money as he had in it, saying; *Domine, God bless you: tell the Governor, I freely forgive him; and I intreat you, to exhort him to repent him of his bloody tragedy, wrought upon us poor innocent souls.* Here all the rest of the English signified their consent to this Speech. Then spake *John Fardo* to the rest, in presence of the Ministers, as followeth: My Countrey-men, and Brethren, all that are here with me condemned to die, I charge you all, as you will answer it at Gods judgement seat, if any of you be guilty of this matter, whereof we are condemned, discharge your consciences, and confess the truth for satisfaction of the World. Hereupon *Samuel Colson* spake with a loud voice, saying, According to my innocencie in this

treason, so Lord pardon all the rest of my sins: and if I be guilty thereof more or less, let me never be partaker of thy heavenly joyes. At which words every one of the rest cried out, Amen for me, Amen for me; good Lord. This done, each of them knowing whom he had accused, went one to another begging forgiveness for their false accusation, being wrung from them by the pains or fear of torture. And they all freely forgave one another: for none had been so falsely accused, but he himself had accused another as falsely. In particular, *George Sbarrock* (who survived to relate this nights passage) kneeled down to *Iohn Clark*, whom he had accused of the tale at *Hitto* above mentioned, and craved forgiveness at his hands. *Clark* freely forgave him, saying; how should I look to be forgiven of God, if I should not forgive you, having my self so falsely accused *Captain Towerson*, and others?

After this, they spent the rest of the dolefull night in Prayer, singing of Psalms, and comfort-
ing

ing one another; though the Dutch that guarded them, offered them wine, bidding them drink *Lustick*, and drive away the sorrow; according to the custom of their own Nation in the like case, but contrarie to the nature of the English.

Upon the morrow morning, being the execution day, the 27. of February, *Stilo veteri*, *John Powl* being freed (as is above recited) came into the room where the condemned persons were, and found them at Prayer. They all requested him to relate unto their friends in England, the innocencie of their cause; taking it upon their deaths, that what they had confessed against themselves & others touching this crime, was all false, & forced by fear of torture.

The same morning *William Webber* was called again into the Fiscals room, and there pressed to produce the letter, which he had before confessed to have received from *John Clark*, in the *Postscript* whereof some great business was intimated. They promised him his life, if he would deliver.

deliver or produce them that letter : which although he did not, nor indeed could, yet at last they pardoned him, and sent him to the rest that were saved, and *Sbarrock* with him.

That morning *Emanuel Tomson* understanding that *John Beomont* was pardoned, made means to have him come and speak with him; which, with much ado, he obtained. *Beomont* found him sitting in a Chamber, all alone in a most miserable fashion; the wounds of his torture bound up, but the matter & gore-bloud issuing through the Rollers. He took *M. Beomont* by the hand, and prayed him, when he came into England, to do his duty to the Honourable Company, his Masters, to *M. Robinson*, and to his brother *Billingsley*, and to certify them of his innocencie, which (said he) you your self know well enough.

All things being prepared for the execution, the condemned were brought forth of the Hall along by the Chamber where the quit and pardoned were; who stood

flood in the dore, to give and take the farewell of their Country-men now going to execution. Staying a little for this purpose, they prayed and charged those, that were saved, to bear witness to their friends in England of their innocencie, and that they died not Traitors, but so many Innocents, meerly murdered by the Hollanders, whom they prayed God to forgive their blood-thirstiness, and to have mercie upon their own souls.

Being brought into the Yard, their sentence was there read unto them from a Gallery, and then they were thence carried unto the place of execution, together with nine *Japons* and a *Portugal*: not the ordinarie and short way, but round about in a long procession, through the Town; the way guarded with five Companies of Souldiers, Dutch and *Amboyuers*, and thronged with the Natives of the Island, that (upon the summons given the day before by the sound of the Drum) flocked together to behold this triumph of the Dutch
over

over the English. *Samuel Colson* had conceived a Prayer in writing, in the end whereof he protested his innocencie: which Prayer he read to his fellows the night before, and now also at the place of execution devoutly pronounced the same; then threw away the paper, which the Governour caused to be brought to him, and kept it;

Emanuel Tomson told the rest, he did not doubt but God would shew some sign of their innocency; and every one of the rest took it severally upon their death, that they were utterly guiltless; and so one by one with great cheerfulness suffered the fatal stroke.

The *Portugal* prayed over his Beads very devoutly, and often kissed the Cross; swearing thereupon, that he was utterly innocent of this treason: yet confessed, that God had justly brought this punishment upon him, for that having a wife in his own Countrey, he had, by the perswasion of the Dutch Governour, taken another in that Countrey, his first being yet living.

The

The *Japons* likewise (according to their Religion) shut up their last Act with the like profession of their innocencie. So there suffered ten English men, viz. Captain *Gabriel Tomerson* the Agent of the English at *Amboyna*, *Samuel Colson* Factor at *Hitto*, *Emanuel Tomson* Assistant at *Amboyna*, *Timothy Johnson* Assistant there also, *John Wetheral* Factor at *Cambello*, *John Clark* Assistant at *Hitto*, *William Griggs* Factor at *Larica*, *John Fardo* Steward of the house, *Abel Price* Chirurgicalian, and *Robert Brown* Tailor.

The *Portugal* also suffered with them. His name was *Augustin Perez*. He was born at *Bengald*.

The names of the *Japoneses* that suffered (if any be curious to know them.) were as followeth :

<i>Hititso,</i>	} all born at <i>Firando</i> .
<i>Tsosa,</i>	
<i>Sinsa.</i>	

<i>Sidney Migiel,</i>	} born at <i>Nagansaque</i> .
<i>Pedro Congie,</i>	
<i>Thome Corea.</i>	

Qui-

Quilandayo native of *Coracts*.
Tfabinda of *Tsoncketgo*.
Zanchoe of *Fisien*.

Besides these, there were two other *Japoneses*; the one named *Soyfimo*, born at *Firando*; and the other *Sacoube*, of the same place: the former of which being tortured, confessed both to have been privy to this pretended treason, and to have offered his service unto the English to aid them in taking of the Castle: and the latter confessed to have had knowledge of the consultation of the other *Japons* to this purpose. But neither of them was executed, nor so much as condemned. The reason whereof was not known to the English that were saved.

They had prepared a cloath of black Velvet, for Captain *Tower-sons's* body to fall upon; which being stained and defaced with his bloud, they afterwards put to the account of the English Company.

At the instant of the execution, there arose a great darkness,

ness, with a sudden and violent gust of wind and tempest; whereby two of the Dutch ships, riding in the harbour, were driven from their Anchors, and with great labour and difficulty saved from the Rocks. Within a few dayes after, one *William Danckin*, who had told the Governour, That *Robert Brown*, the English Tailour, had a few Moneths before told him, he hoped, that within six Moneths the English should have as much to do in the Castle of *Amboyna*, as the Dutch: This fellow, coming upon an evening to the grave where the English were buried, being all (save Cap-

tain *Loxberson*), in one ~~min~~, fell down upon the grave; and having lien there a while, rose up again stark mad, and so continued two or three dayes together, and then died. Forthwith also fell a new sickness at *Amboyna*, which swept away about a thousand people Dutch and *Amboyners*: in the space wherein, there usually died not above thirty at other seasons. These signs were by the surviving English,

lish referred to the confident prediction of *Emanuel Tomson* above-named, and were by the *Ambassadors* interpreted as a token of the wrath of God for this barbarous Tyranny of the *Hollanders*.

The next day after the execution, being the eight and twentieth of February, *Stilo veteri*, was spent in Triumph for the new General of the Dutch then proclaimed, and in publick rejoicing for the deliverance from this pretended treason. The day following, being the first of March, *Iohn Beomont*, *George Sharrock*, *Edward Collins*, and *William Webber*, were brought to the Governour; who told *Webber Beomont* and *Sharrock*, that they were pardoned in Honour of the new General; and *Collins*, that he was to go to *Jaccatra*, there to stand to the favour of the General. So the Governour made them drink wine with him, and curteously dismissed them: willing them to go and consult with the rest that were saved, who were fit to be placed in the several Factories. Which done, and their opinions

re-

reported to the Governour, he accordingly commanded each to his place; adding, that he would thenceforth take upon him the patronage and Government of the English Companies business. To which purpose, he had within a few dayes past opened a Letter that came from the English President at *Iaccatra*, directed to Captain *Torrerson*; being (as he said) the first English Letter that ever he intercepted; further, saying, that he was glad that he found by that Letter, that the English at *Iaccatra* were innocent touching this business.

The Governour and Fiscal having thus made an end at *Ambayna*, dispatched themselves for *Banda*: where they made very diligent enquiry against Captain *Welden*, the English Agent there; yet found no colour nor shadow of guilt to lay hold on: but at last entertained him with courteous speeches, professing to be very glad, that they found him, as well as the English at *Iaccatra*, to be without suspicion of this Treason (as they term it.)

Cap-

Captain *VVelden* , perceiving the disorder and confusion of the English Companies affairs at *Amboyna* , by means of this dealing of the *Dutch* ; forthwith hired a *Dutch Pinnace* at *Banda* , and passed to *Amboyna* : where, instantly upon his arrival, he re-called the Companies servants, sent (as before) by the *Dutch Governour* to the upper-factories.

Having enquired of them , and the rest that were left at *Amboyna* , of the whole proceedings lately passed , he found , by the constant and agreeing relation of them all, that there was no such Treason of the English as was pretended : as also understanding what strict command the Governour had given to the surviving English , not once to talk or confer with the Countrey people concerning this bloody business, although the said Countrey people every day reproched them with treason , and a bloody intention to have massacred the Natives , and to have ripped up the bellies of women with child, and such like stuff ; wherewith the

the Dutch have possessed the poor Vulgar, to make the English odious unto them. The said *M. Velden* therefore finding it to sort neither with the Honour nor profit of the English Company, his Masters, to hold any longer residence in *Ambogna*, he took the poor remnant of the English along with him, in the said hired *Pinnace* for *Iaccatra*; whither the Governour had sent *John Beomont* and *Edward Collins* before, as men condemned, and left to the mercie of the General.

When this heavy news of *Ambogna* came to *Iaccatra* and the English there, the President forthwith sent to the General of the Dutch, to know by what Authority the Governour of *Ambogna* had thus proceeded against the English, and how he and the rest of the Dutch there at *Iaccatra*, did approve these proceedings. The Governour returned for answer, that, The Governour of *Ambogna's* Authority was derived from that of the Lords States General of the United Neather-

Neatherlands, under whom he had lawfull Jurisdiction both in Criminal and civil causes, within the district of *Amboyna*; further, that such proceeding was necessary against Traitors, such as the English executed at *Amboyna*, might appear to be by their own confessions: a Copy whereof he therewith sent to the English President; who sent the same back to be Authentickly certified, but received it not again.

Hitherto hath been recited the bare and naked Narration of the Progress and passage of this action, as it is taken out of the Depositions of six several English Factors; whereof four were condemned, and the other two acquitted in this Process of *Amboyna*: all, since their return into England, examined upon their Oaths in the Admiralty Court. The particular of Captain *Tower-son's*, as also of *Emanuel Tomson's* examinations and answers, are not yet come to light, by reason that these two were kept apart from all the rest, and each alone by himself; nor any other of the
Eng-

English suffered to come to speak with them, except onely that short Farewell, which *Iohn Beomont* took of *Tomson* the morning before the execution before mentioned. The like obscurity is yet touching the examinations and answers of diverse of the rest that are executed; being, during their imprisonment, so strictly lookt to, and watched by the Dutch, that they might not talk together, nor mutually relate their miseries.

But because the Hollanders defend their own proceedings by the confessions of the parties executed, acknowledging severally under their hands, that they were guilty of the pretended crime; it will not be amiss to recollect and recall unto this place, as it were unto one sum and totall, certain circumstances dispersed in several parts of this Narration; whereby, as well the innocencie of the English, as the unlawfull proceedings against them, may be manifested.

First therefore it is to be remembered, that the *Japons* were ap-

apprehended, examined, and tortured three or four dayes, before the *English* were attached; and the same as well of their apprehension, as torture, was rife and notorious in the Town of *Amboyna*, and the parts adjoyning. *Tomson*, in this *interim*, and the very first day of the examination of the *Japon*, went to the Castle to ask leave of the Governour to land some Rice, and brought back the news with him to the English house of the cruel handling of these poor *Japons*. This had been *Item* enough to the English, if they had been guilty, to shift for themselves: whereto also they had ready means by the *Curricuries* or small Boats of the *Amboyners*, which lie along the Strand in great number, wherewith they might easily have transporred themselves to *Seran*, to *Bottoom*, or to *Macassar*, out of the reach and Jurisdiction of the Dutch: but in that they fled not in this case, it is a very strong presumption, that they were as little privy to any treason of their own, as suspicious of any

any treacherous tran laid for their blouds.

In the next place let it be considered, how impossible it was for the English to atchieve this pretended enterprife.

The Castle of *Amboyne* is of a very great strength (as is before declared;) the Garrison therein two or three hundred men, besides as many more of their free Burgers in the Town. What their care and circumpection in all their Forts is, may appear, not only by the quick Alarm they now took at the foolish question of the poor *Japon*, made to the Sentinel above-recited; but also by that which a little before happened at *Jaccatra*, where one of their Souldiers was shot to death for sleeping in the watch.

Durst ten English men (whereof not one a Souldier) attempt any thing upon such a strength and vigilancie? As for the assistance of the *Japons*, they were but ten neither, and all un-armed as well as the English: For, as at the seizure of the English house, all the provision therein found

D

was

was but three swords, two Muskets, and half a pound of powder: so the *Japons* (except when they are in service of the Castle , and there armed by the *Dutch*) are allowed to have no Arms, but only a *Catin*, a kind of short sword: and it is forbidden to all the *Dutch*, upon great penaltie, to sell any hand-gun, powder or bullets to the *Japons* or *Amboyners*. But let it be imagined , that these 20 persons *English* & *Japons*, were so desperate as to adventure the exploit; how should they be able to master the *Dutch* in the Castle, or to keep possession when they had gotten it? what second had they? There was neither Ship nor Pinace of the *English* in the harbor. All the rest of the *Japons* in the Island, were not twenty persons, and not one *English* more. The nearest of the rest of the *English* were at *Banda*, forty leagues from *Amboyna*; and those but nine persons, all afterwards cleared by the Governour and *Fiscal* themselves from all suspicion of this pretended crime, as were also the rest of the *English* at *Jaccatra*.

On

On the other side, besides the strength of the Castle and Town of *Amboyna*, the *Hollanders* have three other strong Castles, well furnished with Souldiers in the same Island; and at *Cambello* near adjoyning. They had then also in the road of *Amboyna* eight Ships and Vessels, namely, the *Rotterdam* of 1200 Tun, the *Unicorn* of 300 Tun, the *Free-mans Vessel* of 100 Tun, the *Calck* of 60 Tun, Captain *Gamals Junck* of 40 Tun, the *Flute* of 300 Tun, the *Amsterdam* of 1400 Tun, and a small Pinnace of about 60 Tun; and all these well furnished with men and Ammunition. It is true, that the Stories do record sundry valiant and hardy enterprises of the *English* Nation, and *Holland* is witness of some of them, yea, hath reaped the fruit of the *English* resolution; yet no Storie, no Legend scarcely reporteth any such hardiness, either of the *English* or others, That so few persons, so naked of all provisions & supplies, should undertake such an adventure, upon a counter-party.

so well and abundantly fitted at all points.

But let it be further granted, that they might possibly have overcome all these difficulties; yet to what end and purpose should they put themselves into such a jeopardy ? They knew well enough, that it was agreed between both companies at home, That the Forts in the *Indies* should remain respectively in the hands of such, as had possession of them at the date of the Treaty, *Anno 1619.* and that the same was ratified by the Kings Majestie, and the Lords States General. They knew likewise, and all the world takes knowledge of his Majesties Religious observation of Peace and Treatie with all his neighbours, yea, with all the world : what reward then could these English hope for, of this their Valour and danger ? Certainly none other than that which is expressly provided by the Treaty it self, that is, To be punished as the disturbers of the Common Peace, and Amity of both Nations.

But

But let these *English* men, have been as foolish in this plot as the *Hollanders* will have them; is it also to be imagined, that they were so graceless, as when they were condemned, and seriously admonished by the Ministers to discharge their consciences, yet then to persist in their dissimulation, being otherwise of such godly behaviour, as to spend the time in Prayer, singing of Psalms, and spiritual comforting one another; which the *Dutch* would have had them bestow in drinking, to drive away their sorrow? Let *Colsons* question to the Minister be considered: his and the rests offer and desire to receive the Sacrament, in sign and token of their innocencie; their mutual asking forgiveness for their like false accusations of one another, forced by the Torture; *Tomsons* last farewell to *Beymont*; *Colsons* prayer, and his writing in his Prayer-book; *Fardo's* farewell to *Powel*; also his conjuring exhortation to his fellows, to discharge their consciences, and all their answers thereunto; praying Gods

mercies or judgement according to their innocencie in this cause; their general and Religious profession of their innocencie; to their Countrey men, at their last parting with them, and finally, the sealing of this profession with their last breath and blood; even in the very Article of death, and in the stroke of the Executioner. What horrible and unexampled dissimulation were this? If some one or more of them had been so fearfully desperate, yet would not there one amongst ten be found to think of the judgement to come; whereunto he was then instantly summoned without Effoin, Bail, or Mainprize? What? had they hope of reprieve and life, if they kept their countenance to the last? Yet what hope had *Tomson* and the rest, when Captain *Towerson's* head was off? Nay, what desire had *Tomson* and *Clark* to live, being so mangled and martyred by the Torture? They were executed one by one, and every one several took it upon his death, that he was guiltless.

Now

Now to blanch and smooth over all this rough and Barbarous proceeding ; it is here given out, that the Governour and Fiscal found such evidence of the plot, and dealt so evenly in the process , that they spared not their own people ; having used some of their Native *Hollanders*, partakers of this treason, in the same manner as they did the *English*. But this, as well by the Relation here truly and faithfully set down, grounded upon the sworn Testimonie of six credible witnesses , as also by other sufficient reports of diverse (lately come out of those parts) appeareth to be a meer tale , not once alledged by any in the *Indies* in many moneths after the execution , but onely invented and dispersed here, for a *Fucus* and a fair colour upon the whole cause , and to make the world believe, that the ground of this Barbarous and Tyrannous proceeding was a true crime, and not the insatiable covetousness of the *Hollanders*, by this cruel treachery to gain the sole trade of the *Molluccos* , *Banda* and *Amboyna*,

which is already become the event of this bloody process.

To adde hereunto by way of aggravation, will be needless; the fact is so full of odious and barbarous inhumanity, executed by *Hollanders* upon the *English* Nation, in a place where both lived under Terms of partnership and great amity, confirmed by a most solemn Treaty.



A TRUE DECLARATION

Of the News that came out of
the *East-Indies* with the *Pin-*
nace called the *HARE*,
arrived in *Texel* in
June, 1624.

CONCERNING
A Conspiracie discovered in the Island
of Amboyna, and the punishment
following thereupon, according
to the course of Justice, in
March 1624. comprehended in a Letter
Missive;

AND SENT
From a Friend in the *Low-Countries*,
to a Friend of note in *England*,
for information of him in the
Truth of those passages. •



Printed, Anno 1651.

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Right Worshipfull, and Wor-
thy SIR,

THe great out-cries which
have been made in Eng-
land, upon the last News
which came out of the East-
Indies, about a certain execution
which was done in the Island of
Amboyna, in March 1623. be-
cause we see the great desire that
your Worship hath; to keep good
correspondence betwixt these two
Nations, it hath caused me (be-
yond my own curiosity) to search,
and inquire after the right and
true beginnings, proceedings, and
issues of these affairs, upon which
this execution followed. Wherein,
I perswade my self, I have attained
good success, by such means as I
have used, and by my good ac-
quaintance, so that (at the last) I
am come to the clear light of the
matter: partly by the Letters that
have been sent home to the Com-
pany here, and declared to the
States

States General, as also by a particular examination of the process made against them in Amboyna, before their execution, and sent over hither in writing, which at this present hath caused me to write this unto your Worship, that so, the truth may be made known concerning this business in all places, where your Worthiness, and respect, can, or may bring it to pass; that so your Worship, and all true well-willers (of our Countrey,) may be no otherwise thought of than we deserve.





*A True Declaration of the
News that came out of the
East-Indies, with the Pin-
nace called the H A B E,
which arrived in Texel,
in June, 1624.*



He very causes and
beginnings through
which, the Gover-
nour, and Councel,
established in the
name of the United
Neatherlands in *Ambayna*, came
into suspicion, that some thing
was plotted against that Pro-
vince; did first flow from the great
licentiousness of the *Ternatanes*
in *Moluque*, and *Ambayna*: Who,
contrarie to the contract of alli-
ance 1606. made with the High
and Mighty Lords the States, at-
tempted (without our consent
and knowledge,) to make peace
with the King of *Tidore*: as also
truce with the *Spaniards*, (their,
and

A

B

and our ancient adversaries) by which, the said *Tarnatanes* had too much cast off all respect, which they, both in regard of our confederacie, and manifold assistance did owe to this State.

C The *Spaniard* also was master enough at Sea, in the *Moloque*, because the *English* Merchants there in the *East-Indies* were unwilling to furnish us with Ships of War toward the common defence, as they were bound to do, according to the Treaties 1619. to the number of ten. Through which, the voyages to *Mannila*, coming to cease, the Enemy traded there, without any interruption, and procured power to lend *Gallies*, *Ships*, and *Pinnaces* to the *Moloque*, with great succours of people, and provision; and that because, against the same (through the default of the *English* Merchants) there were no Ships of War kept, as there should have been.

D The Subjects of the King of *Tarnata*, begun to commit great insolencies (otherwise than they were wont) against our Nation, having outrageously assaulted divers

vers of us; divers wayes, and also slain some, and we notwithstanding could not obtain any punishment upon them. And as one outrage (unpunished) provokes many more, through hope of the like impunity, or other considerations; so were the said *Tarnatanes* of *Amboyna*, dwelling at *Labb*, *Cambello*, and those near adjoining places proceeded further, and have armed themselves at Sea, and invaded divers Islands, and places, standing under the *Neatherlands* Governour in *Amboyna*, spoiling them, and killing our Subjects, and taking others, and carrying them away for Slaves. And notwithstanding the instant request of the *Neatherlands* Gouvernour, no satisfaction, or Justice, hath followed; but the said *Tarnatanes* are yet gone further, and openly threatened to murder the *Dutch* Merchants, and to spoil and to burn the *Lagie*, or *Factorie*, which our people have many years there enjoyed: so that our Merchants have taken out the *Dutch* goods, to avoid damage:
And

And the *Tarnatanes* at *Lobo* did actually set on fire, and ruined the said *Netherlands* Factorie. In the *Manichels* (an Island being under the Province of *Amboyne*) they have in like manner shortly after, burned the *Netherlands* Logie, with the loss of all the goods therein. The *Netherlands* Governour, that by his presence and Authority, he might cause such Rebellions to cease, and to give order for time to come, and also to seek satisfaction, and punishment upon the aforesaid insolencies, went toward *Lobo*, with a small power of Sloops, and coming thereabout, was met (otherwise than was wont) by a Navie of Sloops of the *Tarnatans* of *Lobo*, stronger than his were. These (by their conference) gave him well to know, how little reverence they gave the *Dutch* Governour: they braved him, without hope of restitution of any thing to come; so that, (nothing done) he was faine to return to his Castle of *Amboyne*. By reason of these things, the said *Tarnatanes* became so stout and daring,

daring, that they gave out openly, that they would come, and spoil our Subjects by a general Army, with above an hundred *Friggots*: with these, they said they would come against *Amboyna*, to make a universal spoil of our people; through which, there came a great fear upon the *Indians*, standing under the Subjection of the High and Mighty Lords the States, as also over the *Neatherlanders*.

In the Islands lying far Eastward of *Banda*, it was also said, and the News went currantly there, That the *Hollanders* were sure enough quit of the Castle of *Amboyna*; And at that time there were divers secret correspondencies between the *Indians*, & others, which gave us great suspicion. By this means the *Neatherlands* Governour, and Councel of *Amboyna*, were moved to have special regard, and look narrowly unto all things, seeing that it might be thence clearly gathered, that something might be plotted against the State in *Amboyna*, and that the *Indians* (of themselves) durst

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durst not offer to undertake any such great design, without some great help of some of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, or some other; and also, they understood, that they of *Lobo*, *Cambello*, &c. had great secret cor-

G

respondence with the *English* Merchants. When things were in such a state in *Amboyna*, there came forth, and was wonderfully discovered, in February 1623. a horrible conspiracie against the Castle, and Person of the *Dutch* Governour, and the whole state of *Amboyna*: and first, by the apprehension of a certain *Japonian* (a complice of the feat) who at an unseasonable time was often seen upon the wall of the Castle, where he also over-curiously enquired of the most unskillfull and silliest Souldiers, touching the setting, and change of the Watch, and what number of people might be in the Castle, and many other things. Whereupon, in the very Act, the said *Japonian* was apprehended, and being examined of many circumstances, he confessed that the *Japonian* Souldiers under

der our service , had decreed to make themselves Masters of the Castle, and that they should have set upon this by the help of the *English* , who had solicited them unto it ; and that he, with all the other *Japonians* in the *English* house , often-times within three Moneths before-going , had conferred with the *English* (whom he there named , by their names) touching the manner, whereby they should bring this treacherie to pass, Hereupon it came to pass, that all the *Japonian* Souldiers, which were in our service , were disarmed, and imprisoned, and by examination of them all , it appeared plainly, by an orderly and joynt-confession , that all the said *Japonians* , upon the intreaty of *Gabriel Towerson*, and other *English* Merchants & Officers agreed to assist the said *English*, to betray the Castle, and to give it over into the *English* power: & that *Gabriel Towerson*, and *Abel Price* (an *English* Chirurgion) and other *English* dealt often with them (whom he named by their names) of the way and means, how they should work it;

it; the said *Abel Price* being before imprisoned, for a foul, and execrable fact, and yet remaining in *durance*.

And although it appeared sufficiently to the Governour, and Council of *Amboyna*, out of the confession of the *Japonians*, what the said *Gabriel Towerson* with his Merchants and other Complices, had before resolved to do, and that the Council had sufficient information to imprison them all; yet the General Council would not precipitate, but commanded the said *Abel Price*, (who was in prison) to come before the Council, and (after the places, persons, & time, nominated to him, where and when he had dealt with the *Japonians*, and other English, about the said treachery) it was also from him well understood, how he (in the name, and by the command of *Gabriel Towerson*) and another *Japonian*, (who was then also in prison) had perswaded all the *Japonians*, to consent to this villany, and that consequently the said *Towerson*, as the first Author, and all the other English Mer-

Merchants (being in the Foreign Cantore of the Province of *Amboyna*) had also knowledge of the said treacherie.

Upon this full and unifom examination, and confession of 12 persons, as well of the 11 *Japponians*, as one English, is the said *Gabriel Towerfon* called to the Councel, and there appearing, the said *Towerfon* called together all his people unto the Castle, upon the request of the General Councel, who were there taken, & imprisoned, except the said *Gabriel Towerfon* himself, to whom (upon his request) and in regard of his qualitie, being chief Merchant in *Amboyna*, in the name of the English Companie; his own house was allotted him for his safe keeping, and forth-coming, And the said Prisoners were all lawfully and orderly examined, and it appeared by them jointly, according to their own confession (every one having under-written it with his own hand) as followeth :

Gabriel Towerfon, about New-H
years day 1623. having with him
al-

almost all the *English* Merchants of the forreign *Cantore* in *Amboyna*, he assembled them in his Chamber, and propounded to them, that he had something of great moment to impart unto them, (which he alone could not effect) under the fidelity of an Oath to be taken before, for the keeping secret thereof, and being trusty therein; saying, It is necessarie so to be: for if the thing should come abroad, which I shall make known unto you, it will cost all our lives. Whereupon the holy Gospel was produced, upon which every one, who was present did swear secrecie & fidelitie, as was required. Then *Townerson* (after a Preface) opened to the conspiratours, how he had a way and means to make himself Master of the Castle of *Amboyna*. And whereas some present made it difficult to do, being too weak for it: the said *Townerson* answered, That he had already won to his purpose: the *Japonian* Souldiers who were in the Castle, and that they should execute his purpose when the *Dutch*, who were

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were in the Castle, were in their greatest weakness: and worst provided, or (unawares) when the Governour should be absent, about some exploit; and that they should wait till some *English* Ships, or Ship, were in *Amboyna*, whose People he might employ in this attempt; as also, when as all other the *English* Merchants, and slaves of the Foreign Cantore in *Amboyna*, should be sent for to the Castle. And said further, That he knew how to get men enough, & they should leave this to his care, and themselves to their best; and that they of *Lobo* should also come to help him with certain *Corrercorens*, &c. Upon which inducements, all that were present swore to assist *Towersson* herein. And concerning the manner of Execution, the said *Towersson* had prescribed to the *Japonians*, which were in the Castle, that they should send to every point of the Bulwarks two men, and the rest, in the Court attend the Governour, and to murder him, & that at the sign which should be given to the *English*, they

they should make themselves Masters of every point of the bulwark, and kill all who should resist, and imprison therest; and further should take, and divide between themselves, and the *Japonians*, the goods of the Dutch East Indian Company, except a thousand Royals of eights; which every *Japonian* should have before, and that they should kill the Citizens, who would not consent with them, and do them all the mischief they could. And touching the time, he had not yet certainly set it, but that there should suddenly be another assembly of the conspiratours, when *Gabriel Towerson* would give order for all things, and give a sign to the *Japonians*, whereupon, when they shewed it, they should begin the work within.

L The said *Gabriel Towerson* being asked in particular, what moved him to such a wicked fact; he answered, the desire of Honour and profit. Being further demanded; who should enjoy that Honour and Profit, and for whom he would have taken the

the Castle: he answered, That if he did obtain his desire, he should presently have advertised those of his Nation being in *Batavia*, and called for their help, who if they had sent him succour, he would have kept the Castle for his own Company; viz. (for the *English East-Indian Company*) and if not, he would have held it for himself, and have endeavoured a peace with the *Indians*, that by the one means or the other, he might attain his purpose. After the examination of *Tower*son was ended, the *Dutch Governour* in *Ambona* upbraided *Tower*son of his cruel intent, and asked, if this should have been the recompence of the manifold honours, and kindnesses he had done unto him. Whereupon *Tower*son answered with a deep sigh, Oh, if it were to be begun, it should not be done. This voluntarie confession, and penitent acknowledgement, with much sorrow, was made the 9. of March, being the day when the execution should have been done; but the examination of *Tower*son was ended the 18. of February.

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so many dayes before. This is the substance of the confessions of 10 *Japonians*, of 14 *English*, and of a *Neatherlandish Merinbo*, or Captain of the Slaves ; who all confirmed these their confessions with their own hands.

What crime this intended prodiction was, is hence very manifest, and undoubted: what punishment is due to treacherie, according to the Law and Customs of all Nations, is also well known : no true Christian man will patronage any such horrible attempt, but will adjudge it worthy of death , as it was determined upon the complices of this conspiracie , according to order of Justice, as there in *Amboyne* it is exercised (according to desert) by the Governour and Councel, in the name of the High and Mighty Lords, the *States*.

Here you have (Sir) the very substance of the Truth , both of the Fact and punishment ; other than which , many things are spread abroad in *England*, but upon what pretence, or intendment, I know not ; let the matter it self speak for it self.

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The first point, which is objected against this Justice done in *Amboyna*, is concerning the proceedings; which are said to be holden without formality, and with extremity, against these conspiratours: Your *Worship* (and each reasonable man) knoweth, that every land hath their Laws and Ordinances, and their particular manner of proceedings, as well in Civil as in Criminal causes. *England* hath hers, *France*, *Spain*, *Dutchland*, *Neatherland*, and all other Kingdoms and Governments have also theirs, which are just and lawfull to every one in their Dominion; so that, when any man will judge of the equitie or injustice of a proceeding used in any Land, he must examine the same according to the Laws & customs of that Kingdom or Dominion, where the Justice & Proceedings were holden. These Proceedings were holden by the *Neatherlandish* Governour, in the name of the Illustrious Lords, the *States*, having supream Power, many years since in the *Isles of Amboyna*,
 E 2 which

which were conquered (in the name of the said Lords, the *States*) from the *Spaniards*, or *Portugals*, who held that Cattle in the name of the King of *Spain*, our hereditarie enemy; therefore they are now possessed in the name of the Lords, the *States*, and are under their Dominion, by a just and Lawfull Title of War, according to the Law of Nations. There (among other things) Justice is administred according to the Law of the *Netherlands*, in that manner as was used in the proceedings against these conspirators. I know that the Laws of *England* are divers from ours in *Criminal* cases, yea, and from all the Nations in *Europe*: howbeit therefore, no man hath any ground of reason to say, that the proceedings of the *English* judges (holden in *England*) against Delinquents, are not legitimate, though the said *English* proceedings do varie in the manner from the proceedings of *France*, *Spain*, &c. where other customs are: for that is lawfull, which agreeth with the Laws of that Land where

where the fact is committed. Now then the *Japonian* Souldiers, being in the service of the *Neatherlands* Company in *Amboyna*, are discovered to have conspired against the Castle, and the Governour there, under whose Oath and pay they were; they were apprehended, and examined, and convicted of the said conspiracie. This proceeding is Lawfull, and toucheth no man, because the said *Japonians* knew no other Master than the *Neatherlanders*, under whose Oath, service, and pay they stand. All these *Japonian* conspiratours with the said *Merinska*, a Captain of the *Neatherlands* Slaves, confessed with one mouth, that they were moved and induced to this conspiracie, by the *English* Merchants resident in *Amboyna*, whose names they named. Now, not onely the right of *Neatherland*, but of *England*, and of the whole World requireth, that the Authors, abettours and complices of Murder and Treason, should be punished with death; whereto, according to the common Laws,

as also the particular Laws of every Kingdom or Dominion, the suspected persons first, and before all, should be imprisoned, not onely for preventing the effect of their evil purpose, but that they might also receive their deserved punishment : which apprehensions, could not (in that place) be done by any other man, than by the command of the *Netherlands* Governour, to whom it belongeth to take care, to see every act concerning Supream power to be there observed ; and especially (all other reasons ceasing) the highest *English* Officers there, could not apprehend these *English* Conspirators, because all the chief of the *English* Merchants in *Amboyna* were themselves of the conspiracie, and complices of the fact, upon which the apprehension was made. Therefore the apprehension of the *English* complices, must be done by the *Dutch* Governour, who therefore hath therein proceeded according to the custom of all Nations of the world. And that these apprehensions may be holden

holden more Lawfull ; it appeareth out of the written procels, that the said *English* complites were not imprisoned upon the first suspicions & gross evidences, which were had against them, but then at last, when all the *Japonian* Souldiers were taken, examined, and convicted, and had discovered by the uniform confession of all the eleven, the names and surnames of such *English* as had perswaded and hired them to this fact ; of which *English*, viz. (one *Abel Price*, Barber) was before apprehended (as an *Incendiary*) for burning and violence done upon other houses, who also was first examined & first confessed (as the other 11 *Japonians*) that he (by name, *Gabriel Towerfon*) & other *English* Merchants, whom he named by their names, had suborned the said *Jap^{an}ese* Souldiers, and that all the *English* Merchants in the Forreign Cantores in *Amboyna*, had knowledge of this conspiracie, &c. So that it may be seen, out of that which went before, that the *Dutch* Governour dealt no otherwise in the apprehension,

and examination of the *English*, than according to his place, and power, and that with great discretion, according to the Laws of these United Provinces.

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The second point which is abusively dispersed in *England*, against this execution, is, that it is said, that it did not appertain to the *Netherlanders* in *Amboyna* to imprison the said *English*, and to proceed against them, or to punish them; but that it did belong to the Council of Defence resident at *Jaccatra*, consisting half of *English*, and half of *Netherlanders*, according to the Treaty of the year 1619. made between his *Majesty* and the Lords the States between the two *East-India* Companies. That I might the better inform my self thereof, I took in hand, and perused the general Treaty of 1619. with the explication following thereupon; but I profess, that (as I think) every understanding man, (not loving discord) must confess, that neither in the said Treaty, nor in the enlargement, any one Article or word could be per-

perceived, whereby (according to that which is untruely said in *England*) either this, or any such thing is ordained, or decided, by the said Treaty, as it ought to have clearly been in so great and important a point, as this part of Jurisdiction is. I appeal to all wise men, who I desire may judge of this, whether this speech of some in *England* (to wit, that the said Council of defence should (alone) have judged these conspiratours) be agreeable to the said Treaty, or contrarie to the same. I find many Arguments for my Negative opinions, to wit, that before the Treaty of 1619. the *Dutch* in *Amboyna* administred Jurisdiction, and Judicature, upon all and every one who dwelt in or under the Jurisdiction of the Castle, as well inhabitants as strangers, without difference; and that in this said Treaty, the *Dutch*, with the *English* Merchants made onely a league in the matter of commerce and Negotiation of *Nutmegs*, *Mace*, *Cloves*; and *Pepper*, in some quarters, without having any further Treaty,

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tie, or communication in the land; so that without the bounds of this common Negotiation, every one remained free, and unhindered in the land by the right and possession which either Company enjoyed, and exercised severally, according as the same appeareth out of the 23 Article of the Treatie: where it is expressly said; *That Castles and Forts shall remain in their hands who at present do possess them*: And out of the 13. 14. 15. Articles of the Treatie, all may see, that this common Council of Defence hath no more power, save onely over the fellowship of the Treatie, that is, over the Navie of defence in the Sea, to the defence of the common Merchandize, and liberty of commerce; and lastly, to tax the charges for the provision of ammunition in the Forts: neither can any other thing be sincerely collected out of the said Treaty, so far as I can conceive. Therefore this second point is found to be untrue and abusive; being not founded upon the said Treatie, which

which Treatie (notwithstanding) ought to be the onely rule, both of the one and the other Company.

Finally, it is given out in *England*, that in the examination of the Conspiratours there was excess in the *Netherlands* Judges, in the point of Torture: I acknowledge, that no argument or pretext against the Justice of this execution, hath more moved me in the beginning, than this pretence of excess aforesaid, because this stirreth Christian compassion; although I also judge, that wile men will not suffer themselves to be too much transported thereby, before the true reasons do fully appear, which should move us thereunto. For, I well remember yet, that in the time of former mistakings in the *Indies* many things were pretended on both parts, upon which, there were great outcries one either side, which yet, by due examination, were found to be (though fair, yet) false pretexts of some ill-willers and men desirous to wrangle: which pretences being, thoroughly sifted by the High and much admired wisdom of his Ma-
jesty.

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jeſty, & the Lords, the *States*, were well diſcovered to be no ſuch matters as they were made : as it is alſo undoubtedly to be believed, that his *Majeſty*, and the *States*, will yet further do in this affair : and ſo the cauſe of the *Dutch Company* may be (in the carriage hereof) rightly juſtified. Of which I underſtand that the Lords the *States* have ſpecial regard, and that they have been thoroughly informed, what is the very truth of the things there paſt, and of the Execution in *Ambogna* upon the *Engliſh* conſpiratours. Unto which end the Lords the *States* reſolved to ſee and peruſe all the Papers and Letters, touching the ſaid proceedings : And now thereupon men ſpeak far otherwiſe than heretofore ; for pretences, and cavils (being once detected) cannot ſtand with truth. And it doth plainly appear, that there is little truth in the matter of Torture, reported to be moſt cruelly inflicted upon theſe *Engliſh* conſpiratours, as in *England* it is ſaid. And I have ever ſuſpected this
for

for a slander : for I know the *Dutch Nation* doth naturally abhor this kind of cruelty , and are as much moved to commiseration , as any other people. But whether these evil minded men, who have scattered this great slander in *England* , and have so slowly defaced a just cause , have done it by occasion of our use of Tortures in these Lands , in some weighty causes, according to the custom of the most Dominions of *Europe* ; I cannot Judge. But is that to be censured & Judged to be unjust of the whole world, which is repugnant to the Laws of *England* , (or any one Nation) where Torture is rarely used? Nothing so ; but the Justice or injustice of a cause must be (as aforesaid) determined, according to the Laws where it is done, and not of other Lands. If this were not so , why then should not the whole World much more Judge that as a hard, & a thing unheard (and therefore condemnable) which in some causes is used in *England* , according to the Laws there , when they proceed against
some

some guiltie persons ; who being once & again asked of the Judge, and utterly refusing to be legally tried , is adjudged as dumb, that is, by contumacie ; whose condemnation then accordingly followeth , that he is laid upon a table , or plank , and another plank upon him , and so much weight of stone or lead laid upon him, that his body is miserably bruised, and so pressed violently to death. The which , according to the confession of all Nations , (especially, because this kind of justice is not used in other Lands) and by the *English* writers, is judged to be one of the most sharp and severe kinds of death , that can be invented ; yet cannot such an execution be called cruel and unlawfull, when it is done in *England*, because it is done according to the Laws of that Land, though strangers shall judge otherwise of it. And in like manner the *English* Nation cannot complain of the Torture which evil-willers say , was used upon these *English* Conspiratours in *Amboyna* , because it is done according

according to the Laws of this Government, and is not unusual in cases of Treason, neither with us, nor (almost) any Nation in Europe. And for *England* it self, it is well known (and his most excellent *Majesty* doth acknowledge by his own Princely pen) that the *Rack*, and the *Manicles*, are the onely Tortures, that are exercised upon Traitors, to force them to confels, (*without concealment*) what they know to be dangerous to the State.

And to say the Truth, without taking parts, the *English* Conspiratours being affronted with the uniform & written confessions of the 11 *Japonians* (their complices) which could convince them sufficiently according to the laws, & find them guilty of the same conspiracie, & consequently of death: if now, notwithstanding this they had persisted in the stout denial of the fact, were not this, (to speak according to the manner in *England*.) enough to judge them dumb by contumacie, and so to esteem them worthy of this sore punishment of Pressing to death,

death, as is afore-said; but this torture of ours (if any in *Ambayna* were so tortured) is to be judged far less, than that pressing, where the Malefactor doth suffer such extreame miserie, as cannot be imagined, and which is not to be lenified or eased at all, but ended by death. But to the sufficient satisfaction of my self, and your Worship, and all men, and not to speak according to the sentence, and conscience of others; I have used all diligence to get into my hands the written *Process*, concerning the Conspirators in *Ambayna*, which I obtained authentically, and read carefully, and I find, that all that is by me above-said, is confirmed, to wit, That the *Japonian* Complices were examined, and made their confessions as afore-said, for three dayes, viz. the 23, 24, 25. of *February*, 1623. and that all this being done, and consummated before, then at last, is *Gabriel Towerfun*, first with the rest of the *English* Complices imprisoned, the said 25. of *February*, when their examination and con-

confession began, & continued di-
 vers dayes, without over-hasting
 till the third of *March*. And the
 said examinations and confessi-
 ons being so finished, the *Neather-*
lands Governour and Councel,
 deliberated whether the punish-
 ment might be deferred to any
 long time, or referred to any
 other place; but it was so con-
 cluded by joynt consent of all,
 that the said punishment (there
 deserved) must be executed in the
 same place for example, and that
 it could not (in any wise) be de-
 layed without extream danger,
 for reasons there related; and
 among others, because the *Ter-*
natanes, and *Indians* about *Am-*
boyna, had otherwise than they
 were wont, rebelled; neither could
 it be fully known, what great co-
 federacie these Conspiratours had
 made with them, and others.
 And touching any extraordina-
 rie, and cruel Torture, I have ac-
 curately over-looked every ones
 confession, but I find not one
 word in any one, which maketh
 any mention of such Torture, as
 is unjustly spoken of in *England*;
 nay,

nay, scarce find any mention of
 that ordinarie Torture, which is
 in use, save onely these words, in
 one act of the 25 February 1623.
viz. The Councel being gathered to-
gether, have thought meet, that all
the English should be presently ex-
amined one after another (as accord-
ingly it was instantly done) and
some of them, before any torture,
others, after a little (or rather a
touch) of it. confessed as followeth.
 Unto which, followeth presently,
 the particular confession of each
 one, subscribed with his own
 hand, as aforesaid. So that hence
 it is manifest, that no extraordi-
 narie Torture was used, in such
 manner as is given out there, by
 those that wish us evil; nay, that
 those few that felt any, were one-
 ly touched (not punished) with
 ordinarie Torture.

S And thus your Worship hath
 the upright, and impartial truth
 of this business, touching the
 whole passage as it proceeded, and
 the punishment as it was inflicted;
 from which, some *English* were
 exempted by favour, that the
English goods should not be lost,

ac-

cording as order hath been given
 to that end : And I find that the
 sentence was given the ninth of
March 1623. by a competent as-
 sembly of 14 Judges; who, (as it
 appeareth in the sentence) in the
 doing thereof did (before) earnest-
 ly call upon the Name of the
 Lord, that he would please to be
 President and Predominant in e-
 very one of their hearts in this
 their *sorrowfull assembly*; and that
 he would inspire them onely with
 that which might be judged to
 be expedient and just, &c. So that
 out of all that is above said, no-
 thing else can appear, but that
 this business was managed lawfully,
 and orderly, by men of hone-
 sty and conscience, against such
 as had undertaken against the
State, against the wealth and ad-
 vantage of this *East-India Com-*
pany, the lives of their Officers
 there placed, against the estate
 and welfare of many, who had
 little deserved, and as little ex-
 pected such wickedness from
 their friendly confederates in the
 same societie of Merchants, there
 resident with them.

And

And now (considering the premisses) I hope it shall be far from every Christian in any wise to protect or excuse this wicked Fact, but rather to mourn and grieve (as we do) for this conspiracie, and for the evil, the Conspiratours have so deservedly drawn upon their own heads; and to honour them, who in Justice have punished villany, according to the due merit thereof; for we all know, that without JUSTICE, without reward of that which is Good, and punishment of that which is Evil, no societie of mankind can consist.

And of this information, (which I send in love, and honour to your *Worship*, as unto a lover of Truth, and a bater of Treacherie) you may make such use, as to you shall seem good, in any place where you come, both for refutation of any thing already reported contrarie thereunto, and for prevention of any further false rumours, or clamours; and finally, for propagation of that undoubted truth, which bene (to my

my best) I have endeavoured to discover. And if you shall meet with any thing of worth; which can be truly avowed, to be contradictorie unto any thing I have written, I desire to understand it from you, and you to suspend your wise and impartial judgement, till I have cleared it unto you. **TRUTH** remaineth ever the same. So I commend you to the *God of Truth*, desiring him to give us minds, *Not to judge according to outward appearance, but to judge with a righteous judgement.*

From my Lodging,
July 23. 1624.



A N



A N A N S W E R

To the *Dutch* Relation,
touching the Pretended
Conspiracie of the *Eng-
lish* at AMBOYNA
in the *Indies*.

THe Compiler of this
Relation, percei-
ving that he had an
hard task to make
it probable, that
eighteen *Englishmen*
Merchants and their servants, all
un-armed, should, with the help
and assistance of ten *Japons*, like-
wise un-armed, undertake the
surprize of a Castle, so provided
every way, as that of *Amboyna*,
is before in the Relation of the
English truly described to be: as
also the same Author, well weigh-
ing, that albeit all that he was to
write of this pretended *Conspira-
cie*,

racie, should be taken for true, yet the fact would seem very poor to bear so rigorous a punishment in persons of that quality, and of that Relation to those that inflicted it; provides more skilfully than fairly, for both these points in the preamble of this Relation: To this end, he rakes and heaps together all the jealousies and dangers that the *Dutch* had in the *Indies*: yea, and more than they truly had, at or about the time of the pretended conspiracie, and applies them all to the suspicion of this business: as if all their enemies were likely to conspire with the *English*; and therefore the fact, under colour whereof they were condemned and executed, were possible and probable; and as if the state of the time had been then so dangerous, that every shadow of conspiracie was to be exquisitely enquired of, & the least offence to be severely punished. Wherefore although this be no direct charge of the *English*, but used by the Author to supply the want of probabilities in the process it self, it will not be amiss

amiss to examin the several circumstances , and how far they may yield any suspicion against the said *English*.

Now this Authour taketh the main grounds of this suspicion of some great plot against the Province of *Amboyna* , from the unwonted boldness and insolencies of the *Ternatans* ; first in the *Molluccos*, and then in *Amboyna*. For those in the *Molluccos* , he saith, they had lately before the pretended conspiracie of the *English*, gone about , contrarie to the Treatie, Anno 1606. between them and the *Dutch* , to make peace with the King of *Tedore*, and truce with the *Spaniard* , without the consent or knowledge of them, the *Dutch* : which how honestly and conscionably it is alleadged to this purpose, may appear by the Journals of those parts, which evidently shew, that this Treaty between those of *Ternata* and *Tedore* , was in November 1621. that is to say , fifteen Moneths before this forged conspiracie ; and that with the knowledge of *Hoatman*, the Go-

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vernour

vernour of the *Dutch*, who, upon the 19 of *November* the year aforelaid, acquainted M. *Nichols*, the Agent of the *English* in those parts, with the preparations of this Treatie, which was actually holden at *Ternata* the 24 of the same moneth. But the matter was so well handled by the *Dutch*, to keep those neighbour Islands in perpetual War, that the Treatie was dissolved *re infecta*: And the seventh of *December* following, an Edict was published by the King of *Ternata*, commanding all the *Tedorians* forthwith to depart the Island of *Ternata*, upon pain to be made Slaves. After this, the correspondence between the *Dutch* and *Ternatans* in the *Moluccoes*, returned into as firm state as ever; the *Ternatans* performing dayly exploits against the *Spaniards*, and communicating the Triumph with the *Dutch*: As the seventeenth of *February* 1622. being a full year before the feined Treason of the *English*, the King of *Ternata*, with twenty *Curricurries*, took a *Spanish*

nish Galley, slew forty in fight, and took 150 Prisoners, whom they sold to the *Dutch* for Cloath and Rice : and coming by the *Hollanders* Castle of *Maalalo*, the eighteenth of the same Moneth, with the heads of divers *Spaniards* at his Stern, the *Dutch* saluted him from their said Castle with nine shot of great Ordinance. The 25 of *April* following, the Admiral of the King of *Ternata* took a *Prize* of the *Spaniards*, slew some, and sold the rest to the *Dutch*. The 28 of the same Moneth, both *Dutch* and *English* were feasted by the King of *Ternata*. The 22 of *May* next ensuing, the King of *Ternata* went forth to *Machlan* with six *Curricurries*, and at his departure was honoured with thirty shot of great Ordinance from the *Dutch* Castle. The 15 of *June* the Admiral of the King of *Ternata* made a Voyage towards *Mindanon*, carrying divers of the *Dutch* with him to assist him. The third of *July* the *Ternatanes* took other Prisoners, and sold them to the *Dutch*. The 24 of *August* the

King of *Ternata* made one *Vogler* a Dutch Merchant his Treasurer; at whose instalment in his new Office, the *Dutch* gave seven great shot from the Castle. And this good correspondence, between the *Ternatans* and the *Dutch* in the *Molluccos*, continued even untill, and after the execution of the *English* at *Amboyna*: which was (as hath been shewed) in *February*, 1623, *New stile*. Upon the 14 of which Moneth, the *Dutch* gave the King of *Ternata*, and other *Blacks*, two hundred Bails of *Japan* Rice, with other presents: at the delivery whereof, there were shot off from the Castle seven pieces of Ordnance, and three Volleys of small shot. By all which may appear, how sincerely this Authour applieth the diffidence between the *Dutch* and the King of *Ternata*, which was now none at all, to this business of *Amboyna*.

B The next point is, that the *Ternatans* in the *Molluccos* went about also to make truce with the *Spaniards*, without consent or knowledge of the *Dutch*; wherein this

this dealing of the Authour is worse than the former. For this Treatie of truce appeareth by the Journals , to have been holden the 19 of July 1623. which was five moneths after the execution of the English at *Amboyna*, and so came too late to move suspicion against them.

And yet this pretended fear and jealousie of the *Molluccos* is further amplified by the strength of the *Spaniard* , being then (as this Authour affirmeth) Master of the Sea there , and that by default of the English ; who, contrarie to the Treatie of the year 1619, had deserted the defence, and sent no more ships , neither to the *Molluccos* , nor to the *Manillias* : whence now the *Spaniards* had means to send Ships, Gallies, and Pinnaces , to the *Molluccos*. What the strength of the *Spaniard* in the *Molluccos* (by Sea) was, at the time of this pretended fear , may appear by the exploits before mentioned , done upon them by the *Curricurries* of the *Ternatans* , without help of the *Hollanders*. But for the de-

fault of the English, which is here odiously alleadged, it will be requisite to set down the true causes, wherefore the *English* relinquished the action of defence, as well at the *Manilliaes*, as elsewhere; being a matter much aggravated upon all occasions by the *Hollanders*, albeit themselves have given the cause thereof. Wherefore shortly, the true motives of the *English*, their desisting from the action of defence, were as followeth. The *English* had by agreement of the Council of defence, two years together maintained a Fleet of five tall & warlike ships, to joyn with the like strength of the *Hollanders*, for the action of the *Manilliaes*, and the profit of the Voyage (as the charge) to be common to both Companies. The *Dutch* prepared another Fleet of seven ships, all of their own, for *Macao*, bordering upon *China*, near the *Manilliaes*, without giving knowledge thereof to the *English* at *Jaccatra*, until their Fleet was ready to depart thence; well knowing, that upon such warning it would be impossible

possible for the *English* to prepare a like force to joyn with them. To those they appointed also eight *Pinaces* that were then abroad, to joyn ; and afterwards sent another Ship with provisions unto them. This Fleet passing by two of the *English* Ships, which were appointed for that quarter of the *Manillias*; the *English* welcomed them, and offered to joyn with them in their exploit: which the *Dutch* refused, saying, That this being an exploit of their own, the *English* should neither participate of the fact, nor of the benefit that might arise thereby. Likewise, by agreement of the Council of defence of both Nations, there was another Fleet of ten Ships set forth at the equal charge of the *English* and *Dutch*, for the coast of *Mallabar*, to secure the Trade in that part. Of the *Dutch* Ships (about a moneth after they set sail) two were found to be so weak and leak, that they were fain to return to *Jiccatra*. The rest being come to their quarter, two of the best of the *Dutch* Ships were

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sent

sent away by the *Dutch* Admiral, for the Red-sea, contrarie to their instructions and Commission at *Jacc. tra* from the Councel of defence, and notwithstanding the protestations, obtestations and exclamations of the *English* against this prevarication. So that four *Caracks* of the *Portugals* coming that way, the rest of the Fleet of the *English* and *Dutch* being thus weakned by the default of the four *Dutch* ships aforesaid; the fairest opportunity that ever hapned either before or since the joyning of the *English* and *Dutch* Companies, or is ever likely to offer it self in the future, was lost and utterly defeated. By this it appeareth, what cause the *Dutch* have to complain of the *English* for deserting the action of defence, and what reason and encouragement the *English* have to continue the joynt action and charge with those that use so little sincerity, ever contriving the common actions and charge to their private advantage; that when the joint forces are employed to give the enemy work in one

part,

part, they (the *Hollanders*) might with ease oppress them in another, and appropriate the whole benefit to themselves.

The next suspicion that this au-
 thor gathereth, is from the insolencies of the *Ternatans* of *Amboyna*, dwelling at *Lobo* and *Cambello*, & thereabouts; who (as this Author saith) presumed now beyond former example, to outrage the Subjects of the *Dutch*, slaying them, & carrying them away for slaves, yea, burning two of their houses, one at *Lobo*, and another at *Manichels*: for which, when the Governour went out with a Fleet to crave justice and reparation, he was braved by the *Ternatans* with a stronger Fleet than his own; yea, they threatened to come with an hundred *Curricuries* against *Amboyna*. D

This dealing of the Author is like the former about the Treaty of peace with the *Tedorians*, and truce with the *Spaniards*. For when the Governour of *Amboyna* set forth the last Fleet of *Curricuries* before the apprehension of the *English*, he stood in good terms with the *Ternatans* at *Lobo*:

neither of the Factories here mentioned, being then burnt or injured. The Governour then went onely, according to his yearly custom, to visit the skirts and out-parts of *Amboyna*, and had no affront offered him. After that, upon occasion of a Slave of the *English* that ran away, and being afterwards laid hold on, was rescued by a reputed holy man of or near that part; the *English* craved assistance of the *Dutch* Governour, who did his best, but was therein abused by those of *Lobo*; and not onely some of his men outraged, but the *English* Factor *M. Beomont* (to whom this Slave belonged) was way-laid by the people of the said holy man: and in stead of him, one of the servants of the *Dutch* was slain between *Cambello* and *Lobo*. The next day also, was *Beomont* himself assailed, and shot in the hand by the same holy mans people, who also a little before did their best to kill *William Grigs*; another of the *English* Factors, that finding the said Slave at *Lobo*, laid hold on him there.

there. Upon this occasion, both the *English* and *Dutch* left their *Factorie* at *Lobo*, which was shortly after burnt by those *Ternatans*. That other, touching the burning of the *Factorie* at *Manichels*, is more grossely applied than the former; for that *Factorie* was burnt after the *English* were apprehended: besides that, this Author dissembleth that there was a vehement and common suspicion at *Amboyna*, that this *Factory* at *Manichels* was burnt, not by the *Ternatans*, but by the *Dutch* *Factor* himself, who, being there alone, was said to have first conveyed away the goods of the *Dutch* and the *English* there for his own use, and then to have burnt the *Factorie*; laying the fault upon the *Ternatans*.

After this ended, the Governour of *Amboyna* made out a Fleet of *Curricurries*, to procure reparation of those excesses; and therein not going so strong as he might, was braved by those *Ternatanes* of *Amboyna*. But this was after the apprehension and execution of the *English*; and

so is as honestly applied to move suspicion in this place, as the joynt quarrel of the *English* and *Dutch* with those of *Lobo*, beginning upon occasion of the *English*, and as the burning of the Factorie at *Manichels*, done after the *English* were apprehended and imprisoned. As for the threats of the *Ternatans* here mentioned, that they would come with 100. *Curricurries* against *Amboyna*, it is (for ought any of the *English* ever heard) a meer fiction; at most, it was a vain bragge, and such as could not affright the Governour, that knoweth well that the *Ternatans* have no gun-powder, nor other provisions for such an exploit; and yet are far behind the Governour of *Amboyna* for number of *Curricurries*, besides the *Dutch* ships and Castles.

E The next cause of suspicion, this Authour makes to be an idle report in the East parts beyond *Banda* (uncertain which, or by whom) that the *Hollanders* were already quit of their Castle at *Amboyna*. A poor pretēce, & not worthy to be answered; yet still further dis-

discovering what penurie of good matter this author had, that he was fain to borrow such crazie stuffe.

F

But the last, and that which alone is expressly applyed to the *English*, is, That about this time the *Dutch* understood, that those of *Lobo* and *Cambello* held great and secret correspondence with the *English*. How did the *Dutch* understand this? or why doth not this Authour express the particular proof, in a matter so pertinent? It is true, the *English* had their Factories at *Lobo* and *Cambello*; but in the same houses with the *Dutch*; and for their joynt accompt, and had Traffick with the Countrey-people, as the *Dutch* had, but what secret correspondence is this? or what danger to the *Dutch*? Was the burning of the Factories, which belonged to the *English* as well as to the *Dutch*, a note of good intelligence between the *English* and the *Incendiaries*? What was that for correspondence with those of *Lobo*, when at one time they way-laid *M. Beament* to kill him, and

and at another time shot him in the hand with an Arrow, offered to kill *Williams Grigs* ; and from time to time abused and outraged our People, equally with, and as the *Dutch* ? further, our People as well as the *Dutch* , had now dissolved their Factorie at *Lobo* , and were come all thence. What Letters or Messages did they ever send thither afterwards ? or how , and by what means maintained they this correspondence ? Yet this was understood , saith this Relation. How understood ? Perhaps by the Governours dreams : for that (as he afterwards told *M. Welden* , *Hill* , and *Cartwright* , that came thither from *Banda*) was a motive to him to examin the first *Japon* , which was the beginning of the whole process.

G The Authour having thus quit himself in this preface, proceedeth to the matter it self, first setting down the occasion and manner of the discoverie of this pretended plot , and then the confessions of the *Japons* and of the *English* : but he maketh no
menti-

mention of any torture used upon the *Japons* that first confessed, nor of any other *indicium* or presumption to torture or examine that *Japon*; but onely his curious questioning, touching the setting and changing of the Watch, and of the number of the Souldiers in the Castle: which, what sufficient *indicium* and cause it was to torture a Souldier of their own, that serving them, had reason to desire to understand the course of their Watches, and the strength of the aid he might expect, if any sudden attempt should happen in his quarter; is easily to be judged. And how this poor man, and the rest of his Countrey-men were tortured, appeareth in the English relation. Here also is concealed, by what manner and kind of questions, this and the other *Japons* were led along in their confessions, to make up the plot just as the *Dutch* had devised it: as also, what other answers they made, before they were thus directed. That they, and the *English* both, confessed what the *Dutch* would have.

have them, is no doubt nor wonder, being so tormented and feared with torture; *etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor*, But what likelihood or possibilitie there is of the truth of their confessions (if yet they confessed, as is here related) may appear by that which hath been already discouried in this point, towards the end of the English Relation, which for brevities sake is here forborne to be repeated: yet some circumstances, which the Dutch Relation hath more than the English, deserve here to be examined. And first, that of *Abel Price* the English Barber, who is made the messenger and negotiator of this practice with the *Japons*. It is true, that he (and he alone of all the English) had some kind of conversation with some of the *Japons*, that is, he would dice and drink with them, as he likewise did with other Blacks, and with the Dutch also. But is it credible, that *Mr. Towerfon* would commit any thing of moment, nay, so dangerous a matter as this to a drunken debauched sot, who
also.

also (as the *English*, that were there, constantly report) threatened to cut his, the said *Towerfon's* throat, for that he had punished him for his misdemeanours? Further, this Relation maketh this *abel Price* confess, that all the *English* Merchants in the out-Factories, were privy and accessarie to this pretended treason: Yet the Governour and Fiscal in in their own process found *John Powel*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, and two other, guiltless.

After *Price* his confession, he sets down the general substance of all the confessions in one body; where first having assigned *M. Towerfon* a preface to the rest, to induce them to the exploit, he tells us; that they made doubt of the point of possibility, (as well they might) knowing the weakness of their own part & impregnable strength of the *Dutch*, in comparison of theirs: for satisfaction of which their doubt, he saith, *M. Towerfon* told him that he had already won the *Japons* within the Castle to his purpose, and that he would attempt this matter: not when the
Dutch

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Dutch were at their full strength, and the *English* at the weakest, but would expect till the Governour should be somewhere abroad upon some exploit, and some *English* Ships, or Ship at least, at *Amboyna* ; the people whereof he would use in the enterprize: Likewise he would send for the Factors and Slaves of the other Factories, and should have a supply from the *Ternatans* of *Lobo*, of certain *Curricurries*, &c.

I

Here he hath inrolled a goodly army for this action; but let us see the manner how they should have executed their exploit: and first for the *Japans* in the Castle, we must believe, if this Authour or his voucher say true, that Master *Towerson* had acquainted those, and won them to his plot, before he had imparted it to his own Countrey-men the *English*. And yet in the acts of the process, *Emanuel Tomson* is recorded to have confessed, that 8. dayes after the consultation, Master *Towerson* told him, that he had then sent out *Johnson* and *Price* to treat with the *Japans*, and win their

their consent to this enterprize. But what should the'e (being all but ten) have done? Marrie (saith the relation by and by) Mr. *Townerson* had ordeined, that eight of them should have been bestow- ed, by two in a company , upon the four points of the Castle to kill all those that would resist them, and to take the rest Prisoners. It must be (therefore) here imagined , that the *Dutch* and their *Mardikers* in their Castle, being three or four hundred, would scorn to take the advantage of sending fortie or fiftie ; much more of an entire company to any point of the Castle, but would combat with the *Japons* at even hand by two at a time, and so give the *Japons* leave and respite to kill or take them by two and by two. A sweet conceit, and such a service as perhaps hath been sometimes represented upon a stage, but never acted in surprize of a Castle in good earnest.

Thus we see how eight of the *Japons* were to be imployed ; what should the other two have done?

done? forsooth they should have waited in the great chamber to murder the Governour. Yea, but this relation told us yewhile, that this plot should have been executed when the Governour was abroad upon some action. How then should these two *Japons* have killed him in the Castle, at the same time? But we see how all the *Japons* (that is) all the pretended party of the *English* within the Castle, should have been occupied. Who should have opened the gates to the English, and their other aids? who should have killed the Court of guard at the Gate? These parts were left for them that were without; therefore let us take a review of them, what they were. The Relation mustereth them to be fourteen English, whereof eleven were Merchants; one Steward of the house, one Tailor, and one Barber, to dress the wounded, besides God knows how many English shippers, Slaves, and *Ternatans*: First, for the English Merchants, of what dexterity they are to take Forts, is easily

easily judged; and in all the *English* house, when it was seized by the *Dutch*, upon this pretended Treason, the whole Provision was but three Swords, two Hand-guns, and about half a pound of Powder. Yea, but the *English* ship or ships would have brought both fitter men and better provision. But how knew Master *Tower-son* that those of the *English* ships, when they came, would joyn with him in this work, being so contrary to the Treaty, and it self so dangerous? or why did he not stay the opening of the Plot till this ship or ships were come, that he might swear the shippers also, or at least the chief Officers amongst them, and take their advice? Is it possible that Master *Tower-son* was so slight, as to open his plot to all the *English* at *Amboy-na*, yea, to the Tailor and Barber, so long before it was to be put in execution, and before he knew the minds of his chiefest assistants, of whose arrival he was so uncertain? Yea, but he was sure of the Slaves of the *English*,
and

and of the *Ternatans* of *Lobo*, with their *Curricurries in quemlibet eventum*. This indeed is the remainder of the Army; let us view them. The Slaves were, in all the English Factories, just six in number, and all boys: The *Ternatans* were Enemies as well to the *English* as to the *Dutch*, as is before shewed in answer to the Preface. When were they reconciled? how cometh it, that in all the examinations of the *English*, this point was not sifted, and somewhat confessed of it amidst so many Tortures? There is no confession thereof in all the examinations; and M^r *Tower-son* in his expressly denied it, and was pressed no further. The truth is, the Governour and Fiscal of *Amboyna* knew, that what ever had been confessed in this point, would not have been believed by their own People there; who knew well enough, that the first beginning of this breach between the *Dutch* and *Ternatans* of *Lobo*, was about the Slave of the *English*: and the outrages thereupon following, were

were done upon the *English*, as well as upon the *Dutch*. Yet this Authour seems to hope, that that may be believed here in *Europe*, which had no colour at *Amboyna*.

Concerning the time of executing this plot, it was not (as the Relation saith) yet prefixed, but left to the next meeting of the Conspiratours, which should be shortly holden, when *Gabriel Toverfon* had prepared all things, &c. Here was certainly a hot practice of Treason, and worthy to be tearmed by this Authour, An horrible conspiracie. They met together on New years day, and plotted as is before related: and now it was the five and twentieth of *February*, and not onely nothing done all this *Interim*, but not so much as a new consultation. But this (forsooth) is the body and substance of the unanimous confession of all the *English*, by themselves severally subscribed. In the next place the Authour relateth somewhat singular in *M. Toverfon's* confession; as that he said, he

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was moved to this fact by hope and desire of honour and profit : and being demanded from whom he attended this honour , and for whom he meant to hold the Castle , his answer was , That if he could have compassed his project , he would forthwith have given advertisement thereof to the rest of his Nation at *Jaccatra* (which now they have christened *Batavia* ,) and have craved their aid ; which if they had yielded to him , then he would have held the Castle for the *English* Company ; and if not , then he would have kept it for himself , and have used means to have agreed with the *Indians* ; and so , by one means or other , would have compassed the enterprize.

Here first is to be observed , that he would not (as this Author makes him speak) have sent for aid to *Jaccatra* , until he were first Master of the Castle ; and yet in the general confession before , it is said , he would attend the coming of some *English* ships or ship , before he would adventure upon the Castle. Next , let the
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ambiguous and alternative resolution, here said to be confessed by Master *Tower-son*, be considered in both the parts thereof, and it will appear, that no man in his wits would have any such conceit as is here pretended. What hope could Master *Tower-son* have, that the President and *English* Council at *Jaccatra*, living under command of the *Dutch* Fort there, and altogether Subject to the *Hollanders*, durst join in any such action, thereby to give occasion to the *Hollanders* to arrest, torture and condemn them of Treason? Master *Tower-son* knew well enough, that about six Moneths before, the General of the *Dutch* at *Jaccatra*, had caught at a very slight occasion to entrap the *English* President there: who having sent out two of his people in the night to the *English* Cow-house, to see what watch the *Blacks* in their service kept over their Cattel; the said two *English* were apprehended by the *Dutch* Souldiers, kept in prison seven dayes, and charged, that they had said, that

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they

they went the Round: and one of them, being last examined, was told by the *Balieu* (the Officer of the *Dutch* in Criminal causes,) that his fellow had confessed, that they had said they went the Round, and that by the *English* Presidents Commission; and if he would not confess the same, he should be tortured: but the fellow, being constant in the truth, came off at last without torture; yet this was *Item* enough to the *English* President and Council, how the intent of the *Dutch* was to entrap them upon the least occasion: and this, and other daily captious dealings of the *Dutch* at *Jaccatra*, which were too long here to recite, were all advertised from time to time to M^r. *Tower-son*, who therefore was sure he could expect no assistance from them, that were themselves in in such a predicament. The other part of M^r. *Tower-son*'s resolution is said to have been, To keep the Castle for himself, and to agree with the *Indians*, in default of help from the *English*. This is yet more improbable than the former.

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Were the *Portugals* and *Indians* not able to keep out the *Dutch* from *Amboyna*, when they had no footing there; and shall Captain *Towerfon*, with twenty or thirty *English* and *Japans*, without ship or Pinnace, be able, with the help onely of the poor naked *Indians*, to drive them out, having already three Castles in the Islands of *Amboyna*, and at *Cambello* hard by, all well furnished with men and provision, besides their power of shipping, which makes them stile themselves Lords of the Sea? And yet how could Master *Towerfon* hope to win the *Amboynezes* (the *Hollanders* sworn Subjects) to his side? He might rather assure himself, that after he had mastered the *Hollanders* (if yet that must be believed to be possible,) the *Amboynezes* would have surprized him, and cast him out (being so weakly provided to stand of himself,) that so they might utterly free themselves from their servitude. Here also must be remembered, that this Author himself in his preamble saith, that

the *Indians* themselves durst not undertake any such great design (as he there feineth) against the State of *Ambogna*, without some great aid of some Nation of Europe, either of *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, or some other. Whereby is not onely confessed, how weak the *Indians* of themselves are; but withall it followeth, how small hope Mr. *Towerson* might have, being deserted of his own Nation (as here the case is put,) to hold the Castle for himself by the help of those *Indians*, if yet he could once have won it. In a word; they that know the power of the *Hollanders* in *Ambogna* and thereabouts, and the weakness of the poor *Indians* there, will judge this conceit of Master *Towerson's* (to keep the Castle for himself) to be a mad plot; and for which, Master *Towerson* should rather have been sent to Bedlam, or the *Dullen Kist* (as the *Dutch* call it,) than to the Gallows.

M

But this Authour hath one voluntarie confession, upon which he taketh special hold; to wit,
that

that Master *Towerfon*, after his examination was finished, being expostulated withall by the *Dutch* Governour, and demanded whether this should have been the recompense of his (the Governours) manifold courtesies towards him; answered with a deep sigh, Oh! were this matter now to do, it should never be done. *This voluntarie confession and penitent acknowledgement, saith this Authour, was made the ninth of March, being the day when the execation was to be done: but the examination of Towerfon was ended the eight and twentieth of February, so many dayes before.* But how shall we believe this? Forsooth, he hath it out of the Acts of the Process of *Amboyna*. Yea, but in these Acts are omitted many material passages of these examinations, as is already shewed: why may they not then be guiltie of addition, as well as of such mutilation and omission? But let us peruse the words of the Act it self, which are these:

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WE whose names are hereunto subscribed, to declare upon our troth, in stead of an oath, that Gabriel Towerfon, after that he had been already examined touching his said offence, and that the Worshipfull Governour Van Speult had expostulated with him thereupon, asking him whether this should have been the recompense of his courtesies from time to time shewed unto him, the said Towerfon: thereupon he, the said Towerfon, with a deep sigh answered him, and said, Oh! if this were to be begun again, it should never be done. *Actum this ninth of March, in the Castle of Amboyna, and subsigned.*

Harman van Speuk.
 Laurence de Maerschalck.
 Clement Kerffe-boom.
 Harman Cray-vanger.
 Peter van Zanten.
 Leonart Clock.

Thus we see the Act it self, and this pretended voluntarie confession of M^r. Towerfon; which is not delivered upon the credit of the

the Court or Councel at *Amboy-na* (and yet how small that is, is before shewed) but upon the Attestation or Affidavit of the Governour and five others, the principal actors in this bloudy Tragedie: And this not upon their Oath, but upon their troth, or honest word (forsooth) in stead of an Oath. The time when these words were uttered by Mr. *Townerson*, is not described by the day when he spake them, but onely by the precedent Act of his examination. And yet the circumstance of time is not onely an usual and customarie solemnity, and requisite in all such Attestations; but also in ~~a~~ business of this nature altogether necessarie: as likewise in this case, that of the place was. For if these words were spoken in the place of Torture, or incontinently after the examination ended, they are by their own Law, esteemed no more voluntarie, than the confession upon the Rack it self. Neither yet doth this Attestation affirm, that this confession was voluntarie. But this Author, unconscionably

reporting the date of the Attestation, for the time of the confession, collects it to be voluntarie, because (as he saith) it was made the ninth of March, being so many dayes after his examination, which was taken the 28. of February. Can a man attest nothing but what was done upon the very day when he maketh Affidavit? The Attestation saith, that these words were spoken by M. *Towerson*, after he had been already examined. Why may not that have been rather upon the very day of his examination, than upon the day when this Act was entred; if yet he ever spake any such words, or meant them, as he is here interpreted? the contrarie whereof is the more probable by all the circumstances of this business, truely set down in the Relation of the *English*.

But in that this Author makes so much of this poor circumstance, of M. *Towersons* profession of sorrow for what was done, naming it a voluntary confession; it is plain how destitute he was of voluntarie confessions, and of all true and
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concluding circumstances. What? was there not a Letter or other Paper, to be found in all the Chests and Boxes of the *English*; so suddenly seized at *Amboyna*, *Larica*, *Hitto*, and *Cambello*, to discover this treason? nor amongst so many complices of diverse Nations, a false brother to betray the rest, and to accuse them voluntarily; but the process must begin with the Torture, and the fleathens confession upon Torture, be sufficient to bring Christians to Torture, the debauched and notoriously infamous persons (such as *Price* was) to draw torture upon the sober, orderly, and unstained? And yet this Relation it self confesseth, that *Price's* confession was drawn from him by the Examiners specifying of place, person and time unto him. Certainly one of their own Nation had reason to advice, that more Advocates might be sent over to the *Indies*, to aid the accused, to make a legal answer: For, saith he, they go to work there so villanously and murderously, that the bloud of the poor people

I
Demonstration to the Lords St:tes, touching the government of the Majores.

people crieth to heaven for vengeance.

But why have we no particular of any mans confession, but this of *Price*, and *M^r. Towerfon*, and all the rest blended together in one body? Did none of all the rest go farther than his fellows, or confess more than they? Where is *Sharrocks* confession, that he was at *Amboyna* upon New-years day, when ten or twelve of the *Dutch* themselves witnessed he was at *Hitto*? Where is his confession of *Clarks* plot to go to *Maccassar*, to deal with the *Spaniards* there, to come and rob the small Factories? Where is *Collins* confession of another plot, about two Moneths and a half before his examination, undertaken by *Tomson*, *Johnson*, *Price*, *Brown*, *Fardo*, and himself? Where be the leading Interrogatories, that directed them to the accusation framed by the *Dutch*, lest otherwise there had been as many several Treasons confessed, as persons examined? Not a word of all this, nor of a great deal more of this kind, which is here
in

in *England* proved by the oath of six credible persons, to have passed in the examinations. Whereby appeareth, how faithfully the *Dutch* at *Ambayna* have entered the Acts of this process. Well, at last he concludes the Narration of the confessions, with the summing up of the number and Nations of the parties, that had thus confessed; which, he saith, were ten *Japons*, fourteen *English*, and the *Neatherlandish* *Marnicbo*, or Captain of the Slaves. By which last words, he would give the Reader occasion to think, that the fact was so clear, and their own proceeding so even and just, that they had executed one of their own *Neatherlanders* for it. Which how true it is, is already declared in the conclusion of the *English* Relation. The truth is, this Captain of the Slaves was of the *Portugal* race, and born in *Bengala*. His very name, *Augustin Perez*, sheweth, he was no *Neatherlander*.

Having thus finished this Relation, this Authour proceedeth to a disputation: and taking notice

tice of some aspersions in *England* cast upon these proceedings at *Amboyna*, he divideth them into two heads; the one, that the process was without its due formalitie; the other, that there was excess and extremitie used against the Conspiratours. For the point of formalitie, he first taketh great pains to prove, that the formalities of process in *Amboyna*, are not therefore unlawfull, because they agree not with our form in *England*. Which labour he might have spared: for no wise man will denie him this point. And such as shall be so ignorant as to blame the *Dutch* for varying from us herein, were not worthy the answering. Herewithall also he deduceth the Title of the Lords States General to the Sovereignty of *Amboyna*; and so the Governour of *Amboyna's* Jurisdiction, in causes as well Criminal as Civil, to be rightly grounded. Thence he concludes, that the *Japons* being sworn servants to the *Dutch*, and in their pay, were Subject to the Jurisdiction of the *Dutch* Governour.

Then

Then he telleth us, that the Author, and complices of murther and treason, are by the Laws of all Nations to be punished with death; all which points may be granted him without any prejudice to the cause of the *English* in this question.

At last he comes in particular to their case, and affirms, that the chief of the *English* there might not apprehend the *English* complices of this conspiracie, because themselves were complices of the fact. All which also may be granted in this point of apprehension, and safe custodie: but how it may proceed also in the point of cognisance, shall be anon in due place examined.

In the mean time, this Author, to make the point of apprehension clear beyond exception, saith, that the *English* were not apprehended upon the first suspicion, when yet there was evidence, and *indicia* sufficient to it; but after the examination of all the *Japans* and their joynt confession, that the *English*, whom they specified by name
and

and surname, had moved and hired them to this treason : yea, not until *Abel Price* had also confessed as much, and that all the *English* in the out-Factories were privy thereunto. For answer hereof, that must be repeated which hath been upon other occasions before alleadged, that the first beginning of the process, was by the Torture, there being no sufficient evidence or *indicium* to Torture the *Japon*, that onely sought to enform himself of the course of the Watch, and of the strength of the Castle, wherein himself was a Souldier : and so the whole *Series* of the examination proceeding from the confession of one Tortured person, to apprehend and Torture another, without other evidence ; though it brought forth more confessions, and those with name and surname, and other circumstances, according as the Interrogatories (or rather directories) of the Governour and Fiscal led the prisoners, was wholly against the form and rule of all Laws of Tortures.

Scilicet

*Scittoet in fabrica si prava est regula
prima,
Cetera mendose fieri, atque obstipa
necesse est.*

But here must be answered an objection that may be made against this, from another part of this relation, that is, that some of the *English* confessed without or before Torture; yea, this *Price* here mentioned, was either not Tortured at all, or very lightly. Yea, but he was shewed the Tortured bodies of the poor *Japans*, martyred with fire and water, and told, that unless he would confess that, which they told him they had first confessed, he should be Tortured as ill, or worse than they. This fear of Torture is by their own Law, equalled to the Torture it self, and consequently, the confession thereupon made no better *indiciu*m or evidence to bring another man to the Torture, than the confession made upon the Rack it self. Again, it must be here remembered, that the very matter of *Price* his confession here mentioned, to wit, that all the *English* Mer-

Merchants of the out-Factories, were privy to the pretended treason; was refuted by the process of the *Dutch* themselves, that found *Powel*, *Ramsay*, and two others of those Factories guiltless.

Q Next, this Authour taketh notice of an objection made in *England* against the Jurisdiction of the *Dutch* Governour, and his Council at *Amboyna*, over the *English* there; because this power is, by the Treatie of the year 1619. disposed of, and agreed to consist in the Council of defence of both Nations at *Jaccatra*. For information in which point this Authour saith, he hath perused over all the several Articles of the said Treatie, and findeth in the 23. Article, that the Fortresses were to remain in the hands of them that then possessed them; and in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, that the Council of defence hath no other power, but onely over the Fleet of defence, over the commerce, and finally, to tax the charges of maintenance of

of the Forts : But he could not see the thirtieth Article ; which orders, that all disputes that cannot be decided by the Council of defence , should be remitted into *Europe* ; first, to the two companies there , and in default of their agreement , to the King and States. Why then was not this dispute so proceeded in ? There is nothing in the former Articles , to limit the Council of defence ; and this general Article appeareth to be added by way of ampliation , to provide for that which was not particularly and expressly cared for in the former. Which is most plain by the words of the explanation upon this thirtieth Article, agreed upon at the first , and subscribed by the Commissioners on both sides , Anno 1619. where this course of proceeding is expressly directed , not onely in disputes about the meaning of the Articles , but also about any other matter hapning in their common abroad. Since which also the Kings Majestie hath, upon a smaller occasion, than the life of his
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Subjects, clearly declared himself in the point of Sovereignty; That both Nations in the *Indies* should wholly lay aside all pretence thereof. Which Declaration was sent to the Lords States General, and by them accepted before this bloudie butcherie was executed. But if it were granted, that the *Hollanders* are absolute Lords of their partners, the *English*, in those parts, without respect to the Treaty, yet at least the *Hollanders* in *Amboyna* are bound to observe the Laws of the united Provinces; for so saith this Authour himself. Do these allow to begin the process at the torture, and to bring persons of honest fame to the rack, upon others confession made in the torture? Do their Laws allow of the leading interrogatories above mentioned, to direct the prisoner what to say, to avoid the torture? Where, in the United Provinces, is that drowning with water in use? or the torture with fire, used to *Johnson*, *Tompson*, and *Clark*? or especially the splitting of their toes, and launching of the breast, and putting

ing in Gun-powder, and then firing the same, whereby the body is not left intire, neither for innocencie, nor execution? *Clark* and *Tomson* were both said to be carried to their execution, though they were tortured many days before.

Lastly, their confessions were contradictorie, apparently false, and of things impossible to be done, much less practised before by the said parties; and therefore ought not by their law to have been believed, nor the prisoners to have been condemned thereupon, without other sufficient *indicia* or evidence besides.

In the last place, this Author handleth the excess of torture whereof (he taketh notice) there is much complaint in *England*; and saith, That the Lords States General take great care to inform themselves of all the passages of this business, and to that end have desired to see all the Letters, Pieces, and Papers that concern this proccesse: by which it appeareth not, that there was
any

any cruel torture used. But suppose the Acts make no mention of them; is it any marvel that the Authours of this murtherous and tyrannous process, being themselves the persons that also formed the Acts, would omit those things that made against them? It is to be presumed also, that the Acts kept by their people at *Polo-way* in *Banda*, have omitted many things of their process, against the poor *Polaroons*, whom in *August 1622*, being about 6 months before this execution of the *English*, their Governour there used in like sort, as the Governour of *Amboyna* did the *English*, and gave him a Model and precedent of this process; which it will not be amiss to relate briefly, because this Authour, in the next place alleadgeth the mercifull disposition of the *Netherlands* Nation in general; to inferr thence, that it is therefore unlikely, that their Governour at *Amboyna* was so cruel as is reported in *England*.

Polaroon, one of the Islands of *Banda*, was in possession of the *English* at the time of the Treatie,
 Anno

Anno 1619, and by the agreement was to remain theirs. After the Treatie came to the *Indies*, the *Hollanders* forbore the publishing thereof in the Islands of *Banda*; untill they had taken *Polaroon*. But, knowing that it must be restored again, according to the Treatie, they first take all courses to make the Island little or nothing worth: they demolish and deface the Building, transplant the Nutmeg-trees, plucking them up by the roots, and carrying them into their own Islands of *Nera* and of *Poloway*, there to be planted for themselves; and at last find a means to dispeople the Island, and to leave it so, as the *English* might make no use of it, worth their charge of keeping; and that upon this occasion: There was a young man, the son of an *Orankey*, or a Gentleman in *Polaroon*, that had committed Felonie; for which by the Laws of his Countrey, he was to die. This fellow, to save his life, fled to another Island of *Banda*, called *Rofinging*, and there turned Christian: but quickly understanding, that

that that would not make him safe from punishment, he went back secretly to his own countrey of *Polaroon*; and, having lurked there a few days, took his passage for *Nera*, another Island, where the *Dutch* have a Fort; and told the *Dutch* Governour, that the *Orankeys* of *Polaroon* had conspired to Massacre the *Dutch*, as well at *Polaroon*, as at *Poloway*, with help of the people of *Seran*, that should send over thirtie *Curricurries* for that purpose. Immediately upon this *indictum* of this Malefactor, certain Prows, or Fisher-boats of the *Polaroons*, that were fishing at *Poloway*, were seized, and the people made prisoners. Command was sent by the *Dutch* Governour to *Polaroon*; that the *Orankeys* should come over to him, that there might be further inquisition made of this matter. The Priest of the *Polaroons* and seventie *Orankeys* instantly took a Prow or small vessel of their own, and embarked themselves for *Poloway*. As they were at sea, and yet out of the sight of the *Dutch* Castle, they were met by

by a Fisher-boat of *Bandanezes*, and told, how all the rest were apprehended; and that, if they went to *Poloway*, they were all but dead men. Nevertheless, the Priest and the rest, although they had space and means to have escaped to *Seran* and other places safe enough from the *Hollanders*, yet were so confident of their innocence, that they would needs to *Poloway* to purge themselves. Where, as soon as they were arrived, they were instantly carried prisoners to the Castle: and with all the Governour, with a force of two hundred men, went presently for *Polaroon*; whence he fetched all the rest of the *Orankeys*, and brought them prisoners to the same Castle. As soon as they were come, they were presently brought to the torture of water and fire, even in the same sort as our people were afterwards at *Amboyna*; onely herein differing, that of those at *Poloway*, two were so tortured, that they died in their Tortures, the rest, being one hundred and sixtie two persons, were all, upon

upon their own forced confessions, condemned and executed. The Priest, when he came to the place of execution, spake these words in the *Mallayan* tongue: All ye, great and small, rich and poor, black and white, look to it: we have committed no fault. And when he would have spoken more, he was taken by the hands and feet, laid along, and cut in two by the middle with a sword. Forthwith, the Governour caused the Wives, Children, and Slaves of those of *Polaroon*, to be all carried out of the Island, and distributed in other Islands subject to the *Dutch*; and so have made a clear Countrey for the *English*, where they may both plant and gather themselves, destitute of the help of any of the Countrey people; without whom, neither the *English* nor *Hollanders* can maintain their Trade in the *Indies*. And yet this is not here recited, to the end thereby to charge the *Netherlands* Nation with those cruel proceedings, but the persons themselves that

that have committed those Barbarous Tyrannies: Who, if we shall believe an Authour of their own, are not of the best of that Nation. For the Majors (as this Authour saies) use the Indies as a *Tucht-hause* or *Bride-well*, to manage their unruly and un-
 dutty children and kindred; whom, when they cannot rule and order at home, they send to the Indies, where they are preferred to Offices and places of Government. Yea, saith he, they prefer such to be Fiscals there, as never saw Studie nor Law. So that it is no marvel, that such persons proceed not with that justice and moderation as is used generally in the Low-Countries, by the choice of the Nation therer. And this agreeeth well with the report of our Merchants of credite, that came lately from *Amboyna*; who say, that, excepting the Governour himself, who is well stept in years, of the rest of the Council there, as well the Fiscal as others, there was scarce any that had hair on their faces, yea, that most

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of them are lewd drunken debauched persons ; and yet must be Judges as well of our *English*, as the poor *Indians* there.

Now to return to this Authours proofs , that there was no excess used in the proceedings ; at the last he taketh one Argument by way of comparison , from the Law of *England*, to press men to death : which he saith, hath much more cruelty than their course of Torture , used by the *Dutch* in *Amboyna*, and is holden , as well by some Authours of our own Nation as others , for damnable. How pertinent is this matter of pressing all eadged , for justifying of their Tortures , since no man in *England* is pressed for not confessing , which is the cause of Torture in *Dutchland* ? But the cause why any is pressed, is, for that he obstinately refuseth the Trial of his Countrey, and challengeth the Judges as incompetent, which the Law appointeth him : which he doth (for the most part) to save his goods which , but by that ordinary course of Trial , cannot be con-

sisca

fiscate. What is this to the point of confession, for refusal whereof, the *Dutch* use the Torture? And yet no man blameth them for proceeding according to the Law of their Countrey herein; nor yet in their execution; when they break the legs, arms and thighs of the Malefactours, and then set them upon a wheel on the end of a great pole, there to languish to death: an execution far more direfull than the *English* pressing, which is so suddenly done, and so seldom used. But why doth he not name the Authour of our own or forreign writers, which condemn this kind of execution? Let him do it yet, and he shall have moe Authours of his own Countrey that condemn their course of Tortures: and yes the *English* complain not of the course in general, but of the unlawfull use of it; contrarie to the rules of the Laws even of the United Provinces. Lastly, in this point the Authour pretendeth, that little or no Torture was used in this process. What the Torture was,

and in what degree , appears in the *English* Relation : but he can find little or none mentioned in the Acts. What if he will not find it ? or what if their Officers of *Amboyne* have concealed it ? Shall we not believe those that suffered it themselves ? shall we not believe those , that being themselves acquitted , yet heard the cries , and saw the bodies of *Johnson* , *Clark* , and *Tomson* , and have confirmed their Relation by their corporal Oaths ? As for the Act of the five and twentieth of February , which this Authour hath here transcribed ; it cannot be a true Act : for therein it is said , that that day all the *English* were examined one by one , and some before Torture , and some after confessed the Fact. Whereas it appeareth not onely by the *English* Relation , but by this very Authour in the precedent page , that they were not all examined the same five and twentieth day of February ; but that the examination continued six days together , even to the third of March inclusive. How then could

could the Act of the five and twentieth of February have all their confessions? By this may appear, what credit may be given to these Acts, or else to this Author. Here also by the way he tells us of the deliberation of their Council; whether the punishment of the Fact might be respited, or the cause removed: wherein it was resolved, that execution must needs be done in the place of the delict, for example sake; and might not be respited, for fear lest the Conspirators (as he terms them) might have more Dependances than yet were known; and in particular, the *Ternatans* and other *Indians* about *Amboyna*. A poor pretext: as if, having all the *English* in Irons aboard their several ships, they should need to fear their jayning with the *Ternatans*. But it may be, they feared some *English* ships also to come thither: for so they had made their own people believe. And therefore, two ships being descried at Sea, the *Dutch* and their free *Burghers* cried out, That there were the *English* that

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should have holpen to take the Castle : but when they arrived, they proved to be two ships of the *Hollanders* come from *Jaccatra* ; wherein was a Letter from the President of the *English* there , to call away Captain *Towerson* and all the *English* from *Amboyna* to *Jaccatra*. Which Letter was opened and read by the *Dutch* Governour, while our people were yet in prison , and not executed ; and might well have secured him, that there was no further danger to be feared of the *English* aids of shipping, what-ever the *English* prisoners had through Torture confessed.

At last the Authour comes to the sentence it self, transcribing out of the Acts of the ninth of March , That the Colledge of Judges being then competent, and calling upon the name of the Lord to assist them in this mournfull assembly , to preside in their hearts , and inspire them with equity and Justice ; proceeded to sentence, &c. Who knoweth not, but the Act may be thus formed,
and

and yet no prayer at all made? or if there were any such prayer, yet the proceedings well weighed, will shew it to be but like *Jezabels* Fast, the preparative to the false judgement against *Naboth*. Neither will the wise and indifferent Judges of this whole matter, conceive the better of the cause, for the Hypocritical formalities therein observed.

Last of all, he concludes his treatise with a justification, yea, an Elogie and commendation of the whole proceedings of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* against the *English*; not finding the least to be blamed to the *Dutch*, but aggravating the crime of the *English* very ridiculously, because (forsooth) that this plot amongst other things, was against the great means of the *Netherlands East-India* Company: as if a conspiracie to rob them, (if any such had been) must needs be Treason, or as if the intent onely in any Crime but treason, were Capital.

Thus have we examined this strained justification of that most
Bar-

Barbarous and execrable process of *Ambogna*; consisting of a preamble, full of false and forged suspicions; a Narration of the Fact, fraught with ridiculous absurdities, contrarieties, and impossibilities, and of a dispute of impertinences, with concealment of the main grounds of the *English* griefs. All which verifieth that of *Papinian*, That Parricides are more easily committed than defended.

F I N I S.



R E M A R K S
upon the fore-going
H I S T O R I E.

TO husband the
Remainder of
these Sheets the
best that I can,
to avoid impertinence,
which is certainly the
speaking of few things in
many words (though grave
men use it) and withall to
clear up , or to say better,
exaggerate one of the most
criminal Stories that ever
was, I presume to affix what
considerations of mine I can
set down; not out of any
enmitie to the Nation , nor
to rip up old soars , nor in
H 5 or

order to provoke a National jealousy, but upon a clear intention, to let this Nation see, that as by Gods immediate hand, they are rescued out of the bondage of a Monarchy, so in requital of that mercie, they ought to look to be thankful for it. And as he hath provided for them beyond means and hopes, so they ought not to be wanting in any thing that may make appear their detestation of those offences that are in his eyes of anger, but seek by all their power and might, to acquit themselves.

For the nature of the plot; you have seen what it is, a design of a few *Japonesses* to surprise a Castle, whereas

whereas in it self, both as they stood unfurnished with arms, and unseconded with ships, while their enemy was strongly Garrisoned, little better than a simple impossibilitie, besides that, there wanted an end to encourage and recompence such an attempt; and it is withall to be supposed, that the *English*, in a matter of that importance and danger, would have chosen other Confidents than a number of *Japonesses*, a people that any reasonable man might from their barbaritie suspect; and we are to note, that in the examination of the first *Japoness*, (which was the beginning of the whole process, there were no legal *indicia* found from him,

him, the behaviour that he used, being no other than what may be used by any Souldier in the place where he serveth, other *indicia* there were none in the least, neither of provisions of the *English* for such an attempt, nor of correspondencies to that purpose, nor any other agreeing with the rules and examples given by the law or its expounders. Besides, it is not enough for to take a confession upon the Rack, God having not sent all men courage of bodies to endure high tortures (as some in this tragedie, wearied with suffering, bade them propose what they would have them confess) but it is by Law required, that they should be iterated
and

*Collins,
Beamont,
Sherrcock

and confirmed some days after, when the pain of the partie is over, and no further torment offered unto him. Now in this case, there is never a confession entered in the Acts of the Council of *Ambogna*, but it is forced from the parties themselves by unsupportable tortures, not one witness being either examined or deposed. Withall, if there had been as much guilt among the *English* as is suspected, why did none of them attempt, either to transport themselves in the *Curricurries*, and other vessels, that then departed as freely from *Ambogna* as at other times, as it was no hard matter, or seek to hide themselves: a guiltie conscience.

ence being the insecurest thing in the world, and the *Faponnesses* being at that time at the torture.

Thus much for the probability of this dangerous machination; now for the legality of the proceeding of the *Dutch* thereupon, we will sit down and consider. The *English* that were tortured, were subject to an absolute Prince, independent of the *Hollander*, but in league with them: so they were friends and companions to the *Hollanders*, and not subjects, and were to be governed by their own Laws, or in case an offence given to the *Dutch*, by a joynt Company of both Nations. But the Governour of *Ambony-na*, took jurisdiction over them,

them, and therefore the whole proceeding had been illegal, had it been as gentle as it was cruel. Nor is it enough to say, that the subjects of another Countrey, offending against a Forreign jurisdiction (under which they are at present) ought to be punished by those Laws, for the *English* had an interest and share in the place, and there were, as I said before, as *socii*, not as *subditi*: not to say that there was no offence at all, so that the ground of the Objection is taken away. Nay, suppose that we had been under their jurisdiction, yet were the proceedings absolutely illegal: For they should have been agreeable to the custom of the *Low-Coun-*

Countreys, which those were not, and therefore it was an offence in the Governour, and a high one against the laws of his own Countrey. For all penal Laws, strictly circumstantiate, as well for executing just rigour, as for preventing of crueltie; and every Minister of Justice that transgresseth herein, as if he behead a man that is adjudged to be hanged, he renders himself little better than in the same capacitie. Yet notwithstanding, there was no just *indicium* for the torturing of the first *Japan*, nor any proofs against the *English*, but forced confessions of those tortured wretches, which for the most part were directed by the *Dutch*; *in his verbis*: which ground.

ground of Torture is prohibited by their own Law.

For matter of Torture, if you have had the heart to survey it, I suppose you will think it needs neither heightning, nor shadowing, it is so foul of it self. For my part all the debauched cruelties of the first Romane Emperours, when the invention of a good exquisite Torment was a good way for advancement, though savage devices inflicted upon the Martyrs, when the continuance of persecution hardened and instructed cruelty; all those sanguinarie Barbarisms of the most unciviliz'd Nations have not appeared to me so foul and exquisite as this single process; and that
by

by a people in league with us, of opinion with us in Religion, and obliged to us in effect for their being, purchased by us with the loss of so many brave lives, and the profusion of so much treasure, even in our own most dangerous times, when they were like to be swallowed up by a ravenous invader, and stood deserted by all their other neighbours; yet these men for the engrossing of that Trade, wherein they have been unhappily fortunate, could cancel all these obligations, and break the Laws of nature, nations, and hospitality to bring it about.

And truly me thinks upon this occasion, I cannot but look back on the felicity

city of those times , the excellencie of the Government , and the Honour of that Prince that could sleep so soundly , when such cries were so loud in his ears . This it is to be under the Government of *one* , who notwithstanding is governed by a *Pimp* or a *Parasite* , who though he have such a sacred trust as the safety and the righting of the people , yet to please his *Cate-mit* , and the better to sacrifice to his lust and luxurie , would be blind to such a violation of his own Honour , and the safety of his people , while the bloud cries in vain behind the Altar , and so becomes entayl'd on his own head , and for ought we know , may still lie
upon

upon ours. But the *Dutch* knew well enough what an easie and secure Prince they had to deal with, and therefore like crafty Foxes adventured to play tricks with the old drowfie Lion; they knew well enough that the exorbitancies, prodigalities, and ill provisions of that Court would ever keep it beggarly and needy, and that there wanted not instruments in it that Gold would work upon: and therefore they had old *Fanny* fast enough besieg'd (though he were a place easie enough to take in of himself) so that this business was hushed up in silence for a little money, and the cautionarie Towns were sold for *nine pence*, which
 had

had cost us a *Noble* , they themselves laughing at the credulitie of that stupid Prince , that would give up so considerable places (which held them in aw, and preserved us ever a good means to right our selves) and thinking so great a masterpiece, that their engine, the *then* Secretarie, had a present of no less than 30. or 40000. *l.* for that one service. But the best of it is, the enchantment is now broke up , and we begin to rouse our selves again , and with the blessing of God upon our Liberty , may arrive at a higher pitch of glorie and happiness than any of our Ancestors : if they, that have overcome, sheath their swords (as God
be

be thanked they do) and they that are overcome lay aside their hates , as I wish they may. For so we shall grow up to be one body, and shall be formidable to all round about us , and be able rather to right our distressed Neighbours , than be in a capacity to receive injuries of the least , much less of the most horrid nature.

F I N I S.



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