A true relation of the unjust, cruel and barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna by the Netherlandish Governor and Councell there. XXII.-12.

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A TRVE RELATION OF THE VNIVST, CRVELL, AND BARBAROVS PROCEEDINGS against the ENGLISH at AMBOYNA

In the EAST-INDIES, *by the Neatherlandish* GOVERNOVR *and* COVNCEL *there.*

Also the copie of a Pamphlet, set forth first in Dutch and then in English, by some Neatherlander; falsly entituled,

A TRVE DECLARATION OF THE Newes that came out of the EAST-INDIES, with the Pinace called the HARE, which arriued at TEXEL in *Iune*, 1624.

Together with an Answer to the same PAMPHLET.

By the English EAST-INDIA Companie.

Published by Authoritie.

LONDON,
Printed by H. Lownes for *Nathanael Newberry*. 1624.

BAT. GENOOTSCHAP VAN K. EN W.



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TO THE READER.

GEntle Reader, thou maiſt (perhaps) wonder why this Relation of the buſineſſe of Amboyna, ſo many months ſince taken vpon the oaths & depoſitions of our people that came thence, and preſented to his Majeſty, and the Lords of his Priuy Councell; cometh now at laſt to the Preſſe, and was not either ſooner publiſhed, or altogether ſuppreſſed. The truth is, the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company haue euer been very tender of the ancient amity and good correſpondence held between this Realm and the Neatherlands, and haue been very loth, by diuulging of the priuate iniuries done

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them by the Neatherlands East-India Company, to giue the least occasion of any distaste or disaffection, which might haply growe between these two Nations, for the sake and on the behalf of the two Companies respectiuely. For which cause, although the wrongs and iniuries, or rather contumelies done vnto the English by the Dutch in the Indies, haue beene as intolerable as manifold; as to say nothing of those great heapes of them buried in the Amnesty of the Treaty of the yeare 1619. and only to point at the generall heads of those committed since that Treaty, and grossely contrary to the maine intent, and expresse words and disposition of the same: first, in the point of hostility; the inuasion of the Islands of Lantore and Polaroone, then and before in the quiet possession of the English, in the name of the Crowne of England; the taking of the same Islands by force; the razing and demolishing of the English Forts; the binding of the English (that had not so much as resisted them) to stakes with ropes about their neckes, throttling them with the same, and flourishing their naked swords about them, as if they would presently haue dispatched them; then taking them so amazed and bound, and tumbling them downe the rocks; and after, carrying their crushed and bruised carcases away in irons: secondly, in the

point

point of their vsurped soueraignty; their taking vpon them the Conusance of controuersies between the English and the Indians, for matters passed farre without the compasse of the Neatherlands pretended jurisdiction, and executing their sentences therupon 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 were disbursed to the priuate and sole behoofe of the Dutch; giuing great Presents for the glory of the Dutch, without consent of the English, and making warre for the inlargement of their owne dominion, 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: Neuertheless, the English Company from time to time contented themselues with informing his Majestie and his Honourable Priuy Councell with their grieuances priuately in writing, to the end that necessary relief and reparation might bee obtained, without publishing any thing to the world in print, thereby to stir vp or breed ill blood between these Nations, which are otherwise tied in so many reciprocal

ciprocall obligations. And the ſame courſe they haue hitherto holden alſo in this crying buſineſs of of Amboyna; onely offering to the Manes of their murdered Countrey-men, Factors and Kinsfolks, their effectuall endeauours in a dutiful courſe vnto his Majeſty, for juſtice for their innocent blood, and reparation of the honour of the nation heerein intereſſed. In which their wonted way they were ſo conſtant, that they could not be driuen 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 all the other ſufferings of the Engliſh in the Indies, publiſhed a Pamphlet in print in the Netherlands Language, not only 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 Pamplet, being called-in by an Edict of the States generall, was yet afterwards tranſlated and printed in Engliſh, and diſperſed euen in this Realm it ſelf, to braue and diſgrace vs at our own dores, and in our owne language. This, no Engliſh patience can bear: the bloud of the innocent cryes out againſt it: the honor of the nation ſuffereth in it. Wherefore the Engliſh Eaſt-India Companie is heerby inforced, contrary to their deſire and cuſtome, to haue recourſe alſo to the Preſſ... to maintaine

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taine the reputation of those their Countrey-men and seruants, that lost their liues vnjustly; and to acquaint the world with the naked truth of this cause, hitherto masked, muffled, and obscured in a fog of fictions, concealments, and crafty conueiances of the Author of this Pamphlet, and his clients the Gouernor & Councel (so termed) of Amboyna.

Hauing thus acquainted thee, gentle Reader, with the reasons why this businesse was no sooner published in print, it remaineth yet further, that thou be satisfied in an objection or two more, which common reason will suggest vnto thee. Without doubt, reading this discourse, and being a true patriote of thine owne Countrey, and a well-willer of the Neatherlands (as we presume and wish thee to be), thou wilt wonder how it commeth to passe, that our Nation, which hath not been wont to receiue such disgraces, should now be so weak & vnprouided in the Indies, as to suffer such indignities, and to be so grosly ouertopped, outraged & vilified there: as also thou wilt no lesse admire, that any of the Netherlands nation, which hath receiued such and so many fauors and supports from hence, and held so good & antient correspondence with our nation, should now offer & commit such odious cõtumelies on Englishmen, their partners & allies by speciall Treaty. Herein thou wilt soon answer thy

ſelfe, if thou but conſider the different end and deſigne of the Engliſh & Dutch Companies trading in the Indies, appearing by their ſeueral courſe and practiſe reſpectiuely. The Engliſh being ſubiects of a peaceable Prince, that hath enough of his owne, and is therewith content, without affecting of new acqueſts; haue aymed at nothing in their East-India trade, but a lawfull and competent gaine by commerce and traffick with the people of thoſe parts. And although they haue in ſome places builded Forts, and ſettled ſome ſtrength, yet that hath not beene 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 ſecurity only of the Trade, and vpon the ſaid Magiſtrate and peoples voluntarie yeelding themſelues vnder the obedience and ſoueraignty of the Crown of England; their owne ancient lawes, cuſtomes and priuiledges, neuertheleſſe reſerued. Further, the ſame Engliſh had vndoubted confidence in the Neatherlands Nation there alſo trading, eſpecially being lately conjoyned with them in the ſtrict alliance and ſociall confederacy of the year 1619. and therefore attended nothing from them, but the offices of good affection and partnerſhip. Vpon theſe grounds, the Engliſh Company made their equipages anſwerable only to

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a course of cõmerce 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, inuaded diuers 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 prouided of shipping, souldiers, and all warlike prouision, as also of places of Rendeuouz vpon the shore, and thereby enabled to wrong the English aswell as others: so the cost and charges of their shipping, Forts, and souldiers, imployed vpon these designes, rose to such an height, as was not to bee maintained by the trade they had in those parts. Wherefore, for a supply, they were forced (as some of their owne Countrymen and Aduenturers in their Company, affirm) to fish with dry nets, that is to say, to pick quarrels with the Indians, & so to take their ships, & make prize of their goods. Which yet not answering their charge and aduenture, they proceeded also to quarrell with the English, to debarre them of trade to free places; and for attempting such trade, to take their ships & goods. Touching which, when a good order was set by the said treaty of the yeer 1619.

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yet,

yet they saw, they could not make their reckoning to any purpose, vnlesse they vtterly draue the English out of the trade of those parts; thereby to haue the whole and sole traffick of the commodities of the Indies in these parts of Europe, in their owne hands; and so to make the price at their pleasure, sufficient to maintain & promote their conquests, and withall to yeeld them an ample benefit of their trading. Which vnlesse they can, by this and the like worrying and wearying of the English, bring to passe, it is easie to be iudged by those that vnderstand any thing of the course and state of the trade of those parts, that albeit their returnes heerafter should proue as great continually, as of late extraordinarily they haue happened to be, yet the maine stock and estate of the Company must needs abate and decay by some hundred thousands of pounds yeerly. Thus, Reader, thou seest what hath made vs vnprouided against such accidents, and what now enforceth the Dutch East-India Company, or their seruants in the Indies, against the common Genius *of their Nation, and the wonted firm affection between these two Nations mutually, thus to degenerate, and break out into such strange and incredible outrages against their neerest allies and best-deseruing friends. Farewell.*

Hæc ita corrige. Page 20. l. 1. for *three*, r. *fiue* p. 25 l. 15. dele *all*, p. 35. l. 3 r. *sleeping in the watch*. In the Answ. p. 12. l. 11. for *h*[illegible] *t*[illegible]*n*. p. 21. l. 30 r. *Price and M Towerson*;

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A TRVE RELATION OF THE LATE VNIVST, CRVELL, AND BARBAROVS PROCEEDINGS AGAINST the *English* at AMBOYNA in the *East-Indies*, by the *Neatherlanders* there, vpon a forged pretence of a Conspiracie *of the said English.*

AFter the fruitlesse issue of two seuerall Treaties: the first *An.* 1613. in *London*; and the other *Ann.* 1615. at the *Hage* in Holland, touching the differences betweene the English and Dutch in the *East-Indies*, at last by a third Treatie, *Anno* 1619. in *London*, there was a full and solemne composition made of all the said

diffe-

differences, and a faire order ſet for the future proceeding of the Suppoſts of both Companies in the Indies; aſwell 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*, & *Amboyna*, from the Spaniards & Portugals, & in building of Forts for the continual ſecuring of the ſame, the ſaid Hollanders therfore ſhould enioy two third parts of that Trade, & the Engliſh the other third; and the charge of the Forts to be maintained by taxes and impoſitions, to be leuied vpon the Merchandize. Wherefore, in conſequence of this agreement, the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company planted certaine 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 ſpeake further; but the laſt will proue the Scene of a ſad Tragedie.

This *Amboyna* is an Iſland lying neere *Seran*, of the circuit of fortie leagues, and giueth name alſo to ſome other ſmal Iſlands adiacent. It beareth Cloues; for gathering and buying in whereof, the Engliſh Companie for their part had planted fiue ſeuerall Factories: the head and *Rendevouz* of all, at the town of *Amboyna*; and therein firſt, Maſter *George Muſchamp*, and afterward Maſter *Gabriel Towerſon*, their Agents, with directions ouer the ſmaller Factories at *Hitto* and *Larica* vpon the ſame Iſland, and at *Labo* and *Cambello*, vpon a point of their neighbouring Iſland of *Seran*.

Vpon

Vpon theſe Iſlands of *Amboyna*, and the point of *Seran*, the Hollanders haue foure Forts; the chiefe of all is at the ſaid towne of *Amboyna*, and is verie ſtrong, hauing foure Points or Bulwarkes with their Curtaines, and vpon each of theſe Points ſixe great peeces of Ordnance mounted, moſt of them of braſſe. The one ſide of this Caſtle is waſhed by the Sea, and the other is diuided from the land with a Ditch of foure or fiue fathome broad, very deepe, and euer filled with the Sea. The Garriſon of this Caſtle conſiſteth of about 200. Dutch ſouldiers, & a Company of free Burgers. Beſides theſe, there is alwayes a matter of three or foure hundred *Mardikers* (for ſo they vſually call the free natiues) in the towne, ready to ſerue the Caſtle at an houres warning. There lye alſo in the roade (for the moſt part) diuerſe good Ships of the Hollanders, aſwell for the guard of the place by Sea, as for the occaſions of traffique: this being the chiefe *Rendevouz*, as well for the Iſland of *Banda*, as for the reſt of *Amboyna*. Here the Engliſh liued; not in the Caſtle, but vnder protection thereof, in a houſe of their own in the town; holding themſelues ſafe, as well in reſpect of the ancient bonds of amity betweene both nations, as of the ſtrict coniunction made by the late Treaty before mentioned.

They continued here ſome two yeares, conuerſing and trading together with the Hollanders, by vertue of the ſaid Treaty. In which time there fell out ſundry differences and debates betweene them; The Engliſh complayning that the Hollanders did not oncly lauiſhaway much money in building, and vnneceſſary expences, vpon the Forts and otherwiſe, and bring large and vnreaſonable reckonings thereof

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to the common accompt; but also did, for their part, pay the Garrisons with victualls and cloth of *Coromandell*, which they put off to the Souldiers at three or foure times the valew it cost them, yet would not allow of the Englisth Companies part of the same charge, but onely in ready money; thereby drawing from the Englisth (which ought to pay but one third part) more than two thirds of the whole true charge. Hereupon, and vpon the like occasions, grew some discontents and disputes, and the complaints were sent to *Iaccatra*, in the Island of *Iana Maior*, to the Councell of defence of both Nations there residing: who also, not agreeing vpon the points in difference, sent the same hither ouer into Europe, to be decided by both Companies here; or, in default of their agreement, by the Kings Maiestie, and the Lords the States Generall, according to an Article of the Treatie of the yeare 1619. on this behalfe. In the meane time, the discontent betweene the Englisth and the Dutch, about these and other differences, continued and daily encreased, vntill at last there was a sword found, to cut in sunder that knot at once, which the tedious disputes of *Amboyna* and *Iaccatra* could not vntye. And this was vsed in maner as followeth.

About the eleuenth of February, 1622. *Stilo veteri*, a *Iaponer* Souldier of the Dutch in their Castle of *Amboyna*, walking in the night vpon the wall, came to the Sentinell (being a Hollander,) and there, amongst other talke, asked him some questions touching the strength of the Castle, and the people that were therin. It is heer to be noted, that those *Iaponers* (of whom there is not thirty in all the Island) did, for the most part, serue the Dutch as Souldiers, yet were

not of their truſty bands, alwaies lodged in the caſtle, but vpon occaſion called out of the town to aſsiſt in the Watch. This *Iaponer* aforeſaid, was for his ſaid conference with the Sentinell, apprehended vpon ſuſpicion of treaſon, and put to the Torture. Therby (as ſome of the Dutch affirmed) hee was brought to confeſſe himſelfe, and ſundry others of his countrey-men there, to haue contriued the taking of the Caſtle. Hereupon, other *Iaponers* were examined and tortured, as alſo a Portugall, the Guardian of the Slaues vnder the Dutch. During this examination, which continued three or foure daies; ſome of the Engliſh-men went to and from the Caſtle vpon their buſineſſe, ſaw the priſoners, heard of their tortures, and of the crime laid to their charge; But all this while ſuſpected not, that this matter did any whit concerne themſelues; hauing neuer had any conuerſation with the *Iaponers*, nor with the Portugall aforeſaid. At the ſame time there was one *Abel Price*, Chirurgion of the Engliſh, priſoner in the Caſtle, for offering in his drunkenneſſe to ſet a Dutch-mans houſe on fire. This fellow the Dutch tooke, and ſhewed him ſome of the *Iaponers*, whom they had firſt moſt grieuouſly tortured, and told him, they had confeſſed the Engliſh to haue beene of their confederacy, for the taking of the Caſtle; and that if he would not confeſſe the ſame, they would vſe him euen as they had done theſe *Iaponers*, and worſe alſo. Hauing giuen him the torture, they ſoone made him confeſſe what euer they asked him. This was the fifteenth of February, 1622. *Stilo veteri*. Forthwith, about nine of the Clock the ſame morning, they ſent for Captaine *Towerſon*, and the reſt of the Engliſh that were

Abel Price examined.

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in the Towne to come to ſpeake with the Gouernor in the Caſtle: They all went, ſaue one that was left to keepe the houſe. Being come to the Gouernor, hee told Captaine *Towerſon*, that himſelfe and others of his Nation were accuſed of a conſpiracie to ſurpriſe the Caſtle, and therefore, vntill further triall, were to remaine priſoners. Inſtantly alſo they attached him that was left at home in the houſe, tooke the Marchandize of the Engliſh Company there into their owne cuſtody by Inuentory, and ſeized all the cheſts, boxes, bookes, writings, and other things in the Engliſh houſe. Captaine *Towerſon* was committed to his chamber with a guard of Dutch Souldiers. *Emanuel Tomſon* was kept priſoner in the Caſtle; the reſt, viz. *John Beomont*, *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, *Timothy Johnſon*, *Iohu Fardo*, and *Robert Browne*, 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 Gouernor ſent to the two other Factories in the ſame Iſland, to apprehend the reſt of the Engliſh there. So that *Samuel Colſon*, *Iohn Clarke*, *George Sharrock*, that were found in the Factory at *Hitto*, and *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, and *Iohn Saddler* at Larica, were all brought priſoners to *Amboyna* the ſixteenth of February. Vpon which day alſo *Iohn Powel*, *Iohn Wetherall*, and *Thomas Ladbrook*, were apprehended at Cambello, and *Iohn Beomont*, *William Grigs*, and *Ephraim Ramſey*, at Loho, and brought in Irones to *Amboyna* the twentieth of the ſame month. In the meane time the Gouernor and Fiſcall went to worke with the priſoners that were already there: And firſt they ſent for *Iohn Beomont*,

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and

and *Timothie Iohnſon*, from aboard the *Vnicorne*; who being come into the Caſtle, *Beomont* was left with a guard in the Hall, and *Iohnſon* was taken into another roome. Where, by and by, *Beomont* heard him crie out very pittifully; then to bee quiet for a little while, and then loud againe. After taſte of the torture, *Abel Price* the Chirurgion, that firſt was examined and tortured (as is aboue remembred) was brought in to confront and accuſe him: But *Iohnſon* not yet confeſsing any thing, *Price* was quickly carried out, and *Iohnſon* brought againe to the torture; where *Beomont* heard him ſometime cry aloud, then quiet againe, then roare afreſh. At laſt, after hee had beene about an houre in this ſecond examination, hee was brought forth wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in diuers parts of his body, and ſo laid aſide in a by-place of the Hall, with a ſouldier to watch him that he ſhould ſpeake with no body. Then was *Emanuell Tomſon* brought to examination; not in the roome where *Iohnſon* had beene, but in another ſomething farther from the Hall. Yet *Beomont* being in the Hall, heard him roare moſt lamentably, and many times. At laſt, after an houre and an halfe ſpent in torturing him, hee was carried away into another roome another way, ſo that he came not by *Beomont*, through the Hall. Next, was *Beomont* called in, and, beeing demanded many things, all which he denied with deep oathes and proteſtations, was made faſt to be tortured; a cloth tyed about his neck, and two men ready with their Iarres of water to be powred on his head. But yet for this time the Gouernor bad looſe him, hee would ſpare him a day or two, becauſe hee was an old man. This was all Saturdayes worke, the

Emanuel Tomſon examined.

fif-

fifteenth of February afore ſaid.

Vpon Sunday the ſixteenth of February, *William Webber, Edward Collins, Ephraim Ramſey*, and *Robert Brown*, were fetcht from aboord the *Rotterdam*, to be examined. At the ſame time came *Samuel Colſon, William Griggs*, and *John Clarke, George Sharrock*, and *John Saddler*, from *Hitto* and *Larica*, and were immediately, vpon their arriuall, brought into the Caſtle-Hall.

Robert Browne examined.

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

Edward Collins examined.

Then was *Edward Collins* called in, and told, that thoſe that were formerly examined, had confeſt him as acceſſary to the plot of taking the Caſtle. Which, when he denied with great othes & execrations, they made his hands and feete faſt to the Rack, bound a cloth about his throate, ready to bee put to the torture of water. Thus prepared, hee prayed to be reſpited, and hee would confeſſe all. Being let downe, hee againe vowed and proteſted his innocency; yet ſaid, that becauſe hee knew that they would by torture make him confeſſe any thing, though neuer ſo falſe, they ſhould doe him a great fauour, to tell him what they would haue him ſay, and hee would ſpeake it, to auoide the torture. The Fiſcall hereupon ſaid; What, doe you mocke vs? and bad, Vp with him againe; and ſo gaue him the torment of water: which hee not able long to endure, prayed to bee let downe againe to his confeſsion. Then he deuiſed a little with himſelfe, and tolde them, that about two moneths and a halfe before, himſelfe, *Tomſon, Johnſon, Browne*, and *Fardo*, had plotted, with the helpe of the *Iaponers*, to

fur-

ſurpriſe the Caſtle. Heere hee was interrupted by the Fiſcall, and asked, whether Captaine *Towerſon* were not of that conſpiracy. Hee anſwered, No. You ly, ſaid the Fiſcall: did not he call you all to him, and tell you, that thoſe daily abuſes of the Dutch had cauſed him to thinke of a plot, and that he wanted nothing but your conſent and ſecrecie? Then ſaid a Dutch Merchant, one *John Iooſt* that ſtood by, Did not you all ſweare vpon a Bible to be ſecret to him? *Collins* anſwered with great oaths, that hee knew nothing of anie ſuch matter. Then they bade make him faſt againe: whereupon he then ſaid, All was true that they had ſpoken. Then the Fiſcall asked him, whether the Engliſh in the reſt of the Factories, were not conſenting to this plot. He anſwered, No. The Fiſcall then asked him, whether the Preſident of the Engliſh at Iaccatra, or Maſter *Welden* Agent in Banda, were not plotters or priuie to this buſineſſe. Againe he anſwered, no. Then the Fiſcall asked him, by what meanes the Iaponers ſhould haue executed their purpoſe. Whereat, when *Collins* ſtood ſtaggering and deuiſing of ſome probable fiction, the Fiſcall holpe him, and ſaid, Should not two Iaponers haue gone to each point of the Caſtle, and two to the Governours chamber doore; and when the hurly-burly had bin without, and the Gouernour comming to ſee what was the matter, the Iaponers to haue killed him? Here one that ſtood by, ſaid to the Fiſcall, Do not tell him what he ſhould ſay, but let him ſpeake of himſelfe. Whereupon the Fiſcall, without attending the anſwer to his former queſtion; asked what the Iaponers ſhould haue had for their reward. *Collins* anſwered, 1000. Ryalls apeece. Laſtly, he asked him, when

this plot ſhould haue beene effected. Whereunto, although he anſwered him nothing (not knowing what to deuiſe vpon the ſudden) yet hee was diſmiſſed, and very glad to come cleere of the torture, though with certaine beleefe that hee ſhould die for this his confeſsion.

Sam. Colſon examined. Next was *Samuel Colſon* brought in, being newly arriued from Hitto, as is before touched, and was the ſame day brought to the torture, who, for feare of the paine wherewith hee ſaw *Collins* come out, in ſuch a caſe, that his eyes were almoſt blowne out of his head with the torment of water; choſe rather to confeſſe all they asked him: and ſo was quickly diſmiſſed, comming out weeping, lamenting, and proteſting his innocency.

Iohn Clarke examined. Then was *Iohn Clarke*, that came with *Colſon* from Hitto, fetcht in, and a little after was heard (by the reſt that were without in the Hall) to cry out amaine. They tortured him with water and with fire, by the ſpace of two houres. The maner of his torture (as alſo of *Iohnſons* and *Tomſons*) was as followeth: Firſt they hoiſed him vp by the hands with a cord on a large dore, where they made him faſt vpon 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 faſt, his feete hung ſome two foote from the ground; which alſo they ſtretcht aſunder as far as they would retch, and ſo made them faſt beneath vnto the dore-trees on each ſide. Then they bound a cloth about his necke and face ſo cloſe, that little or no water could go by. That done, they poured the water ſoftly vpon his head vntill the cloth was full, vp to the mouth and noſtrils

A true relation of the unjust, cruel and barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna by the Netherlandish Governor and Councell there. XXII.-12b

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noſtrills, 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, eares, and eyes, and often as it were ſtifling and choaking him, at length took away his breath, & brought him to a ſwoune or fainting. Then they tooke him quickly downe, and made him vomit vp the water. Being a little recouered, they tricd him vp againe, and poured in the water as before, eftſoones taking him downe as he ſeemed to be ſtifled. In this maner they handled him three or foure ſeuerall times vvith vvater, till his body vvas ſvvolne tvvice or thrice as bigge as before, his cheekes like great bladders, and his eyes ſtaring and ſtrutting out beyond his forehead: yet all this he bare, vvithout confeſsing anie thing; inſomuch as the Fiſcall and tormentors reuiled him, ſaying that he was a Diuell, and no man, or ſurely was a Witch, at leaſt had ſome charme about him, or was enchanted, that he could beare ſo much. Wherfore they cut off his haire veric ſhort, as ſuppoſing he had ſome witchcraft hidden therein. Afterwards they hoiſed him vp againe as before, and then burnt him with lighted candles in the bottome of his feete, vntill the fat dropt out the candles; yet then applyed they freſh lights vnto him. They burnt him alſo vnder the elbowes, and in the palmes of the hands; likewiſe vnder the arme-pitts, vntill his inwards might euidently be ſeene. At laſt, when they ſaw he could of himſelfe make no handſome confeſſion, then they ledde him along with queſtions of particular circumſtances, by themſelues framed. Being thus wearied and ouercome by the torment; hee

answered, yea to whatsoeuer they asked: whereby they drew from him a bodie of a confession to this effect; to wit, That Captaine *Towerson* had vpon New-yeares day last before, sworne all the English at *Amboyna* to bee secret and assistant to a plot that he had proiected, with the helpe of the Iaponers, to surprise the Castle, and to put the Gouernour and the rest of the Dutch to death.

Hauing thus martyred this poor man, they sent him out by foure Blacks; who carried him between them to a dungeon, where he lay fiue or six daies without any Chirurgion to dresse him, vntil (his flesh being putrified) great Maggots dropt and crept from him in a most loathsom & noysom maner. Thus they finished their Sabbath daies work; & it growing now darke, sent the rest of the English (that came that day from Hitto, and till then attended in the Hall) first to the Smith's shop, where they were loaden with Irons, & then to the same loathsom dungeon where *Clarke* and the rest were, accompanied with the poore Iaponers, lying in the putrefaction of their tortures.

The next morning, being Munday the seuenteenth of February, old Stile, *William Griggs* and *Iohn Fardo*, with certaine Iaponers, were brought into the place of examination.

Will. Griggs examined.

Iohn Fardo examined.

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

The same day also *Iohn Beomont* was brought the second

second time to the Fiscals chamber; where one Captaine *Newport* a Dutch-mans son (borne in England) was vsed as an Interpreter. *William Grigs* was also brought-in to accuse him; who said, that when the consultation for taking of the Castle, was held, then hee (the said *Beomont*) was present. *Beomont* denied it with great earnestnesse and deep oaths. At last being triced vp, and drenched with water till his inwards were ready to crack, he answered affirmatiuely to all the Fiscals interrogatories: yet as soon as hee was let down, he cleerly demonstrated to Captain *Newport*, and *Johnson* a Dutch Merchant then also present, that these things could not be so. Neuertheless hee was forced to put his hand to his confession, or else hee must to the torture againe: which to auoid, hee subscribed; and so had a great iron bolt & two shackles riueted to his legs, & then was carried back to prison. *Ioh. Beomont examined 2°.*

After this, *George Sharrock*, Assistant at Hitto, was called in question; who, seeing how grieuously others were martyred, made his earnest prayer to God (as since vpon his oath hee hath acknowledged) that he would suffer him to make some such probable lyes against himself, as the Dutch might beleeue, and so hee might escape the torment. Being brought to the Rack, the water prouided, and the candles lighted, he was by the Gouernor and Fiscall examined, and charged with the conspiracy. He fell vpon his knees, and protested his innocencie. Then they commanded him to the Rack, and told him; Vnlesse hee would confesse, he should be tormented with fire and water to death, and then should be drawne by the heeles to the gallows, and there hanged vp. He still persisting in this his innocencie, the Fiscall bade him be hoised *George Sharrock examined.*

vp. Then hee craued reſpite awhile, and told them, that he was at Hitto, and not in *Amboyna*, vpon New-yeeres day, when the conſultation was pretended; neither had been there ſince Nouember before, as was well knowne to ſundry of the Hollanders themſelues that reſided there alſo with him. Heereupon, they commanded him againe to the Rack: but hee, crauing reſpite as before, now told them, that hee had many times heard *Iohn Clark* (who was with him at Hitto) ſay, That the Dutch had done them many vnſufferable wrongs, and that he would be reuenged of them: to which end, hee had once broken with Captaine *Towerſon* of a braue plot. At which word the Fiſcall and the reſt were attentiue, encouraging him to proceed. So hee went on, ſaying, that *Iohn Clark* had entreated Captain *Towerſon*, that he might go to Maccaſſar, there to conſult and aduiſe with the Spaniards to come with gallies, and rob the ſmall Factories of Amboyna and Seran, when no ſhips were there. Heer 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 neuer abide him. Hereupon the Fiſcall called him rogue, & ſaid he prated all from the matter, and ſhould go to the torture. Hee craued fauour againe, and began another tale; to weet, that vpon Twelf-day then laſt paſt, *Iohn Clark* told him at Hitto, that there was a practiſe to take the Caſtle of *Amboyna*; and asked him, whether hee would conſent thereunto. Whereupon he demanded of *Clark*, whether Captain *Towerſon* knew of any ſuch matter. Which, *Clark* affirming; then he (the ſaid *Sharrock*) ſaid, that hee would do as the reſt did. Then the Fiſcall

call asked him, what time the conſultation was held. Hee anſwered, In Nouember laſt. The Fiſcall ſaid, That could not bee: for, the conſultation was vpon New-yeers day. The priſoner ſaid as before in the beginning, that hee had not been in *Amboyna* ſince the firſt of December, till now that hee was brought thither. Why then, quoth the Fiſcall, haue you belyed your ſelf? Whereto the priſoner reſolutely anſwered, that all that hee had ſpoken touching any treaſon, was falſe and fained, onely to auoid torment. Then went the Fiſcall out into another room to the Gouernor, and anon returned, and ſent *Sharrock* vnto the priſon againe. The next day hee was called againe, and a writing preſented him; wherein was framed a formall confeſsion of his laſt conference with *Clark* at Hitto, touching the plot to take the Caſtle of *Amboyna*: which being read-ouer to him, the Fiſcall asked him, whether it were true, or no. He anſwered, No. Why then, ſaid the Fiſcall, did you confeſſe it? He anſwered, For feare of torment. The Fiſcall and the reſt in a great rage told him hee lyed; his mouth had ſpoken it, and it was true, and therfore he ſhould ſubſcribe it. Which as ſoon as he had done, hee fell preſently into a great paſsion, charging them bitterly to be guilty of the innocent blood of himſelf and the reſt, which they ſhould look to anſwer for at the Day of Iudgement: withall he grappled with the Fiſcall, and would haue ſtopped him from carrying-in the confeſsion to the Gouernor, with whom he alſo craued to ſpeak; but was inſtantly laid hold on, and carried away to priſon.

William Webber, being next examined, was told by the Fiſcall, that *Iohn Clark* had confeſſed him to haue been *William Webber* examined.

been at *Amboyna* on New-yeers day, and ſworne to Captaine *Towerſon*'s plot, &c. All which he denied, alleaging, hee was that day at Larica: yet, beeing brought to the torture, hee then confeſſed, hee had bin at the conſultation at *Amboyna* vpon New-yeers day, with all the reſt of the circumſtances in order as he was asked. He alſo further told them, hee had receiued a letter from *Iohn Clark*; after which was a Poſtſcript, excuſing his brief writing at that time, for that there was great buſineſſe in hand. But one *Renier* a Dutch Merchant, then ſtanding by, told the Gouernor, that vpon New-yeers day, the time of this pretended conſultation, *Webber* and hee were merry at Larica. So the Gouernor left him, and went out. But the Fiſcall held on vpon the other point, touching the Poſtſcript of *Clark*s Letter, vrging him to ſhew the ſame. Which when hee could not doe, though often terrified with the torture, he gaue him reſpite; promiſing to ſaue his life, if hee would produce that Letter.

Gabriel Towerſen examined.

Then was Captaine *Towerſon* brought to the examination, and ſhewed what others had confeſſed of him. Hee deeply proteſting his innocencie, *Samuel Colſon* was brought to confront him: who beeing told, that vnleſſe hee would now make good his former confeſsion againſt Captaine *Towerſon*, he ſhould to the torture; coldly re-affirmed the ſame, and ſo was ſent away. They alſo brought *William Grigs* and *Iohn Fardo* to iuſtifie their former confeſsions to his face. Captain *Towerſon* ſeriouſly charged them, that as they would anſwer it at the dreadful day of Iudgement, they ſhould ſpeak nothing but the truth. Both of them inſtantly fell downe vpon their knees before him;

him; praying him for God's ſake to forgiue them, and ſaying further openly before them all, that whatſoeuer they had formerly confeſſed, was moſt falſe, and ſpoken onely to auoid torment. With that, the Fiſcall and the reſt offred them again to the torture: which they would not endure, but then affirmed their former confeſsions to be true.

When *Colſon* (who had accuſed Captain *Towerſon* before) was required to ſet his hand to his confeſsion, he asked the Fiſcall, vpon whoſe head he thought the ſinne would lie; whether vpon his that was conſtrained to confeſſe what was falſe, or vpon the conſtrainers. The Fiſcall, after a little pauſe vpon this queſtion, went in to the Gouernor then in another room; but anon returning, told *Colſon* hee muſt ſubſcribe it: which he did; yet withall made this proteſtation: Well, quoth he, you make mee to accuſe my ſelfe and others of that which is as falſe, as GOD is true: for, God is my witnes, I am as innocent as the childe new borne.

Thus haue they examined all that belong to the Engliſh Companie in the ſeuerall Factories of the Iland of *Amboyna*.

The one and twentith of February, they examined *John Wetherall*, Factor at Cambello in the Iland of Seran. He confeſſed, he was at *Amboyna* vpon New-yeers day: but for the conſultation, whereof he was demanded, he ſaid he knew of no other, but touching certain cloth of the Engliſh Company, that lay in the Factories rotting and worm-eaten; which they aduiſed together how to put off to the beſt auail of their Imployers. The Gouernor ſaid, they queſtioned him not about cloth, but of treaſon: whereof when hee *Iob Wetherall examined.*

had proteſted his innocency, he was for that time diſmiſſed. But the next day hee was ſent for again, and Captaine *Towerſon* brought to confront and accuſe him, hauing before (it ſeems) confeſſed ſomewhat againſt him. But M. *Towerſon* ſpake now theſe words onely: Oh, M. *Wetherall*, M. *Wetherall*, ſpeak the truth, and nothing but the truth, as God ſhall put into your heart. So Captaine *Towerſon* was put out again, and *Wetherall* brought to the torture of water, with great threats; if water would not make him confeſſe, fire ſhould. He prayed them to tell him what hee ſhould ſay, or to write downe what they would; hee would ſubſcribe it. They ſaid, hee needed no Tutor; they would make him confeſſe of himſelf. But when they had triced him vp foure ſeuerall times, and ſaw hee knew not what to ſay, then they read him other mens confeſsions, and asked him from point to point, as they had done others: and hee ſtill anſwered, Yea to all.

Iohn Powle examined.

Next, was called in *Iohn Powle*, *Wetherals* Aſsiſtant at Cambello: but he, prouing that he was not at *Amboyna* ſince Nouember (ſaue now when hee was brought thither priſoner), and being ſpoken-for by one *Iohn Iooſt*, who had long been well acquainted with him, was diſmiſſed without torture.

Thomas Ladbrook examined.

Then was *Thomas Ladbrook*, ſeruant to *Wetherall* and *Powle* at Cambello, brought to bee examined: but prouing that hee was at Cambello at the time of the pretended conſultation, and ſeruing in ſuch quality, as that he was neuer acquainted with any of the Letters from the Agent of *Amboyna*, hee was eaſily and quickly diſmiſſed.

Ephraim Ramſey was alſo examined vpon the whole preten-

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pretended conſpiracie, and particularly queſtioned concerning Captaine *Welden* the Engliſh Agent in Banda: but denying all, and prouing that he was not at *Amboyna* at New-yeers tide, being alſo ſpoken-for by *Iohn Iooſt*; was diſmiſſed, after hee had hanged in the Rack a good while, with the Irons vpon his legs, and the cloth about his mouth. *Ephraim Ramſey examined.*

Laſtly, *Iohn Saddler*, ſeruant to *William Grigs* at Larica, was examined; and being found to haue been abſent from *Amboyna* at New-yeers tide, when *Grigs* and others were there, was diſmiſſed. *Iohn Saddler examined.*

Thus haue wee all their Examinations, Tortures, and confeſsions, being the work of eight daies, from the fifteenth to the three and twentith of February. After which, was two daies reſpite before the Sentence. *Iohn Powle*, being himſelf acquitted as beforeſaid, went to the priſon to viſit *Iohn Fardo*, one of thoſe that had accuſed Captaine *Towerſon*. To him *Fardo* religiouſly proteſted his innocency; but eſpecially his ſorrow for accuſing M. *Towerſon*: for, ſaid he, the feare of death doth nothing diſmay me; for, God (I truſt) will be mercifull to my ſoule, according to the innocency of my cauſe. The onely matter that troubleth me, is, that through feare of torment I haue accuſed that honeſt and godly man Captain *Towerſon*, who (I think in my conſcience) was ſo vpright and honeſt towards all men, that he harboured no ill will to any, much leſſe would attempt any ſuch buſineſſe as he is accuſed of. He further ſaid, hee would before his death receiue the Sacrament, in acknowledgement that hee had accuſed Captaine *Towerſon* falſely and wrongfully, onely through feare of torment.

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The three and twentith of February, old Stile, all the prisoners, aswell the English, as the Portugall and the Iapons, were brought into the great Hall of the Castle, and there were solemnly condemned, except *Iohn Powle*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, *Iohn Saddler*, and *Thomas Ladbrook*, formerly acquitted, as aforesaid.

Captain *Towerson* hauing been (during all his imprisonment) kept apart from the rest, so that none of them could come to speak with him; writ much in his chamber (as some of the Dutch report), but all was suppressed, saue onely a Bill of debt, which one *Th. Iohnson* a free Burgher got of him by fauour of his keepers, for acknowledgement, that the English Company owed him a certain summe of money. In the end of this Bill hee writ these words: *Firmed by the Firme of mee* Gabriel Towerson *now appointed to die, guiltlesse of any thing that can bee iustly laid to my charge. God forgiue them their guilt, and receiue me to his mercy. Amen.* This Bill being brought to M. *Welden* the English Agent at Banda, he paid the money, and receiued in the acknowledgement.

William Grigs (who had before accused Captaine *Towerson*) writ these words following in his Table-book: *We, whose names are heer specified*; Iohn Beomont, *Merchant of Loho*, William Grigs, *Merchant of Larica*, Abel Price, *Chirurgion of* Amboyna, Robert Browne, *Tailor, which doe heer lie prisoners in the ship* Rotterdam, *being apprehended for conspiracie, for blowing vp the Castle of* Amboyna: *wee being iudged to death this fift of March*, Anno 1622. *which wee through torment was constrained to speak, that which we neuer meant, nor once imagined; the which wee take vpon our deaths and saluation, that tortured vs with that*

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extreme torment of fire and water, that fleſh and blood could not endure: and this we take vpon our deaths, that they haue put vs to death guiltleſſe of our accuſation. So therefore we deſire, that they that ſhall vnderſtand this; that our Imployers may vnderſtand theſe wrongs, and that your ſelues would haue a care to look to your ſelues: for their intẽt was to haue brought you in alſo: they askt concerning you; which if they had tortured vs, we muſt haue confeſſed you alſo. And ſo farewell; written in the dark.

This Table-booke was afterwards deliuered to M. *Welden* afore named, by one that ſerued the Dutch.

Samuel Colſon alſo, another that accuſed Captaine *Towerſon*, writ as followeth in the waſte leaues of a booke, wherein were bound together the Common Prayers, the Pſalmes, and the Catechiſme.

In one page thus;

March 5. *ſtilo nouo*, being Sunday, aboard the *Rotterdam*, lying in Irons:

VNderſtand that I Samuel Colſon, *late Factor of Hitto, was apprehended for ſuſpicion of conſpiracy; and for any thing I know, muſt dye for it: wherefore, hauing no better meanes to make my innocency knowne, haue writ this in this booke, hoping ſome good Engliſhmen will ſee it. I doe here vpon my ſaluation, as I hope by his death and paſſion to haue redemption for my ſinnes, that I am cleere of all ſuch conſpiracy; neyther do I know any Engliſhman guilty thereof, nor other creature in the vvorld. As this is true: God bleſſe me.*

Samuel Colſon.

On the other ſide, vpon the firſt page of the Catechiſme, is thus written:

IN another leafe you ſhall vnderſtand more, which I haue written in this booke. Samuel Colſon.

In the beginning of the Pſalmes, and in the leafe ſo referred vnto, is thus written, viz.

THe Iaponers 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.* Iohnſon, *M.* Collins, Iohn Clark *brought to examination, and were burned vnder the armes, armepits, the hands, and ſoles of the feete, with another moſt miſerable torment to drinke water; ſome of them almoſt tortured to death, and were forced to confeſſe that which they neuer knew, by reaſon of the torment which fleſh and blood is not able to endure. Then were the reſt of the Engliſhmen called one by one (amongſt which I was one) being wiſhed to confeſſe, or elſe I muſt goe to torment; withall cauſed M.* Iohnſon, *who was before tormented, to witneſſe againſt me, or elſe he ſhould be tormented againe; which rather thea he would endure, he ſaid, what they would haue, he would ſpeake. Then muſt I confeſſe that I neuer knew, or elſe to goe to torment; which rather than I vvould ſuffer, I did confeſſe that, which (as I ſhall be ſaued before God Almighty) is not true; being forced for feare of torment. Then did they make vs witneſſe againſt Captain* Towerſon, *and at laſt made Captaine* Towerſon *confeſſe: all being for feare of moſt cruell torment; for which wee muſt all dye. As I meane and hope to haue pardon for my ſinnes, I know no more than the childe vnborne of this buſineſſe. Written with my owne hand the fifti of March,* ſtilo nouo.

Samuel Colſon.

Yet in another page were theſe words:

I was

I was borne in New-caſtle vpon Tyne, where I deſire this booke may come, that my friends may know of my innocencie.

Samuel Colſon.

This booke hee deliuered to one that ſerued the Hollanders, who ſowed it vp in his bedde, and afterward, at his oportunity, deliuered it to M. *Welden* before named.

All theſe ſaid writings are yet extant vnder the hands of the ſeuerall parties, well knowne to their friends here in England.

The ſixe and twentieth of February, *ſtilo veteri*, the priſoners were all brought into the great Hall of the Caſtle (except Captaine *Towerſon* and *Emanuel Tomſon*) to be prepared for death by the Miniſters. The Iaponers now all in generall, as ſome of them had done before in particular, cryed out vnto the Engliſh, ſaying; Oh you Engliſh-men, where did wee euer in our liues eate with you, talke with you, or (to our remembrance) ſee you? The Engliſh anſwered, Why then haue you accuſed vs? The poore men, perceiuing they were made beleeue 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 blood?

Whileſt they were all in the Hall, Captain *Towerſon* was brought vp into the place of examination, & two great Iarres of water carried after him. What he there did or ſuffered, was vnknowne to the Engliſh without: but it ſeemeth they made him then to vnder-write his confeſsion. After ſupper, *Iohn Powle*, *Ephraim*

Ephraim Ramsey, *Thomas Ladbrook* and *John Saddler*, who were found not-guilty, as aforesaid, were taken from the rest, and put into another roome. By and by also were *Samuel Colson* & *Edward Collins* brought from the rest, into the roome where *Emanuel Tomson* lay. The Fiscall told them, it was the Gouernours mercy, to saue one of them three: and it being indifferent to him, which of them were the man, it was his pleasure they should draw lotts for it. which they did, and the free lot fell to *Edward Collins*; who then was carried away to the chamber, where *John Powle* 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 Powle*, and the rest of the acquitted persons were, and was told, that he was beholding to *Peter Iohnson* the Dutch Merchant of Loho, and to the Secretarie; for they two had begged his life.

So then there remained in the Hall ten of the English; for Captaine *Towerson* and *Emanuel Tomson* (as is said before) were kept in seuerall 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 liue, 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 receiue the Sacrament, as a seale of the forgiueneſſe of their sinnes; and withall, thereby to confirm their last profession of their innocencie. But this would by no meanes be granted. Whereupon *Samuel Colson* said thus vnto the Ministers; You manifest vnto vs the danger

of

of dissimulation in this case. But tell vs, if we suffer guiltlesse, being otherwise also true beleeuers in Christ Iesus, What shall be our reward? The Preacher answered, By how much the cleerer you are, so much the more glorious shall be your resurrection. With that word, *Colson* started vp, imbraced the Preacher, and gaue him his purse, with such money as hee had in it, saying; *Domine*, God blesse you: tell the Gouernour, I freely forgiue him; and I intreat you, to exhort him to repent him of this bloodie tragedy, wrought vpon vs poore innocent soules. Here all the rest of the English signified their consent to this speech. Then spake *Iohn Fardo* to the rest, in presence of the Ministers, as followeth: My countrey-men, and brethren, all that are here with me condemned to dye, I charge you all, as you will answer it at Gods iudgement seat, if anie of you be guiltie of this matter, whereof we are condemned, discharge your consciences, and confesse the truth for satisfaction of the world. Hereupon *Samuel Colson* spake with a loude voyce, saying, According to my innocencie in this Treason, so Lord pardon all the rest of my sinnes: and if I be guiltie thereof more or lesse, let me neuer be partaker of thy heauenly ioyes. At which words, euerie one of the rest cryed out, Amen for me, Amen for me, good Lord. This done, each of them knowing whom he had accused, went one to another, begging forgiuenesse for their false accusation, being wrung from them by the paines or feare of torture. And they all freely forgaue one another: for none had beene so falsely accused, but he himselfe had accused another as falsely. In particular, *George Sharrock* (who suruiued to relate this nights passage) kneeled

led downe to *Iohn Clarke*, whom hee had accuſed of the tale at Hitto aboue mentioned, and craued forgiueneſſe at his hands. *Clarke* freely forgaue him, ſaying; How ſhould I looke to be forgiuen of God, if I ſhould not forgiue you, hauing my ſelfe ſo falſely accuſed Captaine *Towerſon*, and others?

After this, they ſpent the reſt of the dolefull night in prayer, ſinging of Pſalmes, and comforting one another; though the Dutch that guarded them, offered them wine, bidding them drinke *Luſtick*, & driue away the ſorrow; according to the cuſtome of their owne Nation in the like caſe, but contrary to the nature of the Engliſh.

Vpon the morrow morning, being the execution day, the 27. of February, *ſtilo veteri*, *Iohn Powle* being freed (as is aboue recited) came into the roome where the condemned perſons were, and found them at Prayer. They all requeſted him to relate vnto their friends in England, the innocencie of their cauſe; taking it vpon their deaths, that what they had confeſſed againſt themſelues & others, touching this crime, was all falſe, and forced by feare of torture.

The ſame morning, *William Webber* was called againe into the Fiſcals room, and there preſſed to produce the letter, which hee had before confeſſed to haue receiued from *Iohn Clark*, in the *Poſtſcript* whereof ſome great buſineſſe was intimated. They promiſed him his life, if he would deliuer or produce them that letter: which although hee did not, nor indeede could, yet at laſt they pardoned him, and ſent him to the reſt that were ſaued, and *Sharrock* with him.

That morning *Emanuel Tomſon*, vnderſtanding that *Iohn Beomont* was pardoned, made meanes to haue him

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him come and ſpeake with him; which, with much adoe, hee obtained. *Beomont* found him ſitting in a chamber, all alone in a moſt miſerable faſhion; the wounds of his torture bound vp, but the matter and gore blood iſſuing thorow the Rollers. Hee tooke M. *Beomont* by the hand, and prayed him, when hee came into England, to doe his duetie to the honourable Companie his Maſters, to M. *Robinſon*, and to his brother *Billingſley*, and to certifie them of his innocencie, which (ſaid hee) you your ſelfe 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 in the dore, to giue and take the farewell of their countrey-men now going to execution. Staying a little for this purpoſe, they prayed and charged thoſe that were ſaued, to bear witneſſe to their friends in England of their innocencie, and that they dyed not traytors, but ſo many Innocents, meerely murthered by the Hollanders, whom they prayed God to forgiue their blood-thirſtineſſe, and to haue mercie vpon their owne ſoules.

Being brought into the Yard, their ſentence was there read vnto them from a Gallery, and then they were thence caried vnto the place of execution, together with nine Iapons and a Portugall: not the ordinary and ſhort way, but round about in a long proceſſion, thorow the towne; the way guarded with fiue Companies of Souldiers, Dutch & Amboyners, and thronged with the Natiues of the Iſland, that (vpon the ſummons giuen the day before by the ſound of the Drum) flocked together to behold this

triumph of the Dutch ouer the English. *Samuel Colson* had conceiued a prayer in writing, in the end whereof he protested his innocency: which Prayer he read to his fellowes the night before, and now also at the place of execution deuoutely pronounced the same; then threw away the paper, which the Gouernour caused to bee brought to him, and kept it.

Emanuel Tomson told the rest, hee did not doubt but GOD would shew some signe of their innocencie; and euery one of the rest tooke it seuerally vpon their death, that they were vtterly guiltlesse; and so one by one with great cheerefulnesse, they suffered the fatall stroke.

The Portugall prayed ouer his Beades very deuoutely, and often kissed the Crosse; swearing thereupon, that he was vtterly innocent of this Treason: yet confessed, that God had iustly brought this punishment vpon him, for that hauing a wife in his own countrey, hee had, by the perswasion of the Dutch Gouernour, taken another in that countroy, his first being yet liuing.

The Iapons likewise (according to their Religion) shut vp their last Act with the like profession of their innocencie. So there suffered ten Englishmen, viz. Captain *Gabriel Towerson*, the Agent of the English at *Amboyna*, *Samuel Colson* Factor at Hitto, *Emanuel Tomson* Assistant at *Amboyna*, *Timothy Johnson* Assistant there also, *John Wetherall* Factor at Cambello, *John Clarke* Assistant at Hitto, *William Griggs* Factor at Larica, *John Fardo* Steward of the house, *Abel Price* Chirurgion, and *Robert Browne* Taylor.

The

The Portugall also suffered with them. His name was *Augustine Perez*. He was borne at Bengala.

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

Hitieso,
Tsiosa, } all borne at Firando.
Sinsa.

Sidney Migiel,
Pedro Congie, } borne at Nangasacque.
Thome Corea.

Quiondayo natiue of Coraets.
Tsabinda of Tsouckетgo.
Zanchoe of Fisien.

Besides these, there were two other Iaponeses; the one named *Soysimo*, borne at Firando; and the other *Saconbe*, of the same place: the former of which being tortured, confessed both to haue beene priuie to this pretended treason, and to haue offered his seruice vnto the English to ayde them in taking of the Castle: and the latter confessed to haue had knowledge of the consultation of the other Iapons to this purpose. But neyther of them was executed, nor so much as condemned. The reason whereof was not knowne to the English that were saued.

They had prepared a cloth of blacke Veluet for Captaine *Towerson*'s bodie to fall vpon; which being stayned and defaced with his blood, they afterwards put to the account of the English Companie.

At the instant of the execution, there arose a great darkenesse, with a sudden and violent gust of winde and tempest; whereby two of the Dutch

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Shippes, riding in the harbour, were driuen from their anchors, and with great labour and difficulty ſaued from the rockes. Within a few dayes after, one *William Dunckin*, who had told the Gouernour, That *Robert Browne*, the Engliſh Tailour, had a few moneths before told him, hee hoped, that within ſixe moneths the Engliſh ſhould haue as much to doe in the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, as the Dutch: This fellow, comming vpon an euening to the graue where the Engliſh were buried, beeing all (ſaue Captain *Towerſon*) in one pit, fell down vpon the graue; and hauing lien there awhile, roſe vp againe ſtarke mad, and ſo continued two or three dayes together, and then died. Foorthwith alſo fell a new ſickneſſe at *Amboyna*, which ſwept away about a thouſand people, Dutch and Amboyners: in the ſpace wherein, there vſually died not aboue thirty at other ſeaſons. Theſe ſignes were by the ſuruiuing Engliſh referred to the confident prediction of *Emanuel Tomſon* aboue-named, and were by the Amboyners interpreted as a token of the wrath of God for this barbarous tyranny of the Hollanders.

The next day after the execution, beeing the eight and twentith of February, *Stilo veteri*, was ſpent in triumph for the new General of the Dutch then proclaimed, and in publick rejoycing for the deliuerance from this pretended treaſon. The day following, beeing the firſt of March, *Iohn Beomont*, *George Sharrock*, *Edward Collins*, and *William Webber*, were brought to the Gouernor; who told *Webber*, *Beomont* and *Sharrock*, that they were pardoned in honour of the new

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Generall; and *Collins*, that hee was to go to Iaccatra, there to ſtand to the fauour of the Generall. So the Gouernor made them drink wine with him, and curteouſly diſmiſſed them; willing them to go and conſult with the reſt that were ſaued, who were fit to be placed in the ſeuerall Factories. Which done, and their opinions reported to the Gouernor, hee accordingly commanded each to his place; adding, that he would thenceforth take vpon him the patronage and gouernment of the Engliſh Companies buſineſſe. To which purpoſe, he had within a few daies paſt opened a Letter that came from the Engliſh Preſident at Iaccatra, directed to Captaine *Towerſon*; beeing (as hee ſaid) the firſt Engliſh Letter that euer he intercepted; further ſaying, that he was glad that he found by that Letter, that the Engliſh at Iaccatra were innocent touching this buſineſſe.

The Gouernor and Fiſcall, hauing thus made an end at *Amboyna*, diſpatched themſelues for Banda: where they made very diligent enquiry againſt Captaine *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 bee very glad, that they found him, as well as the Engliſh at Iaccatra, to bee without ſuſpicion of this treaſon (as they tearm it). Captaine *Welden*, perceiuing the diſorder and confuſion of the Engliſh Companies affaires at *Amboyna*, by means of this dealing of the Dutch; forthwith hired a Dutch Pinace at Banda, and paſſed to *Amboyna*: where, inſtantly vpon his arriuall, he re-called the Companies ſeruants, ſent (as before) by the Dutch Gouernor to the vnder-Factories.

Hauing enquired of them, & the reſt that were left at *Amboyna*, of the whole proceeding lately paſſed, hee found, by the conſtant and agreeing relation of them all, that there was no ſuch treaſon of the Engliſh as was pretended: as alſo vnderſtanding what ſtrict command the Gouernor had giuen to the ſuruiuing Engliſh, not once to talk or conferre with the countrey-people concerning this bloody buſineſſe, although the ſaid countrey-people euery day reproached them with treaſon, and a bloody intention to haue maſſacred the natiues, and to haue ripped vp the bellies of women with childe, and ſuch like ſtuffe; wherewith the Dutch haue poſſeſſed the poore Vulgar, to make the Engliſh odious vnto them. The ſaid M. *Welden* therefore finding it to ſort neither with the honour nor profit of the Engliſh Company, his Maſters, to hold any longer reſidence in *Amboyna*, hee took this poore remnant of the Engliſh along with him, in the ſaid hired Pinace, for Iaccatra; whither the Gouernor had ſent *Iohn Beomont* and *Edward Collins* before, as men condemned, and left to the mercy of the Generall.

When this heauy newes of *Amboyna* came to Iaccatra and the Engliſh there, the Preſident forthwith ſent to the Generall of the Dutch, to knowe by what authority the Gouernor at *Amboyna* had thus proceeded againſt the Engliſh, and how he & the reſt of the Dutch there at Iaccatra, did approoue theſe proceedings. The Gouernor returned for anſwer, that, The Gouernor of *Amboyna*'s authority was deriued from that of the Lords States General of the Vnited Neatherlands; vnder whom hee had lawfull iuriſdiction both in criminall and ciuill cauſes, within the deſtrict

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of *Amboyna*; further, that ſuch proceeding was neceſſary againſt traitors, ſuch as the Engliſh, executed at *Amboyna*, might appeare to bee by their owne confeſsions: a copie wherof he therewith ſent to the Engliſh Preſident; who ſent the ſame back to be authentickly certified, but receiued it not again.

Hitherto hath been recited the bare and naked narration of the progreſſe and paſſage of this action, as it is taken out of the depoſitions of ſix ſeueral Engliſh Factors; whereof foure were condemned, and the other two acquitted in this proceſſe of *Amboyna*: all, ſince their return into England, examined vpon their othes in the Admiralty Court. The particular of captaine *Towerſon*'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 himſelfe; nor any other of the 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 diuerſe 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 ſeuerally vnder their hands, that they were guilty of the pretended crime; it will not be amiſſe to recollect and recall vnto this place, as it were vnto one ſumme and totall, certain circumſtances diſperſed in ſeuerall parts of this narration; whereby as

well the innocencie of the Engliſh, as the vnlawfull proceedings againſt them, may be manifeſted.

Firſt therefore it is to bee remembred, that the Iapons were apprehended, examined, & tortured three or foure daies, before the Engliſh were attached; and the fame aſwell of their apprehenſion, as torture, was rife and notorious in the Town of *Amboyna*, and the parts adioyning. *Tomſon*, in this *interim*, and the very firſt day of the examination of the Iapon, went to the Caſtle to ask leaue of the Gouernor to land ſome Rice, and brought back the newes with him to the Engliſh houſe of the cruell handling of theſe poore Iapons. This had been *Item* enough to the Engliſh, if they had been guilty, to ſhift for themſelues: whereto alſo they had ready means by the Corricorries or ſmall Boats of the Amboyners, which lie along the Strand in great number, wherewith they might eaſily haue tranſported themſelues to Seran, to Bottoon, or to Maccaſſar, out of the reach and iuriſdiction of the Dutch: but in that they fled not in this caſe, it is a very ſtrong preſumption, that they were as little priuie to any treaſon of their owne, as ſuſpicious of any treacherous train laid for their bloods.

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

The Caſtle of *Amboyna* 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 circumſpection in all their Forts is, may appear not only by the quick Alarum they now took at the fooliſh queſtion of the poore Iapon, made to the Sentinell a-

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boue-

A true relation of the unjust, cruel and barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna by the Netherlandish Governor and Councell there. XXII.-12b

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boue-recited; but alſo by that which a little before hapned at Iaccatra, where one of their ſouldiers was ſhot to death for ſleeping on the water.

Durſt ten Engliſhmen (whereof not one a ſouldier) attempt any thing vpon ſuch a ſtrength & vigilancy? As for the aſsiſtance of the Iapons, they were but ten neither, and all vnarmed aſwell as the Engliſh. For, as at the ſeizure of the Engliſh houſe, all the prouiſion therein found was but three ſwords, two muskets, and half a pound of powder: ſo the Iapons (except when they are in ſeruice of the Caſtle, and there armed by the Dutch) are allowed to haue no Armes, but onely a Catanne, a kinde of ſhort ſword: and it is forbidden to all the Dutch, vpon great penalty, to ſell any hand-gum, powder or bullets, to the Iapons or Amboyners. But let it be imagined, that theſe twenty perſons, Engliſh and Iapons, were ſo deſperate as to aduenture 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 harbour. All the reſt of the Iapons in the Iſland, were not twenty perſons, and not one Engliſh more. The neereſt of the reſt of the Engliſh, were at Banda, forty leagues from *Amboyna*; and thoſe but nine perſons, all afterwards cleered by the Gouernor and Fiſcall themſelues from all ſuſpicion of this pretended crime, as were alſo the reſt of the Engliſh at Iaccatra.

On the other ſide, beſides the ſtrength of the Caſtle and Towne of *Amboyna*, the Hollanders haue three other ſtrong Caſtles, well furniſhed with Souldiers, in the ſame Iſland, and at Cambello neere adioyning. They had then alſo in the road of *Amboy-*

na eight Ships and vessels, namely, the *Rotterdam* of 1200. tun, the *Vnicorne* of 300. tun, the Free-mans vessell of 100. tun, the *Calck* of 60. tun, Captaine *Gamals Iunck* of 40. the *Flute* of 300. tun, the *Amsterdam* of 1400. tun, and a small Pinace of about 60. tun; and all these well furnished with men and munition. It is true, that the Stories doe record sundry valiant and hardy enterprises of the English Nation, and Holland is witnesse of some of them, yea, hath reaped the fruit of the English resolution; yet no Story, no Legend scarcely reporteth any such hardinesse, eyther of the English or others, That so few persons, so naked of all prouisions and supplyes, should vndertake such an aduenture vpon a counterpartie, so well and abundantly fitted at all points.

But let it be further granted, that they might possibly haue ouercome all these difficulties; yet to what end and purpose should they put themselues into such a ieopardie? They knew well enough, that it was agreed betweene both Companies at home, That the Forts in the Indies should remaine respectiuely in the hands of such, as had possession of them at the date of the Treatie, *Ann:* 1619. and that the same was ratified by the Kings Maiestie, and the Lords States Generall. They knew likewise, and all the world takes knowledge, of his Maiesties religious obseruation 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? Certainely none other than that which is expresly prouided by the Treatie it selfe, that is, To be punished as the disturbers of the common peace and amitie of both Nations.

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But

But let theſe Engliſh-men haue beene as fooliſh in this plot as the Hollanders will haue them; is it alſo to be imagined, that they were ſo graceleſſe, 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 behauiour, as to ſpend the time in Prayer, ſinging of Pſalmes, and ſpirituall comforting one another, which the Dutch would haue had them beſtow in drinking to driue away their ſorrow? Let *Colſons* queſtion to the Miniſter be conſiderd: his & the reſts offer & deſire to receiue the Sacrament, in ſigne & token of their innocencie; their mutual asking forgiuenes for their like falſe accuſations of one another, forced by the torture; *Tomſons* laſt farewell to *Beomont*; *Colſons* prayer, and his writing in his praier booke; *Fardo's* farewell to *Powle*; alſo his coniuring exhortation to his fellowes, to diſcharge their conſciences, and all their anſiveres thereunto; craiuing Gods mercie or iudgement, according to their innocencie in this cauſe; their generall and religious profeſsion of their innocencie, to their countrey-men, at their laſt parting with them, & finally, the ſealing of this profeſsion with their laſt breath and blood, euen in the verie article of death, and in the ſtroke of the Executioner. What horrible and vnexampled diſsimulation were this? If ſome one or more of them had been ſo fearefully deſperate, yet would not there one amongſt ten be found to thinke of the iudgement to come; whereunto he was then inſtantly ſumimoned without Eſſoine, Baile, or Mainprize? What? had they hope of reprieue & life, if they kept their countenance to the laſt? Yet what hope had *Tomſon* and

the reſt, when Capt. *Towerſons* head was off? Nay, what deſire had *Tomſon* and *Clarke* to liue, being ſo mangled and martyred by the torture? They were executed one by one, and euery one ſeuerall tooke it vpon his death, that he was guiltleſſe.

Now to blanch and ſmooth ouer all this rough and barbarous proceeding; it is here giuen out, that the Gouernor & Fiſcall found ſuch euidence of the plot, and dealt ſo euenly in the proceſſe, that they ſpared not their owne people; hauing vſed ſome of their natiue Hollanders, partakers of this treaſon, in the ſame maner as they did the Engliſh. But this, as well by the relation here truely and faithfully ſet downe, grounded vpon the ſworn teſtimonie of ſixe credible witneſſes, as alſo by other ſufficient reports of diuerſe (lately come out of thoſe parts) appeareth to bee a meere tale, not once alleaged by anie in the Indies in many moneths after the execution, but only inuented and diſperſed here, for a *Fucus* and a faire colour vpon the whole cauſe, and to make the world beleeue that the ground of this barbarous and tyrannous proceeding was a true crime, and not the vnſatiable couetouſneſſe of the Hollanders, by this cruell treacherie to gain the ſole Trade of the *Molluccos*, *Banda* and *Amboyna*; which is already become the euent of this bloody proceſſe.

To adde hereunto by way of aggrauation, will be needleſſe; the fact is ſo full of odious and barbarous inhumanitie, executed by Hollanders vpon the Engliſh Nation, in a place where both liued vnder termes of partnerſhip and great amitie, confirmed by a moſt ſolemne Treaty.

FINIS.

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A TRVE

DECLARATION OF the News that came out of the East-Indies, *with the Pinace called the* HARE, which arriued in TEXEL, in Iune, 1624.

CONCERNING

A Conſpiracy diſcouered in the Iland of *Amboyna*, and the puniſhment following thereupon, according to the courſe of iuſtice, in *March* 1624. comprehended in a Letter miſsiue;

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 1624.

Right Worſhipfull, and Worthy SIR.



He great outcryes which haue beene made in England, *vpon the laſt newes which came out of the* East-Indies, *about a certayne execution which was done in the Iland of* Amboyna, *in* March, 1623. *becauſe we ſee the great deſire that your Worſhip hath, to keep good correſpondence betwixt theſe* two Nations, *it hath cauſed me (beyond my owne curioſity) to ſearch & inquire after the right & true beginnings, proceedings, and iſſues of theſe affaires, vpon which this execution followed. Wherein, I perſwade my ſelfe, I haue attained good ſucceſſe, by ſuch meanes as I haue vſed, and by my good acquaintance, ſo that (at the laſt) I am come to the cleare light of the matter: partly by the letters that haue beene ſent home, to the* Company *here, and declared to the* States Generall, *as alſo by a particular examination of the proceſſe made againſt them in* Amboyna, *before their execution, and ſent ouer hither, in writing, which at this preſent hath cauſed mee to write this vnto your* Worſhip, *that ſo, the truth may bee made knowne concerning this buſines in all places, where your Worthynes, and reſpect, can, or may bring it to paſſe; that ſo your* Worſhip, *and all true well willers (of our Countrey,) may be no otherwiſe thought of than wee deſerue.*

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THe very cauſes and beginnings through which, the *Gouernour*, and *Counceil*, eſtabliſhed in the name of the Vnited *Netherlands*, in *Amboyna*, came into ſuſpicion, that ſome thing was plotted againſt that Province; did firſt flow from the great licentiouſnes of the *Tarnatanes*, in *Moluque*, and *Amboyna*: Who, contrary to the contract of alliance, 1606. made with the High and Mighty Lords the States, attempted (without our conſent, and knowledge) to make peace with the King of *Tidore*; as alſo truce with the *Spaniards*, (their, and our ancient aduerſaries) by which, the ſaid *Tarnatanes* had too much caſt off all reſpect which they, both in regard of our confederacy, and manifold aſsiſtance, did owe to this State. The *Spaniard* alſo was maſter enough at ſea, in the *Moluque*, becauſe the *Engliſh Merchants* there, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, were vnwilling to furniſh vs with ſhips of warre, toward the common defence; as they were bound to doe, according to the treaties 1619. to the number of ten. Through which, the voyages to *Mannila*, comming to ceaſe, the enemy traded there, without any interruption, & procured power to ſend *Gallyes*, *Shipps, and Pynaſſes* to the *Moluque*, with great ſuccours of people, and prouiſion; and that becauſe, againſt the ſame (through the default of the *Engliſh* Merchants) there were no Ships of warre kept, as there ſhould haue beene.

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The ſubiects of the King of *Tarnata*, begun to commit great inſolencies (otherwiſe than they

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were wont) againſt our Nation, hauing outragiouſly aſſaulted diuers of vs, diuers wayes, and alſo ſlayne ſome, and wee notwithſtanding could not obtayne any puniſhment vpon them. And as one outrage (vnpuniſhed) prouokes many more, through hope of the like impunity, or other conſiderations; ſo were the ſayd *Tarnatanes* of *Amboyna*, dwelling at *Loho*, *Cambello*, and thoſe neere adioyning places proceeded further, and haue armed themſelues at Sea, and inuaded diuers Ilands, and places, ſtanding vnder the *Netherlands Gouernour* in *Amboyna*, ſpoyling them, and killing our ſubiects, and taking others, and carring them away for ſlaues. And notwithſtanding the inſtant requeſt of the *Netherlands Gouernour*, no ſatiſfaction, or iuſtice, hath followed; but the ſaid *Tarnatanes* are yet gone further, and openly threatned, to murder the *Dutch Marchants*, and to ſpoyle and burne the *Logie*, or *Factory*, which our people haue many yeares there enioyed: ſo that our Merchants haue taken out the *Dutch* goods, to auoid damage: And the *Tarnatanes* at *Loho* did actually ſet on fire, and ruined the ſaid *Netherlands Factory*. In the *Manichells* (an Iland being vnder the Prouince of *Amboyna*) they haue in like manner ſhortly after, burned the *Netherlands Logie*, with the loſſe of all the goods therein. The *Netherlands Gouernour*, that by his preſence, and authority, hee might cauſe ſuch rebellions to ceaſe, and to giue order for time to come, and alſo to ſeeke ſatisfaction, and puniſhment vpon the foreſaid inſolencies; went toward *Loho*, with a ſmall power of ſloopes, and comming there-about,

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was mett (otherwiſe than was wont) by a nauy of ſloopes of the *Tarnatanes* of *Lohp*, ſtronger than his were. Theſe (by their conference) gaue him well to knowe, how little reuerence they gaue the *Dutch Gouernour* : they braued him, without hope of reſtitution of any thing to come ; ſo that, (nothing done) he was faine to returne to his Caſtell of *Amboyna*. By reaſon of theſe things the ſayd *Tarnatanes* became ſo ſtout and daring, that they gaue out openly, that they would come, and ſpoile our ſubiects by a generall army, with aboue a 100. *Friggetts* : with theſe, they ſaid they would come againſt *Amboyna*, to make a vniuerſall ſpoile of our people ; Through which, there came a great feare vpon the *Indians*, ſtanding vnder the ſubiection of the High and Mighty Lords the States, as alſo ouer the *Netherlanders*.

In the Ilands lying farre Eaſtward of *Banda*, it was alſo ſaid, and the newes went currantly there, That the *Hollanders* were ſure enough quit of the Caſtle of *Amboyna* ; And at that time there were diuers ſecret correſpondencies betweene the *Indians*, and others, which gaue vs great ſuſpicion. By this meanes the *Neatherlands Gouernour*, & Councell of *Amboyna*, were moued to haue ſpeciall regard, and looke narrowly vnto all things, ſeeing that it might bee thence clearly gathered, that ſomething might be plotted againſt the State in *Amboyna*, and that the *Indians* (of themſelues) durſt not offer to vndertake any ſuch great deſigne, without ſome great helpe of ſome of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards*, *Portugalls*, or ſome other ; and alſo, they vnderſtood,

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that they of *Loho*, *Cambello*, &c. had great ſecret
G correſpondence with the *Engliſh Merchants*. When
things were in ſuch a ſtate in *Amboyna*, there came
forth, and was wonderfully diſcouered, in *February*
1623. a horrible conſpiracie, againſt the *Caſtle*, and
Perſon of the *Dutch Gouernour*, and the whole ſtate
of *Amboyna*: and firſt, by the apprehenſion of a cer-
taine *Iaponian* (a complice of the feate) who at an
vnſeaſonable time was often ſeene vpon the wall
of the *Caſtle*, where he alſo ouer-curiouſly enquired
of the moſt vnskilfull and ſillyeſt ſouldiers, tou-
ching, the ſetting, and change of the *watch*, and what
number of people might bee in the *Caſtle*, and many
other things. Whereupon, in the very act, the ſayd
Iaponian was apprehended, and being examined of
many circumſtances, hee confeſſed, that the *Iaponian*
ſouldiers vnder our ſeruice, had decreed to
make themſelues *Maſters* of the *Caſtle*, and that they
ſhould haue ſett vpon this by the helpe of the *Eng-*
liſh, who had ſollicited them vnto it; and that hee,
with all the other *Iaponians* in the *Engliſh* houſe, of-
ten times within three moneths before-going, had
conferred with the *Engliſh* (whome he there named,
by their names) touching the manner, whereby they
ſhould bring this treachery to paſſe. Hereupon it
came to paſſe, that all the *Iaponian* ſouldiers which
were in our ſeruice, were diſarmed, and impriſoned,
and by examination of them all, it appeared playn-
ly, by an orderly and ioynt-confeſsion, that all the
ſaid *Iaponians*, vpon the intreaty of *Gabriel Towerſon*,
and other *Engliſh* Merchants, and *Officers* agreed
to aſsiſt the ſaid *Engliſh*; to betray the *Caſtle*, and to

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giue it ouer into the *Englisſh* Power; and that *Gabriell Towerſon*, and *Abel Price* (an *Engliſh* Chirurgion) and other *Engliſh*, dealt often with them, (whom hee named by their names) of the way and meanes, how they ſhould worke it; the ſayd *Abel Price* being before impriſoned, for a foule, and execrable fact, and yet remayning in durance.

And although it appeared ſufficiently to the *Gouernour*, and *Councell* of *Amboyna*, out of the confeſſion of the *Iaponians*, what the ſayd *Gabriel Towerſon* with his Merchants, and other complices, had before reſolued to do, and that the Councel had ſufficient information to impriſon them all; yet the *Generall Councell* would not precipitate, but commanded the ſaid *Abel Price*, (who was in priſon) to come before the Councell, and (after the places, perſons, and time, nominated to him, where, and when hee had dealt with the *Iaponians*, and other *Engliſh*, about the ſaid treachery) it was alſo from him well vnderſtood, how hee (in the name, and by the command of *Gabriell Towerſon*) and another *Iaponian*, (who was then alſo in priſon) had perſwaded all the *Iaponians*, to conſent to this villany, and that conſequently the ſaid *Towerſon* as the *firſt Authour*, and all the other *Engliſh Merchants*, (being in the *Forraigne Cantore* of the Prouince of *Amboyna*) had alſo knowledge of the ſayd treachery.

Vpon this full and vniforme examination, and confeſſion of 12. perſons, as well of the 11. *Iaponians*, as one *Engliſh*, is the ſaid *Gabriell Towerſon* called to the Councell; and there appearing, the ſayd *Towerſon* called together all his people vnto the *Caſtle*, vpon

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the requeſt of the *Generall Councell*, who were there taken, and imprisoned, except the ſaid *Gabriel Towerſon* himſelfe, to whom (vpon his requeſt) and in regard of his quality, being chiefe merchant in *Amboyna*, in the name of the *Engliſh Company*; his owne houſe was allotted him for his ſafe keeping, and forth comming. And the ſaid priſoners were all lawfully and orderly examined, and it appeared by them ioyntly, according to their owne confeſsion (euery one hauing vnderwritten it with his owne hand) as followeth.

H *Gabriel Towerſon*, about *New yeares day* 1623. hauing with him almoſt all the *Engliſh* Merchants of the *Forraigne Cantore* in *Amboyna*, he aſſembled them in his chamber, and propounded to them, that he had ſomething of *great moment*, to impart vnto them, (which *hee alone* could not effect) vnder the fidelity of an *oath* to bee taken *before*, for the keeping ſecret thereof, and being truſty therein; ſaying, It is neceſſary ſo to bee: for if the thing ſhould come abroad, which I ſhall make knowne vnto you, it will coſt all our liues. Whereupon the holy *Goſpell* was produced, vpon which, euery one who was preſent, did ſweare ſecrecy and fidelity, as was required. Then *Towerſon* (after a *preface*) opened to the conſpirators, how hee had a way and meanes to make himſelf *Maſter* of the *Caſtle* of *Amboyna*. And wheras ſome preſent made it difficult to doe, being too I weake for it: the ſaid *Towerſon* anſwered, That he had already won to his purpoſe the *Iaponian* ſouldiers who were in the *Caſtle*, and that they ſhould execute his purpoſe when the *Dutch*, who were in the

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the *Caſtle*, were in their greateſt weakeneſſe: and worſt prouided (or *(vnawares)* when the *Gouernour* ſhould bee abſent, about ſome exploit; and that they ſhould waite till ſome *Engliſh* ſhips, or ſhip, were in *Amboyna*, whoſe people hee might employ in this attempt; as alſo, when as all other the *Engliſh* Merchants, and ſlaues of the *Forraigne Cantore* in *Amboyna*, ſhould bee ſent for to the *Caſtle*. And ſaid further, That hee knew how to get men enow, and *they* ſhould leaue this to his care, and themſelues do their beſt; and that they of *Loho* ſhould alſo come to helpe him with certaine *Correrecorens*, *&c.* vpon which inducements, all that were preſent ſwore to aſsiſt *Towerſon* herin. And concerning the manner of execution, the ſayd *Towerſon* had preſcribed to the *Iaponians*, which were in the *Caſtle*, that they ſhould ſend to euery point of the Bulwarkes, *two men*, and the reſt in the court attend the *Gouernour*, and to murder him, and that at the ſigne which ſhould be giuen by the *Engliſh*, they ſhould make themſelues *Maſters* of euery point of the bulwarke, and kill all who ſhould reſiſt, and impriſon the reſt; and further ſhould take, and diuide betweene themſelues, and the *Iaponians*, the goods of the *Dutch Eaſt-Indian Company*, except a 1000. rialls of 8. which euery *Iaponian* ſhould haue *before*, and that they ſhould kill the citizens who would not conſent with them, and do them all the miſcheife they could. And touching the time, hee had not yet certainely ſet it, but that there ſhould ſuddenly bee another aſſembly of the conſpirators, when *Gabriel Towerſon* would giue order for all things, and giue a ſigne to the *Iaponians*,

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ponians; whereupon, when they ſhewed it, they ſhould begin the worke within.

L The ſayd *Gabriel Towerſon* being asked in particular, what moued him to ſuch a wicked fact; hee anſwered, the deſire of *Honour*, and *Profit*. Being further demanded, who ſhould enioy that *Honour* and *Profit*, and for whome hee would haue taken the *Caſtle*: he anſwered, That if he did obtayne his deſire, hee ſhould preſently haue aduertiſed thoſe of his Nation being in *Batauia*, and called for their helpe, who if they had ſent him ſuccour, hee would haue kept the *Caſtle* for his owne company (viz: for the *Engliſh Eaſt-Indian Company*) and if not, he would haue held it for himſelfe, and haue endeuoured a peace with the *Indians*, that ſo by the one meanes or the other, hee might attayne his purpoſe.

M After the examination of *Towerſon* was ended, the *Dutch Gouernour* in *Amboyna* vpbrayded *Towerſon* of his cruell intent, and asked, if this ſhould haue beene the recompence of the manifould honours, and kindneſſes hee had done vnto him. Whereto *Towerſon* anſwered with a deepe ſigh, *Oh*, if it were to bee begun, it ſhould not be done. This voluntary confeſsion, and penitent acknowledgement, with much ſorrow, was made the 9. of *March*, being the day when the execution ſhould haue beene done; but the examination of *Towerſon* was ended the 18. of *February*, ſo many dayes before. This is the ſubſtance of the confeſsions of 10. *Iaponians*, of 14. *Engliſh*, and of a *Neatherlandiſh Merinho*, or *Captaine* of the *Slaues*; who all confirmed theſe their confeſsions with their owne hands.

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What crime this intended tradition was, is hence very manifest, and vndoubted: what punishment is due to treachery, according to the law and customes of all nations, is also well knowne: no true Christian man will patronage any such horrible attempt, but will adiudge it worthy of death, as it was determined vpon the complices of this conspiracy, according to order of iustice, as there in *Amboyna* it is exercised (according to desert) by the *Gouernour* and *Councell*, in the name of the *High* and *Mighty Lords*, the *States*.

Here you haue (*Sir*) the very substance of the truth, both of the fact and punishment; other than which, many things are spread abroad in *England*, but vpon what pretence, or intendement, I know not; let the matter it selfe speake for it selfe.

The first point, which is obiected against this iustice done in *Amboyna*, is concerning the proceedings; which are said to bee holden without formality, and with extreamity, against these conspirators: Your *Worship* (and each reasonable man) knoweth, that euery land hath their lawes, and ordinances, and their particular manner of proceedings, as well in *Ciuill* as in *Criminall* causes. *England* hath hers. *France*, *Spayne*, *Dutchland*, *Netherland*, and all other *Kingdomes* and *Gouernments* haue also theirs, which are iust & lawfull to euery one in their dominion; so that, when any man will iudge of the equity or iniustice of a proceeding vsed in any land, hee must examine the same according to the lawes and customes of that Kingdom or dominion, where the iustice and proceedings were holden. These proceed- *Obiect.* 1.

N.

dings were holden by the *Netherlandish Gouernor*, in the name of the illustrious *Lords the States*, hauing supreame power, many yeares since in the *Yles* of *Amboyna*, which were conquered (in the name of the said *Lords* the *States*) from the *Spaniards*, or *Portugalls*, who held that Castle in the name of the King of *Spaine*, our hereditary enemy; therefore they are now possessed in the name of the *Lords* the *States*, and are vnder their dominion, by a iust and lawfull title of warre, according to the law of *Nations*. There (among other things) iustice is administred according to the lawes of the *Netherlands*, in that manner as was vsed in the proceedings against these conspirators. I know that the lawes of *England* are diuers from ours in *criminall* cases, yea, & from all the Nations in *Europe*: howbeit therefore, no man hath any ground of reason to say, that the proceedings of the *English Iudges* (holden in *England*) against delinquents, are not legitimate, though the said *English* proceedings doe vary in the manner from the proceedings of *France*, *Spayne* &c. where other customes are: for that is lawful, which agreeth with the lawes of that land where the fact is committed. Now then the *Iaponian* souldiers, being in the seruice of the *Netherlands* Company in *Amboyna*, are discouered to haue conspired against the Castle and the *Gouernment* there, vnder whose oath & pay they were; they were apprehended, and examined, and conuicted of the said conspiracy. This proceeding is lawfull, and toucheth no man, because the said *Iaponians* knew no other *Master* than the *Netherlanders*, vnder whose oath, seruice, and pay they stand.

All

All these *Iaponian* conspirators with the said *Merincho*, a *Captayne* of the *Netherlands* Slaues, confessed with one mouth, that they were moued and induced to this conspiracy, by the *English* Merchants resident in *Amboyna*, whose names they named. Now, not only the right of *Netherland*, but of *England*, and of the whole world requireth, that the authors, abettors & complices of murther and treason, should bee punished with death; whereto, according to the common lawes, as also the particular lawes of euery Kingdome or Dominion, the suspected persons first, and before all, should bee imprisoned, not only for preuenting the effect of their euill purpose, but that they might also receiue their deserued punishment: which apprehensions, could not (*in that place*) bee done by any other man, than by the command of the *Netherlands Gouernor*, to whom it belongeth to take care, to see euery act concerning supreame power, to be there obserued; & specially (al other reasons ceasing) the highest *English Officers* there, could not apprehend these *English* conspirators, because all the chiefe of the *English* Merchants in *Amboyna* were themselues of the conspiracy, and complices of the fact, vpon which the apprehension was made. Therefore the apprehension of the *English* complices, must bee done by the *Dutch Gouernour*, who therefore hath therein proceeded according to the custome of all Nations of the world. And that these apprehensions may bee holden more lawfull, it appeareth out of the written processe, that the said *English* complices were not imprisoned vpon the first suspitions and grosse euidences, which

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were had against them, but then at last, when all the *Iaponian* souldiers were taken, the Stained, and conuicted, and had discouered by the vniforme confession of all the 11. the names and sur-names of such *English* as had perswaded and hyred them to this fact; of which *English*, one (viz. *Abel Price* Barber) was before apprehended (as an *Incendiary*) for burning and violence done vpon other houses, who also was first examined, and first confessed (as the other 11. *Iaponians*) that he (by name, *Gabriel Towerson*) and other *English Merchants*, whom hee named by their names, had suborned the said *Iaponian* souldiers, and that all the *English Merchants* in the *Forraigne Cantores* in *Amboyna*, had knowledge of this conspiracy, &c. So that it may be seene, out of that which went before, that the *Dutch Gouernour* dealt no otherwise in the apprehension, & examination of the *English*, than according to his place, and power, and that with great discretion, according to the lawes of these *Vnited Prouinces*.

Obiect. 2. Q The second point which is abusiuely 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 proceede against them, or to punish them; but that it did belong to the *Councell of defence* resident at *Iaquetra*, consisting half of *English*, & half of *Netherlanders*, according to the treaty of the yeare 1619. made betweene his *Maiesty* and the *Lords* the *States*, betweene the two *East-India Companyes*. That I might the better informe my selfe thereof, I tooke in hand, and perused the *generall* treaty of 1619. with the explication following ther-

vpon;

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vpon; but I professe, that (as I thinke) euery vnderstanding man, (e of thing discord) must confesse, that neither in the said treaty, nor in the enlargement, any one article or word could be perceiued, wherby (according to that which is vntruely said in *England*) either this, or any such thing is ordayned, or decided, by the said treaty, as it ought to haue clearely beene in so great and important a point, as this part of iurisdiction is. I appeale to all wise men, who I desire may iudge of this, whether this speech of some in *England* (to wit, that the said Councell of defence should (alone) haue iudged these conspirators) bee agreable to the said treaty, or contrary to the same. I finde many arguments for my negatiue opinion, to wit, that before the treaty of 1619. the *Dutch* in *Amboyna* administred iurisdiction, and iudicature, vpon all and euery one who dwelt in or vnder the iurisdiction 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*, *Cloues*, and *Pepper*, in some quarters, without hauing any further treaty, or communication in the land; so that without the bounds of this common negotiation, euery one remained free, and vn-hyndered in the land by the right and possession which either Company enioyed and exercised seuerally; according as the same appeareth out of the 23. article of the treaty: where it is expressly said; *That Castles and Forts shall remayne* in their hands who at present doe possesse them: And out of the 13.14.15. articles of the trea-

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ty, all may ſee, that this common Councell of *Defence* hath no more power, ſaid ſtrinlyouer the fellowſhip of the treaty, that is, ouer the Nauy of defence in the Sea, to the defence of the common Merchandize, and liberty of commerce; and laſtly, to taxe the charges for the prouiſion of munition in the Forts: neither can any other thing be ſincerely collected out of the ſaid treaty, ſo farre as I can conceiue. Therefore this ſecond point is found to be vntrue and abuſiue, being not founded vpon the ſaid treaty, which treaty (notwithſtanding) ought to bee the onely rule, both of the one and the other Company.

R Finally, it is giuen out in *England*, that in the examination of the Conſpirators there was exceſſe in the *Netherlands* Iudges, in the point of *Torture* I acknowledge, that no argument or pretext againſt the iuſtice of this execution, hath more mooued mee in the beginning, than this pretence of exceſſe aforefaid, becauſe this ſtirreth Chriſtian compaſsion; although I alſo iudge, that wiſe men will not ſuffer themſelues to bee too much tranſported thereby, before the true reaſons doe fully appeare, which ſhould moue vs thereunto. For, I well remember yet, that in the time of former miſtakings in the *Indyes*, many things were pretended on both parts, vpon which, there were great outcries one either ſide, which yet, by due examination, were found to be (though faire, yet) falſe pretexts of ſome ill-willers, and men deſirous to wrangle: which pretences being throughly ſifted by the High and much admired wiſdome of his *Maieſty*, and the *Lords* the

States,

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States, were well discouered to be no such matters as they were made of: this also vndoubtedly to be beleeued, that his *Maiesty*, and the *States*, will yet further doe in this affaire; and so the cause of the *Dutch* Company may bee (in the carriage hereof) rightly iustified. Of which I vnderstand that the *Lords* the *States* haue speciall regard, and that they haue beene throughly informed, what is the very truth of the things there past, and of the execution in *Amboyna* vpon the *English* Conspirators. Vnto which end the *Lords* the *States* resolued to see and peruse all the papers and letters, touching the said proceedings: And now thereupon men speake farre otherwise than heretofore; for pretences, and cauills (being once detected) cannot stand with truth. And it doth plainly appeare, that there is little truth in the matter of torture, reported to bee most cruelly inflicted vpon these *English* Conspirators, as in *England*, it is said. And I haue euer suspected this for a slander: for I know the *Dutch* Nation doth naturally abhorre this kinde of cruelty, and are as much mooued to commiseration, as any other people. But whether these euill minded men, who haue scattered this great slander in *England*, and haue so fowly defaced a iust cause, haue done it by occasion of our vse of tortures in these lands, in some weighty causes, according to the customs of the most dominions of *Europe*; I cannot iudge. But is that to bee censured and iudged to bee vniust of the whole world, which is repugnant to the lawes of *England*, (or any one Nation) where torture is rarely vsed? Nothing so; but the iustice or iniustice of a cause, must

muſt bee (as aforeſaid) determined, according to the lawes where it is done, and not of other lands. If this were not ſo, why then ſhould not the whole world much more iudge that as a hard, and a thing vnheard (and therfore condemnable) which in ſome caſes is vſed in *England*, according to the lawes there, when they proceed againſt ſome guilty perſon; who being once and againe asked of the Iudge, and vtterly refuſing to bee legally tried, is adiudged as dumbe, that is, by contumacy; whoſe condemnation then accordingly followeth, that hee is laid vpon a table, or planke, and another planke vpon him, and ſo much weight of ſtone or lead laid vpon 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 kinde of iuſtice is not vſed in other lands) and by the *Engliſh* writers, is iudged to bee one of the moſt ſharpe and ſeuere kindes of death, that can bee inuented; yet cannot ſuch an execution bee called cruell and vnlawfull when it is done in *England*, becauſe it is done according to the lawes of that land, though ſtrangers ſhall iudge otherwiſe of it. And in like manner the *Engliſh* nation cannot complaine of the torture which (all willers ſay, was vſed vpon theſe *Engliſh* Conſpirators in *Amboyna*, becauſe it is done according to the lawes of this *Gouernment*, and is not vnuſuall in caſes of treaſon, neither with vs, nor (almoſt) any Nation in *Europe*. And for *England* it ſelfe, it is well knowne (and his moſt excellent *Maieſty* doth acknowledge by his owne *Princely* pen) that the *Rack*, & the *Manicles* are the

the onely tortures, that are exerciſed vpon *Traytors*, to force them to confeſſe, *(without concealement)* what they knowe to bee dangerous to the *State*.

And to ſay the truth, without taking parts, the *Engliſh* Conſpirators being affronted with the vniforme and written confeſsions of the 11. *Iaponians* (their Complices) which could conuince them ſufficiently, according to the lawes, and finde them guilty of the ſame conſpiracy, and conſequently of death: if now, notwithſtanding this, they had perſiſted in the ſtout deniall of the fact, were not this, (to ſpeake according to the manner in *England*) enough to iudge them dumb by contumacy, and ſo to eſteeme them worthy of this ſore puniſhment of preſsing to death, as is aforeſaid? But this torture of ours (if any in *Amboyna* were ſo tortured) is to bee iudged farre leſſe, than that preſsing, where the malefactor doth ſuffer ſuch extreame miſery as cannot bee imagined, and which is not to bee lenifyed 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 ſpeake according to the ſentence, and conſcience of others; I haue vſed all diligence to get into my hands the written *Proceſſe*, concerning the Conſpirators in *Amboyna*, which I obtained authentically, and read carefully, and I finde, that all, that is by mee aboue ſaid, is confermed, to wit, That the *Iaponian* Complices were examined, and made their confeſsion as aforeſaid, for 3. dayes, viz. the 23. 24. 25. of *February*, 1623. and that all this being done, and conſummated before, then at laſt, is *Gabriel Towerſon*, firſt with the reſt of

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the *Engliſh* Complices, impriſoned, the ſaid 25. of *Febr uary*, when their examination and confeſsion began, and continued diuers dayes, without ouerhaſting, till the 3. of *March*. And the ſaid examinations and confeſsions being ſo finiſhed, the *Netherlands Gouernour*, and *Councell*, deliberated whether the puniſhment might bee deferred to any long time, or referred to any other place; but it was ſo concluded, by ioynt conſent of all, that the ſaid puniſhment (there deſerued) muſt bee executed in the ſame place, *for example*, and that it could not (in any wiſe) bee delaied without extreame danger, for reaſons there related; and among others, becauſe the *Ternatanes*, & *Indians* about *Amboyna*, had otherwiſe than they were wont, rebelled; neither could it bee fully knowne, what great confederacy theſe Conſpirators had made with them, and others. And touching any extraordinary, and cruell torture, I haue accuratly ouerlooked euery ones confeſsion, but I finde not one word in any one, which maketh any mention of ſuch torture, as is vniuſtly ſpoken of in *England*; nay, ſcarce finde any mention of that ordinary torture, which is in vſe, ſaue onely theſe words, in one act of the 25. *February*, 1623 viz. *The Councell being gathered together, haue thought meete, that all the* Engliſh *ſhould be preſently examined one after another (as accordingly it was inſtantly done) and ſome of them*, before any torture; *others*, after a little (or rather a touch) of it, *confeſſed as followeth*. Vnto which, followeth preſently, the particular confeſsion of each one, ſubſcribed with his owne hand, as aforeſaid. So that hence it is manifeſt, that no extraordi-

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A true relation of the unjust, cruel and barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna by the Netherlandish Governor and Councell there. XXII.-12b

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traordinary torture was vſed, in ſuch manner as is giuen-out there, but thoſe that wiſh vs euill; nay, that thoſe *few* that felt any, were onely touched (not puniſhed) with ordinary torture.

And thus your *Worſhip* hath the vpright, and impartiall truth of this buſineſſe, touching the whole paſſage as it proceeded, and the puniſhment, as it was inflicted; from which, ſome *Engliſh* were exempted by fauour, that the *Engliſh* goods ſhould not be loſt, according as order hath beene giuen to that end: And I finde that the ſentence was giuen the 9. of *March*, 1623. by a competent aſſembly of 14. Iudges; who, (as it appeareth in the ſentence) in the doing thereof, did (*before*) earneſtly call vpon the name of the *Lord*, that hee would pleaſe to be preſident and predominant in euery one of their hearts, in this their *ſorrowfull aſſembly*; and that hee would inſpire them onely with that which might bee iudged to bee expedient and iuſt, &c. So that out of all that is aboue ſaid, nothing elſe can appeare, but that this buſineſſe was managed lawfully, and orderly, by men of honeſty and conſcience, againſt ſuch as had vndertaken againſt the *State*, againſt the wealth and aduantage of this *Eaſt-India Company*, the liues of their *Officers* there placed, againſt the eſtate and welfare of many, who had little deſerued, and as little expected, ſuch wickednes from their friendly confederates in the ſame ſociety of *Marchants*, there reſident with them.

And now (conſidering the premiſſes) I hope it ſhall bee farre from euery *Chriſtian* in any wiſe to protect or excuſe this wicked fact, but rather to

mourne and grieue (as wee doe) for this conſpiracy, and for the euill, the conſpirators haue ſo *deſeruedly* drawne vpon their owne heads; and to honour them, who in iuſtice haue puniſhed villany, according to the due merit thereof; for wee all know, that without *IVSTICE*, without reward of that which is *Good*, and puniſhment of that which is *Euill*, no ſociety of mankinde can conſiſt.

And of this information, (which I ſend in loue, and honour, to your *Worſhip*, as vnto *a louer of Truth*, and *a hater of Treachery*) you may make ſuch vſe, as to you ſhall ſeeme good, in any place where you come, both for *refutation* of any thing already reported contrary thereunto, and for *preuention* of any further falſe rumors, or clamors; and finally, for *propagation* of that vndoubted truth, which *here* (to my beſt) I haue endeauoured to diſcouer. And if you ſhall meete with any thing of worth, which can be truly auowed, to bee contradictory vnto any thing I haue written, I deſire to vnderſtand it from you, and you to ſuſpend your *wiſe* and impartiall iudgement, till I haue cleared it vnto you. *TRVTH* remaineth euer the ſame. So I commend you to the *God of truth*, deſiring him to giue vs mindes, *Not to iudge according to outward appearance, but to iudge with a righteous iudgement.*

From my Lodging, July 23. 1624.

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THE

ANSWER

VNTO THE *DUTCH*

PAMPHLET,

MADE IN DEFENCE

OF THE VNIVST AND BARbarous proceedings againſt the ENGLISH at

AMBOYNA

In the Eaſt-Indies, by the HOLLANDERS *there.*



Printed at London, *Anno*

M.DC.XXIV.

PERPUSTAKAAN NASIONAL REPUBLIK INDONESIA

PERPUSTAKAAN NASIONAL



ANSWER

AN ANSWER TO THE *DUTCH* RELATION, TOVCHING THE PRETENDED Conſpiracie of the ENGLISH at AMBOYNA *in the Indies.*

THE Compiler of this relation, perceiuing that hee had an hard taske, to make it probable, that eighteen Engliſhmen, Merchants and their ſeruants, all vnarmed, ſhould, with the helpe and aſſiſtance of tenne Iapons, likewiſe vnarmed, vndertake the ſurprize of a Caſtle, ſo prouided euery way, as that of Amboyna, is before in the relation of the Engliſh truely deſcribed to bee: as alſo the ſame Author, well weighing that albeit all that he was to write, of this pretended Conſpiracie, ſhould bee taken for true, yet the fact would ſeeme very poore to beare ſo rigorous a puniſhment in perſons of that qualitie, and of that relation to thoſe that inflicted it; prouides more skilfully than fairely, for both theſe points in the preamble of this relation: To this end, he rakes and heapes together, all the icalouſies and dangers that the Dutch had

had in the Indies: yea and more than they truely had, at or about the time of the pretended conſpiracy, and applyes them all to the ſuſpicion of this buſines: as if all their enemies were likely to conſpire with the Engliſh; and therefore the fact, vnder colour whereof they were condemned and executed, were poſſible and probable; and as if the ſtate of the time had bin then ſo dangerous, that euery ſhadow of conſpiracy was to bee exquiſitely enquired of, and the leaſt offence to be ſeuerely puniſhed. Wherefore although this be no direct charge of the Engliſh, but vſed by the Author to ſupply the want of probabilities in the proceſſe it ſelfe, it will not be amiſſe to examine the ſeuerall circumſtances, and how far they may yeeld any ſuſpicion againſt the ſaid Engliſh.

A Now this Author taketh the maine grounds of this ſuſpicion of ſome great plot againſt the Prouince of Amboyna, from the vnwonted boldneſſe and inſolencies, of the Ternatans; firſt in the Moluccoes, and then in Amboyna. For thoſe in the Moluccoes, he ſaith, they had lately before the pretended conſpiracy of the Engliſh, gone about, contrary to the Treatie, *Anno* 1606. betweene 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 appeare by the Iournalls of thoſe parts; which euidently ſhew, that this Treatie betweene thoſe of Ternata and Tedore, was in Nouember, 1621. that is to ſay, fifteene moneths before this forged conſpiracie; and that with the knowledge of *Houtman*, the Gouernour of the Dutch, who, vpon the

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the 19. of Nouember the yeare aforesaid, 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 month. But the matter was so well handled by the Dutch, to keepe those neighbour Islands in perpetuall warre, that the Treatie was dissolued *re infectâ*; And the seuenth of December following, an Edict was published by the King of Ternata, commanding all the Tedorians forthwith to depart the Island of Ternata, vpon paine to be made slaues. After this, the correspondence betweene the Dutch and Ternatans in the Moluccoes, returned into as firme state as euer; the Ternatans performing daily exploits against the Spaniards, and communicating the triumph with the Dutch: As the seuenteenth of Februarie 1622. being a full yeare before the feined treason of the English, the King of Ternata, with twentie Curricurries, tooke a Spanish Galley, slew fortie in fight, and tooke 150. prisoners, whom they sold to the Dutch for Cloth and Rice: and comming by the Hollanders Castle of Maalaïo, the eighteenth of the same moneth, with the heads of diuers Spaniards at his Stern, the Dutch saluted him from their said Castle with nine shot of great Ordnance. The 25. of Aprill following, the Admirall of the King of Ternata tooke a Prow 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 Terna. The 22. of May next ensuing, the king of Ternata went forth to Machian with sixe Curricurries, and at his departure was honoured with thirty shot of great Ordnance from the Dutch Castle. The 15. of

Iune the Admirall of the king of Ternata made a voyage towards Mindanow, carrying diuerſe of the Dutch with him to aſsiſt him. The third of Iuly the Ternatanes tooke 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 gaue ſeuen great ſhot from the Caſtle. And this good correſpondence, betweene the Ternatans and the Dutch in the Moluccoes, continued euen vntill, and after the execution of the Engliſh at Amboyna: which was (as hath beene ſhewed) in February 1623. *new ſtile.* Vpon the 14. of which moneth, the Dutch gaue the king of Ternata, and other Blacks, two hundred Bailes of Iapan Rice, with other preſents: at the deliuerie whereof, there were ſhot off from the Caſtle ſeuen peeces of Ordnance, and three Vollies of ſmall ſhot. By all which may appeare, how ſincerely this Author applyeth the diffidence betweene the Dutch and the king of Ternata, which was now none at all, to this buſineſſe of Amboyna.

B The next point is, that the Ternatans in the Moluccoes went about alſo to make truce with the Spaniards, without conſent or knowledge of the Dutch: wherein this dealing of the Author is worſe than the former. For this Treatie of truce appeareth by the Iournalls, to haue beene holden the 19. of Iuly 1623. which was fiue moneths after the execution of the Engliſh at Amboyna, and ſo came too late to moue ſuſpicion againſt them.

C And yet this pretended feare and iealouſie of the Moluccoes is further amplified by the ſtrength of the Spaniard, beeing then (as this Author affirmeth) Maſter

ſter of the ſea there, and that by default of the Engliſh; who, contrary to the treaty of the yeer 1619. had deſerted the defenſe, and ſent no more ſhips, neither to the Moluccoes, nor to the Manilliaes: whence now the Spaniards had means to ſend Ships, Gallies, and Pinaces, to the Moluccoes. What the ſtrength of the Spaniard in the Moluccoes (by ſea) was, at the time of this pretended feare, may appeare by the exploits before-mentioned, done vpon them by the Curricurries of the Ternatans, without help of the Hollanders. But for the default of the Engliſh, which is heer odiouſly alledged, it will bee requiſite to ſet downe the true cauſes wherefore the Engliſh relinquiſhed the action of defenſe, aſwel at the Manilliaes, as elſewhere; being a matter much aggrauated vpon all occaſions by the Hollanders, albeit themſelues haue giuen the cauſe thereof. Wherefore ſhortly, the true motiues of the Engliſh, their deſiſting from the action of defenſe, were as followeth. The Engliſh had, by agreement of the Councell of defenſe, two yeers together maintained a Fleet of fiue tall & warlike ſhips, to ioine with the like ſtrength of the Hollanders, for the action of the Manilliaes, and the profit of the voyage (as the charge) to bee common to both Companies. The Dutch prepared another Fleet of ſeuen ſhippes, all of their owne, for Macao, bordering vpon Chyna, neer the Manilliaes, without giuing knowledge thereof to the Engliſh at Iaccatra, vntill their Fleet was ready to depart thence; well knowing, that vpon ſuch warning it would be impoſſible for the Engliſh to prepare a like force to ioyne with them. To thoſe they appointed alſo eight Pinaces that were then abroad, to ioin; and afterwards

sent another ship with prouisions vnto them. This Fleet passing by two of the Englisſh ships, which were appointed for that quarter of the Manilliaes; the Englisſh welcomed them, and offered to ioyn with them in their exploit: which the Dutch refuſed, saying, That this being an exploit of their owne, the Englisſh ſhould neither participate of the fact, nor of the benefit that might ariſe thereby. Likewiſe, by agreement of the Councell of defenſe of both Nations, there was another Fleet of ten ſhippes ſet forth at the equall charge of the Englisſh and Dutch, for the coaſt of Mallabar, to ſecure the trade in that part. Of the Dutch ſhips (about a moneth after they ſet ſaile) two were found to bee ſo weak and leak, that they were fain to returne to Iaccatra. The reſt being come to their quarter, two of the beſt of the Dutch ſhips were ſent away by the Dutch Admirall, for the red ſea; contrary to their inſtructions and commiſſion at Iaccatra from the Councel of defenſe, and notwithſtanſtanding the proteſtations, obteſtations, and exclamations of the Englisſh againſt this preuarication. So that foure Caracks of the Portugals comming that way, the reſt of the Fleet of the Englisſh and Dutch being thus weakned by the default of the four Dutch ſhips aforeſaid; the faireſt oportunity that euer happned either before or ſince the joyning of the Englisſh and Dutch Companies, or is euer likely to offer it ſelfe in the future, was loſt and vtterly defeated. By this it appeareth, what cauſe the Dutch haue to complaine of the Englisſh for deſerting the action of defenſe, and what reaſon and encouragement the Englisſh haue to continue the joint action and charge with thoſe that vſe ſo little ſincerity, euer contriuing the

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common actions and charge to their priuate aduantage; that when the joynt forces are imploied to giue the enemie work in one part, they (the Hollanders) might with eaſe oppreſſe them in another, and appropriate the whole benefit to themſelues.

The next ſuſpicion that this Author gathereth, is from the inſolencies of the Ternatans of Amboyna, dwelling at Loho and Cambello, and thereabouts; who (as this Author ſaith) preſumed now beyond former example, to outrage the ſubjects of the Dutch, ſlaying them, and carrying them away for ſlaues, yea burning two of their houſes, one at Loho, & another at Manichells: for which when the Gouernor went out with a Fleet to craue juſtice and reparation, hee was braued by the Ternatans with a ſtronger Fleet than his owne; yea, they threatned to come with an hundred Curricurries againſt Amboyna. D

This dealing of the Author is like the former about the treaty of peace with the Tedorians, & truce with the Spaniards. For when the Gouernor of Amboyna ſet forth the laſt Fleet of Curricurries before the apprehenſion of the Engliſh, he ſtood in good tearmes with the Ternatans at Loho; neither of the Factories heer mentioned beeing then burnt or injured. The Gouernor then went onely, according to his yeerly cuſtome, to viſit the skirts and out-parts of Amboyna, and had no affront offered him. After that, vpon occaſion of a ſlaue of the Engliſh that ran away, and being afterwards laid hold on, was reſcued by a reputed holy man of or neer that part; the Engliſh craued aſsiſtance of the Dutch Gouernor, who did his beſt, but was therein abuſed by thoſe of Loho; and not onely ſome of his men outraged, but the Engliſh

Factor *M. Beomont* (to whom this slaue belonged) was way-laid by the people of the said holy man: and, in stead of him, one of the seruants of the Dutch was slain between Cambello and Loho. 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 slaue at Loho, laid hold on him there. Vpon this occasion, both the English and Dutch left their Factorie at Loho, which was shortly after burnt by those Ternatans. That other, touching the burning of the Factorie at Manichells, is more grossely applyed 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 Factorie at Manichells was burnt, not by the Ternatans, but by the Dutch Factor himself, who, being there alone, was said to haue first conueied away the goods of the Dutch and the English there for his owne vse, and then to haue burnt the Factorie; laying the fact vpon the Ternatans.

After this indeed, the Gouernour of Amboyna made out a Fleete of Curricurries, to procure reparation of those excesses; and therein not going so strong as he might, was braued by those Ternatans of Amboyna. But this was after the apprehension and execution of the English; and so is as honestly applied to moue suspicion in this place, as the ioint quarrel of the English and Dutch with those of Loho, beginning vpon occasion of the English; & as the burning of the Factorie at Manichells, done after the Eng-

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lish 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 euer heard) a meere fiction; at most, it was a vaine bragge, and such as could not affright the Gouernour, that knoweth well that the Ternatans haue no gun-powder, nor other prouisions, for such an exploit; and yet are farre behinde the Gouernour of Amboyna for number of Curricurries, besides the Dutch ships and Castles.

The next cause of suspicion, this Author makes to E
be an idle report in the East parts beyond Banda (vncertain which, or by whom) that the Hollanders were alreadie quit of their Castle at Amboyna. A poore pretence, and not worthy to bee answered; yet still further discouering what penurie of good matter this Author had, that he was faine to borrow such crazie stuffe.

But the last, and that which alone is expresly applied to the English, is, That about this time the Dutch vnderstood that those of Loho and Cambello held great and secret correspondence with the English. How did the Dutch vnderstand this? or why doth not this Author expresse the particular proofe, in a matter so pertinent? It is true, the English had their Factories at Loho and Cambello; but in the same houses with the Dutch, and for their ioint accompt, and had trafficke 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

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correspondencie with those of Loho, when at one time they way-layed M. *Beomont* to kill him, and at another time shot him in the hand with an Arrow, offered to kill *William Griggs*, 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 dissolued their Factory at Loho, and were come all thence. What letters or messages did they euer send thither afterwards? or how, and by what meanes maintained they this correspondence? Yet this was vnderstood, saith this Relation. How vnderstood? Perhaps by the Gouernors dreames: for that (as he afterwards told M. *Welden*, *Hill*, and *Cartwright*, that came thither from Banda) was a motiue to him to examine the first Iapon, which was the beginning of the whole processe.

G The Author hauing thus quit himselfe in this preface, proceedeth to the matter it selfe, first setting downe the occasion and maner of the discouerie of this pretended plot, and then the confessions of the Iapons and of the English: but he maketh no mention of any torture vsed vpon the Iapons that first confessed, nor of any other *indicium* or presumption to torture or examine that Iapon; but only 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 owne, that seruing them, had reason to desire to vnderstand the course of their Watches, and the strength of the ayde he might expect, if anie sudden attempt should happen in his quarter; is easily to be iudged. And how this poore man, and the rest of his countrymen were tortured,

appeareth

appeareth in the English relation. Here also is concealed, by what maner and kinde of questions this and the other Iapons were ledde along in their confessions, to make vp the plot iust as the Dutch had deuised it: as also, what other answers they made, before they were thus directed. That they, and the English both, confessed what the Dutch would haue them, is no doubt nor wonder, being so tormented and feared with torture; *etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor.* But what likelyhood or possibilitie there is of the truth of their confessions (if yet they confessed as is here related) may appear by that which hath beene alreadie discourssed in this point, towards the end of the English relation; which for breuitie sake is here forborne to be repeated: yet some circumstances, which the Dutch Relation hath more than the English, deserue here to be examined. And first, that of *Abel Price* the English Barber, who is made the messenger & negotiator of this practice with the Iapons. It is true, that hee (and hee alone of all the English) had some kinde of conuersation with some of the Iapons; that is, he would dice and drinke with them, as he likewise did with other Blacks, and with the Dutch also. But is it credible, that M. *Towerson* would commit anie thing of moment, nay, so dangerous a matter as this, to a drunken debauched sot, who also (as the English that were there, constantly report) threatned to cut his, the said *Towersons*, throat, for that he had punished him for his misdemeanors? Further, this Relation maketh this *Abel Price* confesse, that all the English Merchants in the out-Factories, were priuie and accessarie to this pretended treason: Yet the Gouernour and Fiscall in their owne

proceſſe found *Iohn Powle*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, and two others, guiltleſſe.

H After *Price* his confeſſion, he ſets downe the generall ſubſtance of all the confeſſions in one body; where firſt hauing aſſigned Maſter *Towerſon* a preface to the reſt, to induce them to the exploit, he tells vs; that they made doubt of the point of poſſibility, (as well they might) knowing the weakneſſe of their owne part, and impregnable ſtrength of the Dutch, in compariſon of theirs: for ſatisfaction of which their doubt, he ſaith, M. *Towerſon* told him that he had already won the Iapons within the Caſtle to his purpoſe, and that he would attempt this matter; not when the Dutch were at their full ſtrength, and the Engliſh at the weakeſt, but would expect till the Gouernour ſhould bee ſome where abroad vpon ſome exploit, and ſome Engliſh ſhips, or ſhip at leaſt, at Amboyna; the people whereof he would vſe in the enterprize: Likewiſe, he would ſend for the Factors and ſlaues of the other Factories, and ſhould haue a ſupply from the Ternatans of Loho, of certaine Curricurries, &c.

I Here he hath inrolled a goodly armie for this action; but let vs ſee the manner how they ſhould haue executed their exploit: and firſt for the Iapons in the Caſtle, wee muſt beleeue, if this Author or his voucher ſay true, that Maſter *Towerſon* had acquainted thoſe, and wonne them to his plot, before he had imparted it to his owne countrey-men the Engliſh. And yet in the acts of the proceſſe, *Emanuel Tomſon* is recorded to haue confeſſed, that eight dayes after the conſultation, Maſter *Towerſon* told him, that hee had then ſent out *Iohnſon* and *Price* to treate with the

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Iapons, and winne their consent to this enterprise. But what should these (being all but ten) haue done? Marrie (saith the relation by and by) Master *Towerson* had ordeined, that eight of them should haue been bestowed, by two in a company, vpon the foure points of the Castle, to kill all those that should resist them, and to take the rest prisoners. It must bee (therefore) here imagined, that the Dutch and their Mardikers in their Castle, being three or 4. hundred, would scorne to take the aduantage of sending fortie or fiftie; much more of an intire company, to any point of the Castle, but would combate with the Iapons at euen hand by two at a time, and so giue the Iapons leaue and respit to kill or take them by two, and by two. A sweet conceit, and such a seruice as perhaps hath beene sometimes represented vpon a stage, but neuer acted in surprise of a Castle in good earnest.

Thus we see how eight of the Iapons were to bee imployed; what should the other two haue done? forsooth they should haue waited in the great chamber to murther the Gouernor. Yea, but this relation told vs yer while, that this plot should haue beene executed when the Gouernor was abroad vpon some action. How then should these two Iapons haue killed him in the Castle, at the same time? But wee see how all the Iapons (that is) all the pretended partie of the English within the Castle, should haue beene occupyed. Who should haue opened the gates to the English, and their other aydes? who should haue killed the Court of guard at the gate? These parts were left for them that were without: therefore let vs take a reuiew of them, what they were. The relation

tion mustereth them to be fourteene English, where-of eleuen were Merchants; one Steward of the house, one Taylor, and one Barber, to dresse the wounded, besides God knowes how many English shippers, slaues, and Ternatans. First, for the English Merchants, of what dexteritie they are to take Forts, is easily iudged; and in all the English house when it was seized by the Dutch, vpon this pretended treason, the whole prouision was but three swords, two hand-guns, and about halfe a pound of powder. Yea but the English ship or ships would haue brought both fitter men and better prouision. But how knew Master *Towerson* that those of the English ships, when they came, would ioyne with him in this worke being so contrary to the Treatie, and it selfe so dangerous? or why did he not stay the opening of the plot till this ship or ships were come, that he might sweare the shippers also, or at least the chiefe Officers amongst them, and take their aduice? Is it possible that Master *Towerson* was so slight, as to open his plot to all the English at Amboyna, yea to the Taylor and Barber, so long before it was to be put in execution, and before he knew the minds of his chiefest assistants, of whose arriuall he was so incertaine? Yea, but he was sure of the slaues of the English, and of the Ternatans of Loho, with their *Curricurries in quemlibet euentum.* This indeed is the remainder of the Armie; let vs view them. The slaues were, in all the English Factories, iust sixe in number, and all boyes: The Ternatans were enemies aswell to the English as to the Dutch, as is before shewed in answer to the preface. When were they reconciled? how commeth it, that in all the examinations of the English,

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lish, 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. *Towerson* in his expresly denied it, and was pressed no further. The truth is, the Gouernor and Fiscall of Amboyna knew, that what-euer had been confessed in this point, would not haue been beleeued by their owne people there; who knew well enough, that the first beginning of this breach between the Dutch & Ternatans at Loho, was about the slaue of the English: and the outrages thereupon following, were done vpon the English, aswell as vpon the Dutch. Yet this Author seems to hope, that that may be beleeued heer in Europe, wch 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 conspirators, which should bee shortly holden, when *Gabriel Towerson* had prepared all things, &c. Heer was certainly a hot practice of treason, and worthy to be tearmed by this Authour, An horrible conspiracy. They met together on New yeers day, and plotted as is before related: and now it was the fiue and twentith of February, and not only nothing done all this *Interim*, but not so much as a new consultation. But this (forsooth) is the body and substance of the vnanimous confession of all the English, by themselues seuerally subscribed. In the next place the Author relateth somewhat singular in M. *Towerson*'s confession; as that he said, he was moued to this fact by hope and desire of honour & profit: and being demanded from whom hee attended this honour, and for whom he meant to hold the Castle, his answer was, That if he could haue compassed

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his project, he would forthwith haue giuen aduertiſement thereof to the reſt of his nation at Iaccatra (which now they haue chriſtianed Batauia), and haue craued their aid: which if they had yeelded him, then hee would haue held the Caſtle for the Engliſh Company; and if not, then hee would haue kept it for himſelfe, and haue vſed meanes to haue agreed with the Indians; and ſo, by the one means or other, would haue compaſſed the enterpriſe.

Heer firſt is to be obſerued, that hee would not (as this Author makes him ſpeake) haue ſent for aid to Iaccatra, vntill hee were firſt Maſter of the Caſtle: and yet in the generall confeſſion before, it is ſaid, he would attend the coming of ſome Engliſh ſhippes or ſhip, before hee would aduenture vpon the Caſtle. Next, let the ambiguous and alternatiue reſolution, heer ſaid to be confeſſed by M. *Towerſon*, be conſidered in both the parts thereof, and it will appear, that no man in his wits would haue any ſuch conceit as is heer pretended. What hope could M. *Towerſon* haue, that the Preſident and Engliſh Councell at Iaccatra, liuing vnder command of the Dutch Fort there, and altogether ſubject to the Hollanders, durſt joine in any ſuch action, thereby to giue occaſion to the Hollanders to arreſt, torture, and condemn them of treaſon? M. *Towerſon* knew well enough, that about ſix moneths before, the Generall of the Dutch at Iaccatra, had caught at a very ſlight occaſion to entrap the Engliſh Preſident there: who hauing ſent out two of his people in the night to the Engliſh Cow-houſe, to ſee what watch the Blacks in their ſeruice kept ouer their cattell; the ſaid two Engliſh were apprehended by the Dutch ſouldiers, kept in priſon ſeuen dayes, and

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and charged, that they had said that they went the Round: and one of them, being last examined, was told by the Balieu (the officer of the Dutch in criminall 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 confesse 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 Councell, how the intent of the Dutch was to entrap them vpon the least occasion: and this, and other daily captious dealings of the Dutch at Iaccatra, which were too long heer to recite, were all aduertised from time to time to M. *Towerson*, who therefore was sure he could expect no assistance from them, that were themselues in such a predicament. The other part of M. *Towerson*'s resolution is said to haue 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. Were the Portugals and Indians not able to keep out the Dutch from Amboyna, when they had no footing there; and shall Captaine *Towerson*, with twenty or thirty English and Iapons, without Ship or Pinace, be able, with the help only of the poor naked Indians, to driue them out, hauing already three Castles in the Ilands of Amboyna, and at Cambello hard by, all well furnished with men and prouision, besides their power of shipping, which makes them stile themselues Lords of the sea? And yet how could M. *Towerson* hope to winne the Amboynezes (the Hollanders sworn subjects) to his side? He might rather assure himself, that after hee had mastered the Hol-

Hollanders (if yet that must be beleeued to be possible), the Amboyneezes would haue surprised him, and cast him out (beeing so weakly prouided to stand of himselfe), that so they might vtterly free themselues from their seruitude. Heer also must be remembred, that this Author himselfe in his preamble saith, that the Indians themselues durst not vndertake any such great designe (as he there feineth) against the State of Amboyna, 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 themselues are; but withall it followeth, how small hope M. *Towerson* might haue, being deserted of his owne Nation (as heer the case is put), to hold the Castle for himselfe by the help of those Indians, if yet hee could once haue wonne it. In a word; they that knowe the power of the Hollanders in Amboyna and thereabouts, and the weakneſſe of the poore Indians there, will judge this conceit of M. *Towerson*'s (To keep the Castle for himselfe) to bee a mad plot; and for which, M. *Towerson* should rather haue been sent to Bedlam, or the *Dullen Kist* (as the Dutch call it), than to the Gallows.

M But this Author hath one voluntary confession, vpon which he taketh speciall hold; to weet, that M. *Towerson*, after his examination was finished, beeing expostulated withall by the Dutch Gouernour, and demanded whether this should haue been the recompense of his (the Gouernor's) manifold courteſies towards him; answered with a deep sigh, Oh! were this matter now to doe, it should neuer bee done. "This voluntary confession and penitent acknow-"ledgement, saith this Author, was made the ninth

"of

"of March, being the day when the execution was "to be done: but the examination of *Towerson* was "ended the eight and twentith of February, so many "daies before. But how shall we beleeue this? Forsooth, hee hath it out of the Acts of the Processe of Amboyna. Yea, but in these Acts are omitted many materiall passages of these examinations, as is already shewed: why may they not then be guilty of addition, aswell as of such mutilation and omission? But let vs peruse the words of the Act it selfe, which are these:

WEE, *whose names are heerunto subscribed, do declare vpon our troth, in stead of an oath, that* Gabriel Towerson, *after that hee had beene already examined touching his said offense, and that the worshipfull Gouernor* Van Speult *had expostulated with him thereupon, asking him whether this should haue been the recompense of his courtesies from time to time shewed vnto him, the said* Towerson: *thereupon hee, the said* Towerson, *with a deep sigh answered him, and said, Oh! if this were to bee begun againe, it should neuer bee done.* Actum *this ninth of March, in the Castle of Amboyna, and subsigned.*

Harman van Speult.
Laurence de Maerschalck.
Clement Kersseboom.
Harman Crayeuanger.
Peter van Zanten.
Leonart Clocq.

Thus we see the Act it selfe, and this pretended voluntarie confession of M. *Towerson*; which is not deliuered

liuered vpon the credite of the Court or Councell at Amboyna (and yet how ſmall that is, is before ſhewed) but vpon the Atteſtation or Affidauit of the Gouernour and fiue others, the principall actors in this bloody Tragedie: And this not vpon their oath, but vpon their troth, or honeſt word (forſooth) in ſtead of an oath. The time when theſe words were vttered by M. *Towerſon*, is not deſcribed by the day when he ſpake them, but only by the precedent Act of his examination. And yet the circumſtance of time is not only an vſuall and cuſtomary ſolennity, and requiſite in all ſuch Atteſtations; but alſo in a buſineſſe 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 owne law, eſteemed no more voluntarie, than the confeſſion vpon the Racke it ſelfe. Neyther yet doth this Atteſtation affirme, that this confeſſion was voluntarie. But this Author, vnconſcionably reporting the date of the Atteſtation, for the time of the confeſſion, collects it to be voluntary, 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 vpon the very day when he maketh Affidauit? The Atteſtation ſaith, that theſe words were ſpoken by M. *Towerſon* after he had bin alreadie examined. Why may not that haue been rather vpon the very day of his examination, than vpon the day when this Act was entred; if yet he euer ſpake anie ſuch words, or meant them, as he is here interpreted; the contra-

A true relation of the unjust, cruel and barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna by the Netherlandish Governor and Councell there. XXII.-12b

liuered vpon the credite of the Court or Councell at Amboyna (and yet how ſmall that is, is before ſhewed) but vpon the Atteſtation or Affidauit of the Gouernour and fiue others, the principall actors in this bloody Tragedie: And this not vpon their oath, but vpon their troth, or honeſt word (forſooth) in ſtead of an oath. The time when theſe words were vttered by M. *Towerſon*, is not deſcribed by the day when he ſpake them, but only by the precedent Act of his examination. And yet the circumſtance of time is not only an vſuall and cuſtomary ſolennity, and requiſite in all ſuch Atteſtations; but alſo in a buſineſſe 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 owne law, eſteemed no more voluntarie, than the confeſſion vpon the Racke it ſelfe. Neyther yet doth this Atteſtation affirme, that this confeſſion was voluntarie. But this Author, vnconſcionably reporting the date of the Atteſtation, for the time of the confeſſion, collects it to be voluntary, 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 vpon the very day when he maketh Affidauit? The Atteſtation ſaith, that theſe words were ſpoken by M. *Towerſon* after he had bin alreadie examined. Why may not that haue been rather vpon the very day of his examination, than vpon the day when this Act was entred; if yet he euer ſpake anie ſuch words, or meant them, as he is here interpreted; the contra-

rie whereof is the more probable by all the circumstances of this businesse, truely set downe in the Relation of the English.

But in that this Author makes so much of this poor circumstance, of M. *Towerson's* profession of sorrow for what was done, naming it a voluntarie confession; it is plain how destitute he was of voluntary confessions, and of all true and 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 seised at Amboyna, Larica, Hitto, and Cambello, to discouer this treason? nor amongst so manie complices of diuerse nations, a false brother to betray the rest, and accuse them voluntarily; but the processe must begin with the torture, & the Heathens confession vpon torture, be sufficient to bring Christians to torture? the debauched and notoriously infamous persons (such as *Price* was) to draw torture vpon the sober, orderly, and vnstained? And yet this Relation it selfe confesseth, that *Price's* confession was drawne from him by the Examiners specifying of place, persons, and time vnto him. Certainly one of their owne Nation had reason to aduise, that more Aduocates might be sent ouer to the Indies, to ayde the accused, to make a legal answer; For, saith he, they goe to worke there so villanously and murtherously, that the blood of the poore people cryeth to heauen for vengeance. *Demonstration to the Lords States, touching the gouernment of the Molucores.*

But why haue we no particular of any mans confession, but this of *Price*; and M. *Towerson* and all the rest blended together in one body? Did none of all the rest go farther than his fellowes, or confesse more than they? Where is *Sharrocks* confession, that hee

was at Amboyna vpon New-yeares day, when tenne or twelue of the Dutch themselues witnessed he was at Hitto? Where is his confession of *Clarkes* plot to goe to Maccassar, to deale with the Spaniards there, to come and rob the small Factories? Where is *Collins* confession of another plot, about two moneths and a halfe before his examination, vndertaken by *Tomson*, *Iohnson*, *Price*, *Browne*, *Fardo*, and himselfe? Where be the leading Interrogatories, that directed them to the accusation framed by the Dutch, lest otherwise there had beene as many seuerall treasons confessed, as persons examined? Not a word of all this, nor of a great deale more of this kinde, which is here in England proued by the oath of sixe credible persons, to haue passed in the examinations. Wherby appeareth, how faithfully the Dutch at Amboyna haue entred the Acts of this processe. Well, at last hee concludes the narration of the confessions, with the summing vp of the number and nations of the parties, that had thus confessed; which, he saith, were ten Iapons, foureteene English, and the Neatherlandish Marnicho, or Captaine of the Slaues: by which last words, hee would giue the Reader occasion to thinke, that the fact was so cleere, and their owne proceeding so euen and iust, that they had executed one of their owne Neatherlanders for it. Yet in the preamble he makes this man also a Iapon, reckoning eleuen Iapons: which could not agree with the rest, vnlesse this were one. The truth is, this Captaine of the Slaues was of the Portugall race, and borne in Bengala. His verie name, *Augustine Perez*, sheweth, he was no Neatherlander.

Hauing thus finished this relation, this Authour pro-

proceedeth to a disputation; and taking notice of some aspersions in England cast vpon these proceedings at Amboyna, he diuideth them into two heads; the one, that the processe was without its due formalitie; the other, that there was excesse and extremitie vsed against the Conspirators. For the point of formalitie, he first taketh great paines to prooue, that the formalities of processe in Amboyna, are not therefore vnlawfull, because they agree not with our forme in England. Which labour he might haue spared: for no wise man will deny him this point. And such as shall be so ignorant as to blame the Dutch for varying from vs herein, were not worthy the answering. Herewithall also hee deduceth the title of the Lords States generall to the Soueraigntie of Amboyna, and so the Gouernour of Amboynaes iurisdiction, in causes as well criminall as ciuill, to bee rightly grounded. Thence he concludes, that the Iapons being sworne seruants to the Dutch, and in their pay, were subiect to the iurisdiction of the Dutch gouernments. Then he telleth vs, that the Author, and complices of murther and treason, are by the lawes of all nations to be punished with death; all which points may bee granted him without any preiudice to the cause of the English in this question.

At last he comes in particular to their case, and affirms, that the chiefe of the English there might not apprehend the English complices of this conspiracy, because themselues were complices of the fact. All which also may be granted in this point of apprehension, and safe custodie: but how it may proceede also

so in the point of cognisance, shall bee anon in due place examined.

P In the meane time, this Author, to make the point of apprehension cleere beyond exception, saith, that the English were not apprehended vpon the first suspicion, when yet there was euidence, and *indicia* sufficient to doe it; but after the examination of all the Iapons and their ioynt confession, that the English, whom they specified by name and surname, had moued aud hired them to this treason: yea, not vntill *Abel Price* had also confessed as much, and that all the English in the out Factories were priuie thereunto. For answer hereof, that must be repeated which hath beene vpon other occasions before alleadged, that the first beginning of the processe, was by the torture, there being no sufficient euidence or *indicium* to torture the Iapon, that onely sought to enforme himselfe of the course of the Watch, and of the strength of the Castle, wherein himselfe 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 euidence; though it brought forth more confessions, and those with name and surname, and other circumstances, according as the Interrogatories (or rather directories) of the Gouernour and Fiscall led the prisoners, was wholly against the forme and rule of all lawes of tortures;

Scilicet in fabrica si prauа est regula prima,
Cetera mendose fieri atque obstipa necesse est.

But here must be answered an obiection that may be made against this, from another part of this relation,

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on, 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 poore Iapons, martyred with fire and water, and told, that vnlesse he would confesse that which they told him they had first confessed, he should be tortured as ill, or worse than they. This feare of torture is by their owne law, equalled to the torture it selfe, and consequently, the confession thereupon made no better *indicium* or euidence to bring another man to the torture, than the confession made vpon the racke it selfe. Againe, it must be here remembred, that the very matter of *Price* his confession here mentioned, to wit, that all the English Merchants of the out Factories, were priuie to the pretended treason; was refuted by the processe of the Dutch themselues, that found *Powle*, *Ramsey*, and two others of those Factories guiltlesse.

Next, this Author taketh notice of an obiection made in England against the iurisdiction of the Dutch Gouernor, and his Councell at Amboyna, ouer the English there; because this power is, by the Treatie of the yeere, 1619. disposed of, and agreed to consist in the Councell of defence of both nations at Iaccatra. For information in which point this Author saith, he hath perused ouer all the seuerall articles of the said Treatie, and findeth in the 23. article, that the Fortresses were to remaine in the hands of them that then possessed them; and in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, that the Councell of defence hath no other power, but onely ouer the Fleet of defence, ouer the commerce, and finally,

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ly, to take the charges of maintenance of the Forts: But he could not see the thirtieth article; which orders, that all disputes that cannot be decided by the Councell of defence, should bee 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 Councell of defence; and this generall article appeareth to be added by way of amplification, to prouide for that which was not particularly and expresly cared for in the former. Which is most plaine by the word of the explanation vpon this thirtith article, agreed vpon at the first, and subscribed by the Commissioners on both sides, *An.* 1619. where this course of proceeding is expresly directed, not only in disputes about the meaning of the Articles, but also about any other matter hapning in their common aboad. Since wch also the Kings Maiestie hath, vpon a smaller occasion than the life of his Subiects, cleerly declared himself in the point of Soueraignty; That both nations in the Indies should wholly lay aside all pretence thereof. Which declaration was sent to the Lords States Generall, and by them accepted before this bloody butchery 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 Treatie, yet at least the Hollanders in Amboyna are bound to obserue the Lawes of the vnited Prouinces; for so saith this Author himselfe. Doe these allow to begin the processe at the torture, and to bring persons of honest fame to the racke, vpon others confession made in the torture?

Doe

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Doe their lawes allow of the leading interrogatories aboue mentioned, to direct the prisoner what to say, to auoide the torture? Where, in the vnited Prouinces, is that drowning with water, in vse? or the torture with fire, vsed to *Iohnson*, *Tomson*, and *Clarke*? or especially the splitting of their toes, and launcing of the breast, and putting in gun-powder, and then firing the same, whereby the body is not left intire, neither for innocency, nor execution? *Clarke* and *Tomson* were both faine to be carried to their execution, though they were tortured many dayes before.

Lastly, their confessions were contradictorie, apparantly false, and of things impossible to bee done, much lesse practised before by the said parties; and therefore ought not by their law to haue been beleeued, nor the prisoners to haue beene condemned thereupon, without other sufficient *indicia* or euidence besides.

In the last place, this Author handleth the excesse of torture apart by it selfe (though it also pertain to the formalitie of the processe) and saith, That the Lords States generall take great care to enforme themselues of all the passages of this businesse; and to that end haue desired to see all the letters, peeces, and papers that concerne this processe: by which it appeareth not, that there was any cruell torture vsed. But suppose the acts make no mention of them; is it any maruell that the Authours of this murtherous and tyrannous processe, being themselues 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 Poloway in Banda, haue omitted many things of their pro-

 cesse,

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ceſſe, againſt the poore Polaroones, whom in Auguſt, 1622. being about ſixe moneths before this execution of the Engliſh, their Gouernor there vſed in like ſort, as the Gouernor of Amboyna did the Engliſh, and gaue him a modell and precedent of this proceſſe; which it will not bee amiſſe to relate briefly, becauſe this Authour, in the next place, alleadgeth the mercifull diſpoſition of the Netherlands nation in generall; to inferre thence, that it is therefore vnlikely, that their Gouernour at Amboyna was ſo cruell as is reported in England.

Polaroon, one of the Iſlands of Banda, was in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh at the time of the treaty, *Anno* 1619. and by the agreement was to remaine theirs. After the treaty came vnto the Indies, the Hollanders forbare publiſhing thereof in the Ilands of Banda, vntill they had taken Polaroon. But, knowing that it muſt be reſtored again, according to the treaty, they firſt take all courſes to make the Iland little or nothing worth: they demoliſh & deface the Buildings, tranſplant the Nutmeg-trees, plucking them vp by the roots, and carrying them into their owne Ilands of Nera and of Poloway, there to bee planted for themſelues; and at laſt finde a means to diſpeople the Iland, and to leaue it ſo, as the Engliſh might make no vſe of it, worth their charge of keeping; and that vpon this occaſion: There was a yong man, the ſon of an Orankey, or a Gentleman in Polaroon, that had committed felony; for which, by the Lawes of his Country, he was to die. This fellow, to ſaue his life, fled to another Iland of Banda, called Roſinging, and there turned Chriſtian: but quickly vnderſtanding, that that would not make him ſafe from puniſhment, hee

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hee went back secretly to his owne Country of Polaroon; and, hauing lurked there a few daies, tooke his passage for Nera, another Iland where the Dutch haue a Fort; and told the Dutch Gouernor, 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 ouer thirtie Curricurries for that purpose. Immediately vpon this *indicium* of this malefactor, certaine 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 Gouernor to Polaroon, that the Orankeys should come ouer to him, that there might be further inquisition made of this matter. The Priest of the Polaroons and seuenty Orankeys instantly took a Prow or small vessell of their owne, and imbarked themselues for Poloway. As they were at sea, and yet out of the sight of the Dutch Castle, they were met 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. Neuertheless, the Priest and the rest, although they had space and means to haue escaped to Seran and other places safe enough from the Hollanders, yet were so confident of their innocency, that they would needs to Poloway to purge themselues. Where, as soon as they were arriued, they were instantly carried prisoners to the Castle: and withall the Gouernor, with a force of two hundred men, went presently for Polaroon; whence hee fetched all the rest of the Orankeys, and brought them prisoners to the same Castle. As soone as they were comne, they were presently brought to the torture of

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water and fire, euen in the same sort as our people were afterwards at Amboyna; onely heerein differing, that of those at Poloway, two were so tortured, that they died in their tortures: the rest, beeing one hundred sixty two persons, were all, vpon their own forced confessions, condemned and executed. The Priest, when he came to the place of execution, spake these words in the Mallaian Tongue: All yee, great and small, rich and poor, black and white, look to it: we haue committed no fault. And when hee would haue spoken more, he was taken by the hands & feet, laid along, & cut in two by the middle with a sword. Forthwith, the Gouernor caused the wiues, children, and slaues of those of Polaroon, to be all carried out of the Iland, and distributed in other Ilands subject to the Dutch; and so haue made a cleer Country for the English, where they may both plant and gather themselues, destitute of the help of any of the Countrey-people; without whom, neither the English nor Hollanders can maintaine their trade in the Indies. And yet this is not heer recited, to the end thereby to charge the Neatherlands Nation with those cruell proceedings, but the persons themselues that haue committed those barbarous tyrannies: Who, if wee shall beleeue an Author of their owne, are not of the best of that Nation. For the Maiores (as this Author sayes) vse the Indies as a *Tucht-house* or Bridewell, to manage their vnruly & vnthrifty children & kindred; whom when they cannot rule & order at home, they send to the Indies, where they are preferred to offices and places of gouernement. Yea, saith he, they prefer such to be Fiscals there, as neuer saw studie nor law. So that it is no maruell, that such persons proceed not

Nootwendich discourse, printed ann. 1622. vnder the name of Ymant van Waarmond.

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not with that iustice and moderation as is vsed generally in the Low Countries, by the choyce of the Nation there. And this agreeth well with the report of our Merchants of credite, that came lately from Amboyna; who auerre, that, excepting the Gouernour himselfe, who is well stept in yeares, of the rest of the Councell there, as well the Fiscall as others, there was scarce anie that had haire on their faces, yea, that most of them are lewd drunken debauched persons; and yet must be Iudges aswell of our English, as the poor Indians there.

Now to returne to this Authors proofes, that there was no excesse vsed in the proceedings; at the last he taketh one argument by way of comparison, from the Law of England to presse men to death: which he saith, hath much more cruelty than their course of torture, vsed by the Dutch in Amboyna, and is holden, as well by some authors of our owne nation as others, for damnable. How pertinently is this matter of Pressing alleaged, for iustifying 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 tryall of his countrey, and challengeth the Iudges as incompetent, which the Law appointeth him: which hee doth (for the most part) to saue his goods, which, but by that ordinarie course of tryall, cannot be confiscate. What is this to the point of confession, for refusall whereof, the Dutch vse 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 breake the legges, armes and thighes of the ma-

lefactors, and then set them vpon a wheele on the end of a great pole, there to languish to death: an execution farre more direfull than the Englishs presing, which is so suddenly done, and so seldome vsed. But why doth he not name the Author of our owne or foraine Writers, which condemne this kinde of execution? Let him do it yet, and he shall haue moe Authors of his owne Countrey, that condemne their course of tortures: and yet the Englishs complain not of the course in generall, but of the vnlawfull vse of it; contrary to the rules of the Lawes euen of the vnited Prouinces. Lastly, in this point the Author pretendeth, that little or no torture was vsed in this Processe. What the torture was, and in what degree, appears in the Englishs 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 Amboyna haue conceal'd it? shall we not beleeue those that suffred it themselues? shall we not beleeue those, that beeing themselues acquitted, yet heard the cryes, and saw the bodies of *Iohnson*, *Clarke*, and *Tomson*, and haue confirmed their relation by their corporall oathes? As for the Act of the fiue & twentith of February, which this Authour hath here transcribed; it cannot be a true Act: for therein it is said, that that day all the Englishs were examined one by one, and some before torture, and some after confessed the fact. Whereas it appeareth not onely by the Englishs Relation, but by this very Author in the precedent page, that they were not all examined the same fiue and twentith day of February; but that the examination continued six daies together, euen to the third of March inclusiue. How then could the Act of the fiue and twentith of

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February haue all their confessions? By this may appeare, what credit may be giuen to these Acts, or else to this Author. Here also by the way he tels vs of the deliberation of their Councell; whether the punishment of the fact might be respited, or the cause remoued: wherein it was resolued, that execution must needs be done in the place of the delict, for example sake; and might not bee respited, for feare lest the conspirators (as hee tearmes them) might haue moe dependances than yet were knowne; and in particular, the Ternatans and other Indians about Amboyna. A poore pretext: as if, hauing all the English in irons aboard their seuerall ships, they should need to fear their joyning with the Ternatans. But it may be, they feared some English ships also to come thither: for so they had made their owne people beleeue. And therefore, two ships being descried at sea, the Dutch and their free Burghers cried out, That there were the English that should haue holpen to take the Castle: but when they arriued, they proued to bee two shippes of the Hollanders come from Iaccatra; wherein was a Letter from the President of the English there, to call away Captain *Towerson* and all the English from Amboyna to Iaccatra. Which Letter was opened and read by the Dutch Gouernor, while our people were yet in prison, and not executed; and might well haue secured him, that there was no further danger to bee feared of the English aids of shipping, what-euer the English prisoners had through torture confessed.

At last the Author comes to the sentence it selfe, transcribing out of the Acts of the ninth of March, That the Colledge of Iudges being then competent, and

and calling vpon the name of the Lord to assist them in this mournfull assembly, to preside in their hearts, and inspire them with equity and iustice; proceeded to sentence, &c. Who knoweth not, but the Act may be thus formed, 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 *Iezabels* Fast, the preparatiue to the false iudgement against *Naboth*. Neyther will the wise and indifferent Iudges of this whole matter, conceiue the better of the cause, for the hypocriticall formalities therein obserued.

S Last of all, he concludes his treatise with a iustification, yea an Elogie and commendation of the whole proceedings of the Dutch at Amboyna against the English; not finding the least to be blamed in the Dutch, but aggrauating the crime of the English very ridiculously, because (forsooth) that this plot amongst other things, was against the great meanes of the Netherlands East India company: as if a conspiracy to rob them, (if any such had beene) must needs bee treason; or as if the intent onely in any crime but treason, were capitall.

Thus haue we examined this strained iustification of that most barbarous and execrable processe of Amboyna; 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 concealement of the maine grounds of the English griefs. All which verifieth that of *Papinian*, That Parricides are more easily committed than defended.

FINIS.

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