The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608–1617, describing his Experiences

William Foster

THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608–1617, describing his Experiences in Arabia, India, and the Malay Archipelago

Edited by
WILLIAM FOSTER

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published by Ashgate publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Founded in 1846, the Hakluyt Society seeks to advance knowledge and education by the publication of scholarly editions of primary records of voyages, travels and other geographical material. In partnership with Ashgate, and using print-on-demand and e-book technology, the Society has made re-available all 290 volumes comprised in Series I and Series II of its publications in both print and digital editions. For information about the Hakluyt Society visit www.hakluyt.com.

ISBN 13: 978-1-4094-1383-7 (hbk)

WORKS ISSUED BY

The Hakluyt Society.

THE JOURNAL

OF

JOHN JOURDAIN,

1608—1617.

SECOND SERIES.

No. XVI.

THE JOURNAL

OF

JOHN JOURDAIN,

1608—1617,

DESCRIBING HIS EXPERIENCES IN ARABIA, INDIA, AND THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO

EDITED BY

WILLIAM FOSTER, B.A.,

Editor of 'The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Great Mogul,' 'Letters Received by the East India Company, 1615–17,' *etc.*

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

MDCCCCV.

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

COUNCIL

OF

THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

APPENDICES.

MAPS.

PREFACE.

IN the spring of 1608 John Jourdain sailed for the East in the good ship *Ascension*, and it was not until the summer of 1617 that he once more set foot on English soil. During the nine intervening years he had travelled many thousands of miles, had visited several places previously unknown to his fellow countrymen, and had had many exciting adventures, both by sea and by land, with more than one narrow escape from a violent death. Of these experiences he kept a careful diary, commenced, no doubt, in obedience to the instructions given by the East India Company to all their servants, and afterwards continued for his own satisfaction and as a repository of information that he might find useful on some future occasion; and it is this journal which in the ensuing pages is printed for the first time.

The value of the contribution thus made to geographical literature the reader will assess for himself. But it may be briefly pointed out that, amid much else that is interesting, we have here a record of a hitherto unnoticed visit by a British ship to the Seychelles in 1609; accounts of the first English trading voyage to the Red Sea, and of a pioneer journey through the Yaman from Aden to San'a and thence to Mocha; some fresh details of the proceed-

ings of William Hawkins at Agra and of Sir Henry Middleton at Surat—that eventful first chapter in the history of English intercourse with India; and a lengthy narrative of the voyage of the *Darling* to Amboyna and Ceram in 1613, concerning which little has hitherto been known except from Dutch sources. When to this has been added that Jourdain describes in detail the principal places he visited, enough has perhaps been said to justify the decision of the Council of the Hakluyt Society to give his graphic and characteristic narrative a place in their series.

The manuscript made use of for this purpose is No. 858 of the Sloane collection at the British Museum. It is not the original diary, but a contemporary copy, the first four folios of which are in a different hand from the rest. In neither case does the writing resemble Jourdain's (of which several examples are preserved at the India Office), and the blunders that occur from time to time show that the copy was not even revised by him; it is, however, quite possible that we have here a transcript which was made for him while he was in England in 1617, and that he left it behind for record and took the original volume with him on his return to the Indies. It might have been assumed that the copy was made for the East India Company; but it bears no mark of ever having been among their records, and moreover, had this been the case, so interesting a narrative would scarcely have escaped the notice of the Rev. Samuel Purchas when rummaging their archives for materials for his *Pilgrimes*. Probably Jourdain left the transcript in the hands of some relative or friend, and after his death its value was not recognized. In any case we know nothing of its history except that, at some date which cannot now be determined, it came into the

possession of Sir Hans Sloane, and so passed into the national collection. In 1862 the late Mr Noel Sainsbury brought it to notice by giving a brief summary of its contents in his valuable *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1513—1616; and thirty years later Professor J. K. Laughton, who had made use of it for his article on Jourdain in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, suggested to the Council of the Hakluyt Society the advisability of publishing it. This they were quite willing to do, but an editor was not at that time forthcoming.

The Sloane MS. has been copied, for the purposes of the present work, by Miss Alice J. Mayes, whose transcript was then checked throughout by the editor. All contractions have been written out in full; and it has not been thought necessary to follow the seventeenth century copyist either in his eccentric use of capital letters or in his equally eccentric punctuation. Further, some of Jourdain's entries made at sea, recording merely the course of the vessel, the state of the weather, the direction of the wind, etc., have been omitted, as being of no general interest.

The original transcription was evidently done in rather a careless manner, and (as already mentioned) mistakes—especially in the names of places—are frequent. Where these are of importance, attention has been called to the error, either by inserting the right word within brackets or by adding a footnote; in other cases they have been left unnoted, but the reader is asked to believe that all reasonable care has been exercised and that any obvious blunders he may detect occur in the British Museum manuscript.

It is of course much to be regretted that the original journal is not at our disposal, but no trace of it can be found. If, as has already been suggested, Jourdain took it

with him on his second voyage to the East, it is probable that after his death at Patani in 1619 it fell with the rest of his papers into the hands of the Dutch. We know that the bulk of the documents thus captured were sent to Holland; and, on the chance that the diary might still be in that country, the editor addressed an inquiry to Professor J. E. Heeres of Leiden, whose researches into the history of the Dutch Indies are well known. That gentleman was good enough to interest himself in the matter, and a search which was kindly undertaken, at his suggestion, by Mr De Hullu, Assistant Keeper of the Colonial Records at the Hague, resulted in establishing the fact that the diary was not in the archives there. It is to be feared, therefore, that the original has been lost for ever.

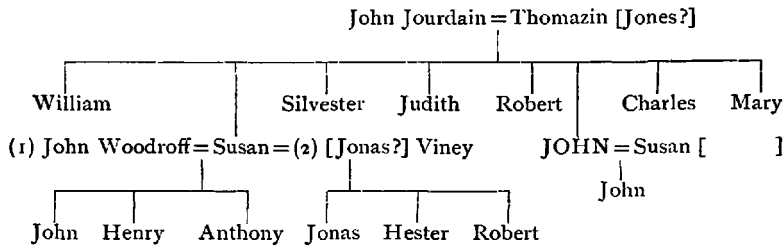
The editor has received much other friendly assistance in his researches. In most cases acknowledgments have been made either in the introduction or in the notes to the text; but he must here record his indebtedness to Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr A. N. Wollaston, C.I.E., Professor Blumhardt, and Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B., for help on various points; also to Mr Basil H. Soulsby, the Secretary of the Society, for the useful bibliography printed at the end of the volume.

INTRODUCTION.

REGARDING the life of John Jourdain prior to his taking service with the East India Company but little is now discoverable. We know, from his father's will and other sources of information, that he was the sixth child and fourth son of John Jourdain, merchant, of Lyme Regis in Dorsetshire, and we may presume that he was born, like his elder brothers and sisters, in that picturesque seaport; but as regards the date of his birth we must content ourselves with an approximation. It may be taken to have occurred later than August, 1572, when the extant record of baptisms in the parish church for that century come to an abrupt conclusion[1], for up to that point, though the baptisms of other members of the family are duly noted, we do not find his name. On the other hand we cannot assign a much later date, for he was doubtless of age in 1595, when he was trading on his own account, and moreover we find him describing himself towards the end of 1613 as 'begininge to growe ould' (p. 313)—a phrase which a man would hardly use about himself unless he were at least forty. On these grounds we are perhaps justified in concluding that he was born in the latter half of 1572 or some time in 1573.

[1] This document is in reality only an unfinished transcript from an older register now lost. My thanks are due to the Rev. William Jacob, M.A., Vicar of Lyme Regis, for first giving me information concerning the parish registers and afterwards facilitating my personal examination of them.

The following table, constructed mainly from family wills, gives the names of his immediate relatives :—



Of these, as we learn from the church registers, William was baptized on March 9, 1561 ; Susan on December 19, 1562 ; Silvester on February 14, 1565 ; Judith on November 20, 1566 ; and Robert on June 22, 1569. William is not mentioned in his father's will, and we may therefore assume that he predeceased him. There is some reason for thinking that both Silvester and Robert were dead by 1615 ; and of the whole eight, Susan, Charles and Mary appear to have been the only ones living when their brother John made his will in February, 1618.

Of John's early years we know absolutely nothing. No doubt with other Lyme Regis boys he played about the Cobb or in the narrow streets that cluster round the rushing Lyme. Sundays would see him at the venerable church of St Michael ; while on weekdays he would attend the school which was held in the little room over the porch. Many a time he must have gone blackberrying or bird's-nesting in the Ware thickets ; and one fancies that he was often on the quay, watching the ships as they entered or quitted the harbour—for Lyme was then a port of considerable trade—and questioning the sailors about the mysterious world that lay below the horizon. Think, too, of the impression the Armada struggle must have made upon the mind of a boy of fifteen, who may perhaps have actually watched from the cliffs at Pinhay the Spanish fleet standing slowly up the Channel, with Howard and Drake hanging on its

rear. All this, however, is conjecture, and the first clear fact that emerges is the death of Jourdain's father in the autumn of 1588.

Four years earlier the elder Jourdain had reached the dignity of mayor of his native town (Hutchins' *Dorset*, 3rd edn., ii. 48)[1]; and evidently he was in prosperous circumstances at the time of his death, for he was able to bequeath 400*l.* to his wife, and lands and houses to each of his four surviving sons, besides portions for his two unmarried daughters (Will in P.C.C.: Leicester, 7). John's share was the lease of a house, an orchard hard by, and a fourth part of the residuary estate. The father's own residence was left to the youngest son, Charles, subject to the widow's right to live there rent-free until the intended owner was 25, and for five years longer on paying him a suitable rent. This was no doubt the house in which John was brought up, and he ever held it in affectionate remembrance; for in December, 1615, we find him begging the East India Company 'to paye unto my cossens Ignacios or John Jourdain[2], marchants, dwelling in Exetter, the some of

[1] Possibly we may connect with the attainment of this important post the arms borne by our traveller, as shown on the seal of one of his letters now in the India Office (*O.C.* 782), viz. a lion passant guardant: underneath, two bars wavy: above, three bezants or plates. Of these the lion and the two bars constitute the arms of Lyme Regis, and may have been adopted by the new mayor. On the other hand, a lion (rampant) appears in the shields of both Dorsetshire and Devonshire Jourdains of a later date; while the symbol of running water—a punning reference to the river Jordan—was a common device in the arms of foreign branches of the family.

[2] These two cousins merit a passing notice. Ignatius (baptized August 17, 1561) was a prominent citizen of Exeter, whither he had migrated as a youth from Lyme Regis. He was sheriff in 1611, mayor in 1617, and twice represented the city in Parliament, where, as a zealous advocate for Puritan principles, he distinguished himself by his endeavours to get bills passed penalising adultery, Sabbath-breaking and swearing. He died July 15, 1640, in his 79th year (Will in P.C.C.: Coventry, 130). His brother John was sheriff of Exeter in 1623 and died in 1627 or 1628 (Will in P.C.C.: Barrington, 67). To these two brothers the *Dictionary of National Biography* adds a third, whose name will be more familiar to the reader, viz. the Silvester Jourdain who was wrecked on the Bermudas with Somers and Gates in 1609, and wrote an account of the islands which is supposed to have afforded hints to Shakespeare for his 'Tempest.' The

150 *li.* for my use; to whom I have written order to receive it, and is to release a morgaidge of my fathers dwelling house, which otherwise will fall into a strangers hande' (*O.C.* 330). In the same letter, by the way, he remits money 'for the use of a pore brother of myne, which [it] hath pleased God to take his sight from him.' Possibly this was his brother Charles, forced by blindness to mortgage his property.

Our first definite glimpse of the diarist is in 1595, when he was apparently trading on his own account. In November of that year a Council order permitted 'John Jourden of Lime Regis' to proceed in a small ship, of seventy tons or thereabouts, to the Azores, for the purpose of fetching home goods to the value of 3000 crowns which he had left in the hands of certain Portuguese there (Dasent's *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. xxv.). As we know from a passage on p. 27 that he had been in Portugal, and from references in other parts of his diary that he was well acquainted with Portuguese, we may conclude that his time prior to 1607 was principally spent in trading voyages to that country and its less remote colonies. When we have added that he was married at this time to some one at Lyme Regis with the Christian name of Susan, and had had by her a son named after

---

Dictionary goes on to identify this Silvester with a Jourdain of that name who died unmarried in London in 1650, and whose estate was administered by his brother John (*P.C.C.: Administration Act Book*, 1650, *f.* 83*b*). Both stories cannot be correct, for (as stated above) the Exeter John had died long before 1650. Moreover, neither Ignatius nor John refers in his will to a brother Silvester, and the omission is strange if the latter were alive at the time. The conjecture is obvious that the Bermudas voyager may really have been our diarist's elder brother (see the genealogical table), who may have been induced to join the expedition by Sir George Somers, as they were both connected with Lyme Regis. It is true that this supposition cannot be reconciled with the statement of General Lefroy (*The Historye of the Bermudaes*, Hakluyt Society, 1882, introduction, p. vii) that at the time of the voyage Silvester Jourdain was page to Sir Thomas Gates, for he would have been much too old for such a post; but after a diligent examination of authorities I can find nothing which bears out the General's assertion, and am inclined to put it down as a guess on his part.

himself, we have recorded all that we have been able to discover concerning the first thirty-five years of his life.

Why Jourdain should have abandoned an independent career for the service of the newly-founded East India Company we cannot tell. The most probable hypothesis is that his business was a failing one, and he was attracted by the opportunities for lucrative private trade enjoyed by the company's factors, both within and without the limits set them by their employers. Another surmise is that his relations with his wife were not satisfactory, and that, as others had done before him, he chose exile in the Indies as a means of escaping from domestic unhappiness. The only basis for this supposition, it must be admitted, is the fact that in his will his wife is markedly excluded from the management of his estate, and benefits only to a limited extent. This will, however, was not made till 1618, and even if our suspicions be just as to their relations at that time, we are perhaps not entitled to draw any inference regarding the state of matters eleven years earlier.

Whatever the reason, towards the end of 1607 we find Jourdain in London seeking a post in the service of the Company. At a court meeting held on November 24 his name was mentioned amongst those 'comended for men out of which choise might be made of a Generall and cheefe factors'; and on the 7th of the following month he was engaged in the latter capacity at a salary of 3*l.* per month, with 10*l.* allowance for outfit.

The expedition in which Jourdain was now to take part was that known as the Company's Fourth Voyage. The funds, amounting to 33,000*l.*, had been provided by 56 subscribers, each contributing not less than 550*l.*, with liberty to take in others as under-adventurers. From these funds two vessels were purchased, viz. the *Union*, a new ship of 400 tons, which cost 1250*l.*, and the *Ascension*, which had taken part in the First and Second Voyages and was bought from the adventurers in those expeditions for 485*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* The cost of shipping and victuals is set down as 14,600*l.*; but this amount evidently includes

wages, home disbursements, and a host of miscellaneous items. Goods to the value of 3400*l.* were put on board, and a further sum of 15,000*l.* was sent in the form of Spanish pieces of eight rials, the usual currency in Eastern waters[1]. For the 'General' or commander of the expedition it had been first intended to engage Sir Henry Middleton, the successful leader of the Company's Second Voyage; but he declined the post and the choice then fell upon Alexander Sharpeigh[2], who was to hoist his flag in the *Ascension*, while Richard Rowles, the 'Lieutenant-General,' was to command the *Union*. It was at first proposed that Jourdain should be the chief merchant of the latter vessel, in which case we should probably have had no journal to read; but before the voyage commenced there was a change of plans, and he was assigned to the other ship. The important post of master of the *Ascension* was given to Philip Grove or De Grave[3], a Fleming who had been second pilot in the First and master of the *Dragon* in the Second Voyage: an unhappy choice, for he was drunken and headstrong, and the loss of the ship was directly due to his recklessness. The other officers and merchants are sufficiently particularised in the list of authorities and the notes to the text.

The instructions given to the commanders were not to stop at the Cape, but to make first for St Augustine's Bay in Madagascar, there to water and to set up a pinnace, for which they were taking out the materials. If necessary, Zanzibar might next be touched at, but they were warned

---

[1] These figures are taken from a return in the *India Office Records: Home, Miscellaneous*, vol. 39.

[2] Sharpeigh had had no previous experience of the Indies. He had, however, been in Turkey, for he mentions that at Aden he found in the Kādī an old Constantinople acquaintance; see also Brit. Mus. *Lansdowne MSS.* 241, f. 385, which shows that he was in the Levant in August, 1603. A letter in the same volume dated February 20, 1608, mentions that 'Mr. Sharpie is presentlie bonde chefe comander to the East Indies, having put in a stocke with the marchants, and hath great alowance of wagis, besides his charges' (f. 187).

[3] He was possibly a native of Grave, in N. Brabant.

against going to Mozambique or the island of Pemba, which were both in the hands of the Portuguese. Then a course was to be shaped for Socotra, where aloes might be bought and information obtained as to the chances of trade at Aden or Mocha. No attempt was to be made to visit either place if by so doing the monsoon for India would be lost; but it was hoped that this would not be the case, and that it would be possible at these ports to procure lading for one of the vessels, if not for both. Should this be effected, the laden ship or ships were to be despatched direct to England, leaving some merchants behind to establish a regular factory. Failing the provision of cargoes at Aden or Mocha, the vessels were to proceed if possible to Surat; or, should the latter place be deemed upon inquiry unsafe, owing to its nearness to the Portuguese settlements of Diu and Damān, recourse might be had to the port of Lārībandar, at the mouth of the Indus, which had been particularly recommended to the Company's attention by Sir Edward Michelborne. It was hoped, however, that at Surat Sharpeigh would find a factory already established by the ships of the Third Voyage and a safe commerce inaugurated by virtue of the letter from King James which Captain Hawkins had been commissioned to deliver to the Great Mogul. Should no trade be possible at Indian ports, the ships were to go on to Bantam and the Moluccas, and there fill up with pepper and spices. It seems to have been intended that Jourdain and another factor named Glasscock should be sent home overland either from Aden or from India, and for this purpose royal letters of safe conduct made out in their names were provided.

The ships left Woolwich on March 14, 1608, and, after some delays in the Downs and at Plymouth, quitted English waters at the beginning of the following month. A call was made at the Canaries, in order to procure water and a few butts of wine; and a supply of goats was obtained at Maio, one of the Cape Verd Islands. On June 9 they overtook a Portuguese carrack, which the

mariners could hardly be restrained from attacking, in spite of her strength ; and a month later a Dutch pinnace, bound likewise to the Indies, was spoken. By this time the *Union* was short of water, and many of her crew were down with scurvy. It was resolved therefore, despite the Company's orders, to put in at the Cape, and on July 14 both ships came to an anchor in Table Bay. Of their experiences at this place Jourdain gives an interesting account, and it will be noticed that he, like many other of the old voyagers, was struck by the advantages it offered for the establishment of a colony. Had the English East India Company listened to the advice of its servants on this point, the history of South Africa might have been very different.

In Table Bay the ships remained for more than two months, owing chiefly to the time consumed by the building of their pinnace, which, now that she had to negotiate the stormy waters of the Cape, must be made larger and stouter than had been first intended. At last she was completed and launched, receiving the name of *The Good Hope* in compliment to the neighbouring promontory. On September 19 the fleet put to sea ; but the following evening, in a high wind and 'an overgrowne sea,' the *Ascension* lost sight of both her consorts. The pinnace rejoined her at Aden eight months later, the crew having in the meanwhile murdered their master on the coast of Madagascar ; but the *Union* she never saw again[1]. Thus

[1] The *Union* proceeded first to St Augustine's Bay and then to Zanzibar, the rendezvous agreed upon in case of separation ; but at neither place could she find her consorts. At Zanzibar three of her men were captured by the Portuguese ; and not long after, on the ship putting into a bay on the N.W. corner of Madagascar, the captain, two merchants and three attendants were treacherously seized by the natives, who thereupon made two attacks upon the vessel itself, but were beaten off. Thinking it unsafe to remain longer, the master put to sea and attempted to reach Socotra ; in vain, however, for he missed the island and found himself on the coast of Arabia. As the monsoon would not serve for Surat he made for Achin, which was reached in safety. There and at other Sumatran ports a cargo, chiefly of pepper, was obtained, and the vessel set sail for England, though with a sadly diminished crew. Sir Henry Middleton, coming out with the ships of

left alone, the *Ascension* stood on a course which was intended to carry her round the east side of Madagascar; but it was too late in the year for that, and, finding nothing but baffling winds, Sharpeigh gave orders to bear up for the Mozambique Channel. On November 25 the ship anchored at the principal island of the Comoro group, where some days were spent in obtaining refreshments and firewood. Zanzibar was the next port aimed at, in the hope of meeting there the *Union* and the pinnace; but the island actually reached, which was taken to be Zanzibar, proved to be Pemba, some distance to the northwards. The natives at first made great professions of friendliness, but after a few days they suddenly attacked the sailors at the watering-place; one man was killed, another wounded, and a third, who had been enticed inland, was made prisoner and handed over to the Portuguese. The voyage was now resumed; but the unlucky vessel escaped one danger only to encounter another, for at midnight she ran full sail on a sandbank, and, but for a lucky puff of wind, which blew her off again without any damage, she might there have ended her voyage. The next day brought an adventure of a different character. Three native vessels, bound from Mombasa to Pemba, were overhauled, and about forty of the principal men were brought on board the *Ascension*. On being told of the attack made by their fellow-countrymen upon the English, they became

---

the Sixth Voyage, found her at St Augustine's Bay in much distress for provisions (Sept. 1610), and relieved her wants as far as he was able. The voyage was then continued in safety until the vessel was almost in the English Channel, when, for want of hands (having only four men on board and those sick) she drifted on to the rocks of Audierne, in Brittany (Feb. 1611). The local fishermen got her into port, but she proved to be quite unserviceable. Part of her cargo was recovered, but much had been embezzled before the arrival of anyone authorised to take charge. The loss of both ships made the Fourth Voyage the most unfortunate venture in the early history of the Company. It is not, however, a fact, as stated by most writers, that the shareholders recovered absolutely nothing. At least one dividend (of 3*s.* 6*d.* in the pound) was declared, and in November, 1613, the stock in the Indies (no doubt left by the *Union*) was valued at 28,000 rials (Court Minute Book, no. 2 A).

alarmed; and when the master attempted to disarm one of their number whom he had invited into his cabin, they suddenly drew their knives and assailed everyone near them. Sharpeigh and his men defended themselves with such weapons as came handy. At the first attack the master, the preacher, and one of the factors were wounded, though not dangerously; but after a short conflict the natives were all killed or driven overboard. Two of the boats were captured and rifled; the third made good its escape. This, as Jourdain notes, was 'the end of three greate dangers passed by us within three daies.'

Now came a time of beating to and fro, endeavouring vainly to make headway against the N.E. monsoon. At last they determined to stretch away to the E.S.E., in hopes of finding more favourable winds in that region; with the result that on January 19, 1609, they came across a cluster of islands which they took to be the Amirantes. It is clear, however, that they were in reality the group now known as the Seychelles; and we have here a hitherto unnoticed British visit to those islands. They were then unpeopled, and the wearied mariners were glad to spend ten days in security and comfort at so delightful a spot, where fresh water, fish, fowl and fruits of every kind abounded. In the enthusiastic words of the boatswain, 'these ilands seemed to us an earthly Paradise[1].'

At the beginning of February, 1609, a fresh start was made; and on March 30—more than a year after the commencement of the voyage—the *Ascension* anchored in a bay on the western side of Socotra. Here they found a ship from Gujarāt bound for the Red Sea, the captain of which, not liking the neighbourhood of a European vessel, slipped away in the night and by dawn was three leagues away. Sharpeigh deemed it important to have, if possible, a guide in the unknown sea they were about

[1] Thus unconsciously forestalling the late General Gordon, who seriously maintained that the Garden of Eden was situated in the Seychelles and that the coco-de-mer was the forbidden fruit.

to traverse; and as moreover there was little wind, and the current rendered it almost impossible to beat along the coast of the island as far as Tamrida (where alone refreshing was to be had), it was unanimously decided to stand after the Gujarāt ship. She was quickly overhauled, and her officers, making a virtue of necessity, agreed with apparent cordiality to the proposal of the English that they should proceed in company. Thus piloted, no difficulty was experienced in making Aden, and on the evening of April 7, 1609, the *Ascension* anchored before that fortress—the first English ship to visit a place that was destined to become an important outpost of the British-Indian Empire.

This 'famous and stronge place,' of which Jourdain gives a striking description, was at that time in the hands of the Turks, who had conquered it some seventy years before. Of old it had been the secure haven where ships from India exchanged their commodities for the European and other goods brought by sea from Suez or by caravans overland. Gradually, however, Mocha—which was equally convenient for the Indian ships and far safer for those that came from Suez, besides being easier of access by land—had risen into favour, and Aden was in consequence declining in importance[1]. Michelborne had told the Company that 'much perill and small hope of trade may be expected at Aden, yt being a garrison towne of souldiers rather then of marchauntes; yett neare to Aden, aboute some ten miles of, there is a towne...called Moccha, governed with marchauntes onelie and a place of spetiall trade' (*First Letter Book*, 247); and the event showed how correct his information was.

The Governor of Aden at this time was a Greek renegade named Rajab, who in the following year, as Governor of Mocha, treacherously seized Sir Henry Middleton and

[1] Since Aden has been under British administration it has more than recovered its position and Mocha has lost practically all its trade.

murdered a number of his companions. To this greedy and unscrupulous individual the appearance of an infidel vessel of no great force and unprotected by the only European flag yet known in those waters must have seemed a heavensent gift, and he at once set to work to draw both ship and goods into his net. Sharpeigh was welcomed with effusion, 'entertayned with tabour and pipe and other heathen musicke,' given a robe of honour and conducted to 'a faire howse' specially provided for his accommodation; he was assured of a ready sale for all his commodities, and his stipulations regarding customs duties were assented to without demur. Soon, however, the iron hand appeared under the velvet glove, for when Sharpeigh intimated his intention of returning to his ship, he found that the Governor could not think of parting with him so quickly. He was told that intelligence of his arrival had been sent to San'a, the residence of the Pasha of the province, and that until an answer was received it was impossible to permit him to leave; while to emphasise the refusal a guard of soldiers was placed at his door. In the interim of waiting, the crafty Governor did all he could to induce the English General to have his vessel brought nearer the shore and her cargo landed. Those in charge, however, were far too shrewd to bring their ship under the guns of the fort; and although a few goods were brought on land, 'the Generall made noe greate haste to unlade; onely, for fashion sake, a little every day in our owne boate, to delaye the time.'

Towards the end of the month the Pasha's reply was received. The Governor told Sharpeigh that it gave him permission to entertain the English, and an order to purchase from them on the Pasha's account a good quantity of cloth and all their lead. The General now made a fresh attempt to get on board, but was told that he must first land the rest of his cargo. However, guile was answered with guile. Under pretext of choosing the cloth for the Pasha, the Governor's principal man and two other Turks were enticed on board and were then held as hostages for

the General's return. Thus outmanœuvred, the Governor surrendered his prey, though not without using 'some vile words' to relieve his feelings. Jourdain and another factor named Revett were now sent on shore to settle accounts; and upon their report and a promise of immediate payment the whole of the cloth asked for, together with all the steel in the ship, was delivered to the Governor. In the meantime the latter, anxious to raise the customs payable to as high a figure as possible, informed Sharpeigh that an Indian ship had brought a large quantity of indigo to Mocha, and suggested that a factor should be sent thither to buy a stock and bring it to Aden. Two merchants were thereupon despatched to Mocha in a native boat, and within ten days a letter was received from them confirming the news and urging that the *Ascension* should come round to that port, 'comendinge the place to be farre better then Aden.' Sharpeigh decided to follow this advice, and accordingly sent word to Jourdain to return all the unsold goods and to settle accounts with the Governor, from whom, after deducting the customs agreed upon, about 260*l.* remained due. The latter, however, much disappointed at losing the opportunity of further extortion, claimed double customs on all the goods landed, whether sold or unsold, though he magnanimously offered to accept the 260*l.* in full satisfaction of all demands. If the English General would not agree to this, he added, he should be obliged to send the two factors who were ashore—Jourdain and Glasscock—to the Pasha at San'a to explain matters and settle with him the amount of customs to be paid. Jourdain answered with much spirit that he was quite ready to visit the Pasha, feeling sure that 'soe honorable a person would deale well with stranngers and take nothinge butt what was his due'; and as Sharpeigh was determined not to agree to the Governor's unconscionable demand, the two Englishmen had to resign themselves to a journey into an unknown region, with a lively apprehension of having their throats cut on the road to save further trouble.

On May 26, 1609, the ship set sail for Mocha; and on the evening of the same day Jourdain and Glasscock, with the Governor's secretary and two European renegades who acted as interpreters, set out on the road to San'a. Regarding Jourdain's account of this, the first journey ever made by Englishmen in the interior of the Yaman, nothing need here be said, beyond noting that the hold of the Turks upon the province was evidently quite as unstable then as in the present year of grace. They held little more than the towns and principal roads, and those only at the price of incessant warfare with the hardy mountaineers. At San'a the Pasha received the two merchants with courtesy, and evinced much displeasure at their being brought up to him, declaring that he would at once arrange for their return. It was soon, however, evident that his complaisance did not extend so far as to entertain any demand for the money due, nor would he give permission for the establishment of an English factory at Mocha. The utmost that he would concede was that they should sell there what goods had been brought on the present occasion, but he warned them not to return except with express licence from Constantinople.

Having secured the Pasha's letter to this effect, Jourdain and his companion quitted San'a on June 17, 1609, and reached Mocha in safety on the last day of the month. There they found their countrymen well treated—indeed so confident of the Turks' fair dealing that they had relaxed all precautions against treachery, and went ashore with a carelessness that to Jourdain appeared reprehensible. 'Butt it is a generall rule with the English that if they have but a parcell of faire words given, that there neede noe more feare.' Sharpeigh, however, found little demand for his commodities, though, according to our diarist, he might have sold all his iron had he been more reasonable; and towards the end of July he prepared to depart. The Governor made attempts, first to intimidate and then to cajole him into payment of anchorage dues, in spite of the fact that the Pasha's licence freed the

English from all such claims; but he was afraid to drive matters to extremity, lest Sharpeigh should revenge himself on the Indian ships which were also preparing for departure, and after a little delay all the men and goods were got safely on board.

The *Ascension* and her pinnace quitted Mocha Roads on July 26, and on the 8th of the following month they once again sighted Socotra. In a gale of wind the unlucky pinnace was blown away from the island and forced to continue her course towards India, much to the discomfort of those on board, who were in want of water and fresh provisions. After obtaining a stock of these and purchasing some aloes, the *Ascension* hastened after her consort, and on August 30 reached the Indian coast. Their landfall was near Mahuwa, on the S.E. coast of Kāthiāwār, and there three days were spent in making inquiries and buying provisions. At this place they were fully warned of the dangers that lay ahead of them, and were advised to procure a pilot to take them through the shoals and currents of the Gulf of Cambay; but the proposal was distasteful to the master, who 'stormed very much, that he had brought the shipp soe farre and now must have a pilott to carry him 20 leagues'; and Sharpeigh weakly gave way to his headstrong subordinate.

He was soon to rue this decision. In the afternoon of September 2, 1609, the *Ascension* set sail for Surat, steering a course which was almost certain to set her on the Malacca Banks. Before long she was close to their western edge; but the danger was discovered in time, and going quickly about the ship stood away again into deeper water. Grove next steered due south, and then, having as he thought cleared the shoals, once more turned her head to the eastwards. With criminal recklessness he ran on, in spite of the rapid shoaling of the water, until the vessel struck heavily on a sandbank[1], and with the shock lost her rudder. The sails were at once furled and their only

[1] Apparently the tail of what is now known as the Western Bank.

remaining anchor (which had but one fluke) was put out. With the rising tide the vessel floated off; but as the rudder was gone, and they seemed to be surrounded by shoals, it was judged expedient to remain where they were until some repairs could be effected. They had only two boats, and of these the skiff had been badly crushed against the side of the ship, while the long boat was quite insufficient to carry the whole of the crew; so the carpenters were set to work to mend the one and enlarge the other, in case matters should come to the worst. On the evening of the 3rd their imperfect anchor gave way and the tide drove the vessel once more upon the shoals, with the result that she began to leak badly and all hope of saving her had to be abandoned. Without any serious disorder, those on board were squeezed into the two boats; and in the early morning they pushed off, 'singinge of psalmes to the praise of God, leavinge the shipp as yet standing, with her yards acrosse and the flagg atopp, to our greate griefes.' Jourdain, by the way, in attempting to get into the long boat, was forced into the water and had an extremely narrow escape of being drowned.

They were now by their reckoning fifteen leagues at least from the coast of India, and tightly packed in two crazy boats, with the water coming up to within a few inches of the gunwales. Luckily the weather was fine, the sea smooth, and the wind just strong enough to carry them along at a good rate. Fortune was equally kind to them in other respects. In the first place, they made the mouth of the Ambika river in lieu of the Tāpti, at which they were aiming, but which, unknown to them, was beset by Portuguese frigates; and in the second, they succeeded in entering the river without being discovered by some other frigates which had been sent from Damān to fetch away the English pinnace. This unfortunate vessel, ten days before, had been run ashore there and deserted by her crew, who had made their way in safety overland to Surat.

It is pleasant to note that Sharpeigh and his com-

panions were everywhere treated with great kindness by the natives. They were at once guided up the river to the town of Gandevi, where the Governor received them with the utmost sympathy, gave them such food as he had at his disposal, and after a night's rest set them on their way to Surat. Two days later they reached the environs of that city and were met by William Finch, an English factor resident there. He was unable to procure permission for them to enter the town, as the inhabitants were afraid of reprisals by the Portuguese if they gave any assistance to the English; and they were obliged, therefore, to make themselves as comfortable as they could, first in the neighbourhood of the Gopi tank, and then at a village some distance off, to which they removed at the request of the Governor.

To understand clearly Jourdain's narrative of his stay in India it is necessary to look back for a moment to the commencement of the attempt that was now being made to secure a footing for English trade in the dominions of the Great Mogul. In the spring of 1607—a year before the despatch of the *Ascension* and *Union*—the ships of the East India Company's Third Voyage sailed on what was destined to be an epoch-making expedition. For reasons which need not here be considered, the two previous fleets had made no attempt to touch at any port on the Indian littoral; but the instructions given to William Keeling, the General of the Third Voyage, included the opening-up of trade not only in the Red Sea (if this could be effected without undue delay) but also at Surat; and William Hawkins, the captain of one of the ships[1], was directed,

[1] It has been too generally assumed that because Hawkins was in command of a vessel he was merely a sailor—'a bluff sea-captain,' as a recent writer terms him. As a matter of fact a knowledge of seamanship was only a part of the qualifications required for such a post, as the responsibility of navigating the vessel rested not on the captain but on the master and his mates. The East India Company in 1614 described the ideal 'General' as 'partlie a navigator, partelie a merchaunt (to have knowledge to lade a shipp), and partlie a man of fashion and good respect'; and in the case of Hawkins (who was

in the event of his vessel reaching that port, to land and proceed to the court with presents and a letter from the English king, requesting on behalf of his subjects the grant of 'such libertie of traffique and priviledges as shall be resonable, both for their securitie and proffitt, and that they may for the better handling of their trade settle a factorie there, like as we willdoe to yours yf att any tyme yt shall be requested of us.' In obedience to these orders, Hawkins' ship, the *Hector*, anchored at the Bar of Surat on August 24, 1608, having parted with her consort, the *Dragon*, at the island of Socotra. Hawkins landed and (at once exceeding his instructions) announced himself as an 'ambassador' from the English king. 'At my comming on shore,' he says, 'after their barbarous manner I was kindly received, and multitudes of people following me, all desirous to see a new come people, much nominated but never came in their parts[1].' A number of Portuguese frigates beset the river mouth, and captured a few men; but though they blustered a great deal, they did not venture to attack the vessel itself. With the assent of the Surat officials, a stock of goods was landed; and then, early in October, the *Hector* resumed her voyage for Bantam, leaving behind Hawkins and the William Finch already mentioned, together with two English servants. Placing Finch in charge of the goods, Hawkins set out from Surat at the beginning of February, and reached Agra on April 16, 1609. There he received a warm welcome from the Emperor Jahāngīr, to whom his coming meant an opportunity of hearing from someone other than

---

'Lieutenant-General' of the voyage) we have no evidence that he was in any sense a naval expert. He had evidently spent a considerable time in Turkey or the Levant, probably as a merchant; and his acquaintance with the Turkish language and with the usages of Muhammadan countries had pointed him out as a suitable person to take a leading part in opening up trade in the Red Sea and on the coast of India.

[1] This and (unless otherwise indicated) all the subsequent quotations relating to Hawkins' experiences in India are from his own account in *Purchas* (see List of Authorities).

the Catholic missionaries of the wonders of the distant West, and—what the novelty-loving monarch prized still more highly—the hope of obtaining by the aid of the new-comer rare and curious presents from Europe. The English 'ambassador' was quite ready to gratify him in both respects, so far as lay in his power, and he quickly found himself in high favour. His knowledge of Turkish enabled him to dispense with that bar to intimate conversation, an interpreter, and for a time, according to his own account, he 'had daily conference with the King. Both night and day his delight was very much to talke with mee, both of the affaires of England and other countries, as also many demands of the West Indies, whereof hee had notice long before, being in doubt if there were any such place till he had spoken with me, who had beene in the countrey.' Jahāngīr was so pleased with his visitor that he pressed him to remain at least until another ambassador should arrive from England; and in order to induce him to stop he not only gave him a *mansab* of 400 horse, with promise of early preferment, but also found him a Christian wife in the person of an Armenian maiden. Nothing loth, Hawkins accepted both wife and salary, and prepared to settle down for a time in India, in the expectation (as he told the Company) that 'after halfe a doozen yeeres your Worships would send another man of sort in my place. In the meane time I should feather my neast, and doe you service.'

This prosperity, however, proved to be ephemeral. The Portuguese were 'like madde dogges' to see an Englishman treated with such favour at court, and their threats of reprisal on the native shipping induced the Gujarātī merchants to petition for his speedy dismissal. The consideration with which he was treated was also an offence to the courtiers, especially the more fanatical among them, for 'it went against their hearts that a Christian should be so great and neere the King.' For a time, however, Jahāngīr showed no signs of withdrawing his patronage. On the news that the *Ascension* was making for the Indian

coast, he granted Hawkins a *farmān* 'under his great seale with golden letters...so firmely for our good and so free as heart can wish'; and even when on the heels of the first report came the intelligence that the ship had been wrecked, the Emperor gave him 'another commaundement for their good usage, and meanes to be wrought to save the goods if it were possible.' Still, the disappearance of all hope of a fresh supply of curiosities must have lessened the interest felt by Jahāngīr in his new vassal; while the remonstrances of the Jesuits, letters from the Portuguese Viceroy, the representations both of the Wazīr Abul Hasan (whose enmity Hawkins had unfortunately incurred) and of Mukarrab Khān, who was then in charge of the ports of Gujarāt, all shook his resolution. The arrival at Agra of a number of disorderly sailors from the wrecked vessel, and some faults in Hawkins' own conduct, further wearied the capricious monarch, and after a time the Englishman found himself neglected and his petitions, both on his own behalf and that of his countrymen, put on one side or refused.

Meanwhile Jourdain was living quietly at Surat with Finch. About three weeks after their arrival, the bulk of the *Ascension's* crew started for Agra to join Hawkins, much to the relief of the native officials, whose patience had been sorely tried by the discreditable behaviour of the rougher members. Sharpeigh, whom the men had refused to regard as their leader any longer, accompanied them as far as Burhānpur, where he fell ill. On recovery he resumed his journey and reached the court in safety, though with the loss of all his money and King James's letters, which were stolen from him on the way. The master of the ship, Grove, betook himself to Cambay, where he told Mukarrab Khān that the English at Surat were his servants and their goods his property, and requested him to send for them. This impudent claim was quickly exposed by Jourdain, with the result that Grove lost the Governor's favour. Failing to get a passage from Broach to Achin in a native vessel, he returned to

Surat and thence started overland for Masulipatam; but when within eight stages of his destination, he fell ill and died, making 'a desperate end,' according to our diarist.

In the middle of January, 1610, Finch departed for Agra at the summons of Hawkins, leaving Jourdain to dispose of the small stock remaining. In October came a letter from Hawkins directing him in turn to get rid of the goods at any price and bring the proceeds to Agra. Accordingly on December 15 Jourdain quitted Surat and journeyed up by way of Burhānpur and Māndū to the capital, where he arrived two months later and took up his quarters in the English house. There he found Sharpeigh, and some of the *Ascension's* company. Finch, however, was absent, having been despatched to Lahore to dispose of some indigo he had bought at Biāna. At Agra Jourdain remained about five months and a half. It is unfortunate that his account of the events of this period is so scanty; but we must be grateful for the glimpses he gives us of the imperial city, of the court, and of the Emperor himself, at whose entry into his capital, preparatory to the Nauroz festivities, the little band of Englishmen dutifully attended. Hawkins' favour at court had now almost vanished. The adverse influences had strengthened rather than diminished, and his own indiscretion in disregarding the Emperor's order 'that none of his nobles that came to the court should drinke any stronge drinke before there cominge' (p. 156) provided his enemies with an excuse for excluding him from his favoured position 'within the red rayles, which is a place of honour, where all my time I was placed very neere unto the King; in which place there were but five men in the kingdome before me.'

The prospect appeared now so hopeless that all the Englishmen began to consider their best means of quitting the country. Finch, who was still at Lahore and had fallen out with Hawkins on very reasonable grounds, announced his intention of returning to Europe overland. He invited Jourdain to join him, but luckily the latter refused, or he might have shared his fate, which was to die at Bagdad with most

of his companions. Hawkins, on his part, thought it best to 'currie favoure with the Jesuites' whom he had so persistently reviled, and to beg them to procure for him passes from the Portuguese Viceroy to proceed to Lisbon by way of Cambay and Goa; and he too tried to induce our diarist to join him. The latter, however, had no taste for Hawkins' company and no faith in Portuguese promises; and as it was rumoured that a fresh English fleet (Sir Henry Middleton's) had reached the Red Sea and was coming to Surat, he and Sharpeigh decided to return to that port, to await the arrival of those ships, or, failing that, to journey from thence overland to Masulipatam. They accordingly applied for a farewell audience. Introduced by Khwāja Jahān, they presented to the Emperor 'a peece of gould of our Kings quoyne, which he looked earnestlie upon and putt itt in his pockett' (p. 166), and solicited His Majesty to grant them a passport and exemption of their goods from tolls on their way down[1]. 'He awnswered that his passe to travaile was needlesse, because his countrie was a free country for all men; notwithstandinge, wee should have his passe as wee desired.' Furnished with this document, Jourdain and Sharpeigh, with two other Englishmen, quitted the capital on July 28, 1611, and journeyed by way of Ajmer and Jodhpur to Ahmadābād, reaching that city on September 8. They appear to have travelled at a slow rate and by a devious route; apparently because they had with them a quantity of 'private trade,' regarding which Jourdain preserves a tactful silence. From Ahmadābād the latter posted in advance to Cambay, where Sharpeigh joined him

[1] Covert, the steward of the *Ascension*, who had quitted Agra in January, 1610, bound homewards overland, tells us that 'every stranger must present the King with some present, bee it never so small, which hee will not refuse. And I gave him for a present a small whistle of gold, waighing almost an ounce, set with sparks of rubies, which hee tooke *and whistleled therewith almost an houre.* Also I gave him the picture of St. Johns head cut in amber and gold, which hee also received very gratiously. The whistle hee gave to one of his great women, and the picture to Sultan Caroone [Khurram], his yongest sonne.'

again towards the end of the month. At that port Mukarrab Khān, the Governor, gave them the glad news that Middleton had actually reached the Bar of Surat and was inquiring for his countrymen. Evidently the Governor was looking forward to some pickings on his own account, besides the opportunity of securing presents for use at court, for he 'seemed to bee very joyfull of their comeinge' and was profuse in his attentions to Jourdain's party. He gave them a letter to his brother, who was acting as his deputy at Surat, and provided them with guards and *pālkīs* for their journey. Travelling in this comfortable fashion they in a few days arrived at their destination.

It was one thing, however, to get to Surat, and quite another to reach the English ships, although the latter were only a few miles distant. The Portuguese had been warned of the approach of the fleet, and Middleton on his arrival (September 26, 1611) found the mouth of the Tāpti occupied by a squadron of light frigates from Damān and Diu, which effectually prevented him from sending his boats up the river, while the sands and shoals along the coast rendered it impossible for his large ships to anchor near the land. Had there been a strong government on shore, matters would have been on a different footing; but the natives were afraid to interfere, and allowed the Portuguese to occupy the littoral and post their soldiers (of which they had a large number) wherever they pleased. The situation was embarrassing, and as time wore on it grew serious. 'Our water and other provisions fast wasted; our people daily, for want of comfortable refreshing, fell generally into sicknesse; which made our estate doubtfull, not knowing where or by what meanes to get refreshing, we being so garded by these our enemies that none could come to us, neither could we goe from our ships' (Downton). Still Middleton clung doggedly to his position. The cargoes he had brought had been chosen chiefly for the Surat market, and he was unwilling to go elsewhere unless absolutely obliged. Moreover, he had learned from letters smuggled through from Nicholas Bangham, the only

Englishman then at Surat, that Jourdain and his companions were on their way to the coast, and he was determined to rescue them if possible. Some correspondence took place between Middleton and the Portuguese commander; but the latter insisted on his right to prevent our countrymen from trading in Indian waters without the written consent of his King or of the Viceroy of Goa; while as for the Englishmen on shore, he sarcastically offered to transport them to Goa himself. The native authorities professed their inability to help the new-comers in view of the hostility of the Portuguese, and advised Sir Henry to take his fleet to Gogha, where he could anchor close to the shore and trade without hindrance. Middleton, however, had no intention of quitting Surat waters until absolutely convinced that his prospects were hopeless.

One morning in the middle of October, as the English General was standing along the coast in a frigate captured from the Portuguese, the waving of a turban-cloth from behind a sand-hill attracted attention. A boat was despatched to the shore; and as it drew near the sailors saw a European in native costume spring from his hiding-place and wade into the water to meet them. It was Jourdain, who, thus disguised and accompanied by a native broker, had slipped through the Portuguese guards and made his way to the beach. Soon he was on board the *Peppercorn*, narrating to Middleton and Downton all that had happened and explaining the posture of affairs at Surat. One important piece of intelligence he had to give them, namely, that there was a little to the northwards a haven in which the ships could ride securely close to the shore. The information about this place, with 'tokens uppon the land howe to finde itt,' had been imparted to him by Khwāja Nizām, the Governor of Surat, who was evidently desirous of trading with the English. Middleton, however, seems to have doubted its truth, for he took no immediate steps to verify the statement. A careful look-out was kept for further fugitives; and within about a

week of Jourdain's arrival four more Englishmen were safely embarked. On October 24 Sharpeigh himself, with a guard of native horsemen to protect the goods he was bringing down, reached the ships; and a little later Middleton had two interviews on shore with the Governor of Surat, who again pressed him to take his fleet to Gogha. This time the General appeared to fall in with the suggestion, and on October 29 his ships put out to sea. But this was merely a blind. Middleton hoped that the Portuguese, seeing him depart, would also withdraw and leave the port open; but, finding that on the contrary they continued to dog him, he soon returned to his former anchorage.

He now determined to test the truth of Jourdain's story of the haven to the northward, and on November 3 Giles Thornton was sent in the pinnace to look for it. He quickly returned, declaring that there was no such place; but fortunately the General persevered, and despatched the master of the *Darling* to renew the search, 'who there found a bard place, whereunto not only all our smaller ships might at high water goe, but also the *Trades Increase*, being a little lightned, might also safely goe over the barr, and there ride within calliver shott of the shore' (p. 179 *n.*). The following day (November 6) the ships entered the newly-discovered haven, which was to be for many a year to come the regular anchorage of the English fleets—the famous 'Swally hole.' Water was soon found close at hand, and under the protection of the ships' guns the natives flocked down to the shore to sell sheep and goats and fruit 'for reliefe of our out-tired weake people[1].'

The plans of the Portuguese were now completely upset. They could no longer prevent the English from

[1] Jourdain's share in this welcome discovery is not referred to by Middleton (at least in the mutilated version of his journal given by Purchas) or by Downton; while Hawkins (who evidently reciprocated Jourdain's dislike) says that the place was 'miraculously found out by Sir Henry Middleton and never knowne to any of the countrey.'

communicating freely with the natives and obtaining all the supplies they required. A policy of ambushes and feints of attacks upon English parties on shore was now adopted; but on one of these occasions an opportune broadside from the ships inflicted some loss upon them, and soon they fell back upon their old plan of cajoling and intimidating the local officials into expelling the intruders. For a time, however, all their attempts came to nothing. On November 24 Mukarrab Khān himself came down in state, and not only had a long interview with Sir Henry on shore, but spent the night on board the *Trade's Increase*. There he bought eagerly 'all such fantasticall toyes that might fit his turne to please the toyish humour of the great King his master,' and begged a 'bever hat,' a 'perfumed jerkin' and a 'spaniell dogge' from Middleton himself; but he eluded all discussion regarding the establishment of an English factory at Surat. Upon his departure Khwāja Nizām and others made some show of dealing with the English for their commodities; but little actual business resulted, and shortly after—doubtless in order to pacify the Portuguese—the country people were restrained by proclamation from supplying provisions to the fleet. On December 8 Mukarrab Khān again appeared, bringing a quantity of calicoes, and on that and the following day some progress was made towards an exchange of goods. The proceedings, however, were dramatically interrupted by a letter from the Great Mogul, acquainting Mukarrab Khān with his dismissal from his post at Cambay, though he was still left in charge of the customs at Surat. 'Hee was very pleasant before he received and perused it,' says Middleton, 'but afterwards became very sad. Hee sate a good pretie while musing, and upon a sudden riseth up and so goeth his way without once looking towards or speaking to me, I being seated hard by him.' Soon, however, he bethought himself and made apology, telling Sir Henry that he must depart at once, but would leave Khwāja Nizām to carry out the contract for the mutual exchange of commodities. Accordingly on the 10th that

functionary commenced to weigh up the lead which the English had brought ashore on the strength of the agreement. It was soon discovered that he expected to have it by the 'great maund,' whereas the English price was for the usual maund of Surat; and, finding himself opposed in this, he 'in great rage begann to lade away the goods which he had brought downe for us.' But in this he reckoned without his host; for Middleton, who had been fetched by Jourdain to the scene of the dispute, promptly seized the recalcitrant and carried him on board the *Peppercorn*, where the Shāhbandar, who happened to be visiting her, had already been detained on the first intimation of the quarrel. Khwāja Nizām lay all night on the deck of the ship 'in such a rage thatt wee thought hee would have killed himselfe'; but in the morning he was persuaded to go on board the *Trade's Increase*, where he was pacified and released on giving hostages for the due performance of his bargain. This strong action secured the immediate end Middleton had in view, and possibly increased the respect entertained for the English by the natives in general; but the wisdom of offering such an indignity to an influential official—merely for doing what, according to local custom, he was fully entitled to do—may well be doubted.

While the factors were busy negotiating for further sales of their goods, intelligence arrived that Captain Hawkins had reached Cambay on his way to Goa. For a time his prospects at court had brightened, and it had seemed as though he might after all remain at Agra with advantage. The marriage of the Emperor to Mehr-un-Nisā (who was thereupon given the title of Nūr Mahāl, and later that of Nūr Jahān Begam) had been followed by the promotion of her father to be Wazīr. This not only removed Hawkins' special enemy, Khwāja Abul Hasan, but put in his place one who had always shown himself well-disposed towards the English. Moreover, 'this Vizirs sonne and myselfe,' writes Hawkins, 'were great friends, he having beene often at my house, and was now exalted

to high dignities by the King[1].' These changes and the news of the arrival of Middleton's fleet distinctly improved the position of the British representative. Encouraged by the new Wazīr, and provided with a ruby ring as a suitable offering, he repaired to court and once more solicited a *farmān* for the furtherance of his countrymen's trade. His petition was read, and Jahāngīr 'presently granted mee the establishing of our factorie and that the English come and freely trade for Surat, willing the Vizir that with all expedition my commandement be made.' But once again his hopes were dashed to the ground at the very moment when success seemed assured. 'A great nobleman and neerest favourite of the King' intervened and represented to the monarch that 'the granting of this would be the utter overthrow of his sea coasts and people,' and that 'it stood not with His Majesties honour to contradict that which he had granted to his ancient friends the Portugals....Upon the speech of this nobleman my businesse once againe was quite overthrowne and all my time and presents lost; the King answering that, for my nation, hee would not grant trade at the sea ports, for the inconvenience that divers times had beene scanned upon; but for myselfe, if I would remayne in his service he would command that what he had allowed me should be given me to my content; which I denyed, unlesse the English should come unto his ports according to promise; and as for my particular maintenance, my King would not see me want.' Thus rebuffed, Hawkins quitted Agra on November 2, 1611, and reached Cambay towards the end of December. There he received letters from Middleton urging him to abandon his intention of proceeding to Goa and to come to Surat instead. This course, after

[1] He was made Khānsāmān (steward) of the royal household and given the title of Itikād Khān, which was changed two years later for that of Āsaf Khān. Under the latter appellation he is familiar to readers of *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*. For a note on his eager search for novelties to please the King—which was doubtless his main object in cultivating Hawkins' acquaintance—see *Letters Received*, iii. 309.

some hesitation, he decided to adopt; and on January 26, 1612, he reached the ships in safety, bringing with him his Indian wife and a quantity of goods.

A day later Mukarrab Khān told Jourdain, who was then at Surat, 'that our marchandizing was nowe ended, that wee might departe, and the sooner the better.' On being reminded of his promise that the English should be allowed to leave a factory, 'hee annswered we should have none, denieing all his former promises and speeches unto us, bidding and commanding us instantly withowt any delay to avoyd the country and town and nott to come there any more' (p. 188 *n.*). Thus after having long deluded the English with promises, the Mogul authorities finally refused to allow them any footing in the country. The reason is plain enough; and we need not, with Jourdain, put the blame on the shoulders of Captain Hawkins. There is no sign that the native merchants or officials had any objection to the coming of the English ships or the establishment of an English factory; on the contrary, the opening of the port to their commerce meant more customs for the officials and more customers for the merchants. But it was impossible for them to disregard the arguments and threats of the Portuguese. The commerce between Goa and the ports of Gujarāt was a long-standing and a lucrative one; to hazard this for the sake of the newcomers, who might or might not follow up the trade they had begun, may well have seemed unwise. More cogent still was the menace of hostile action on the part of the Portuguese. The Governor of Chaul had already detained a valuable cargo belonging to Mukarrab Khān 'bycawse he gave entertainement and trade to Englishmenn' (p. 187 *n.*); while, according to Downton, 'at the instant of there conference whither fitt for them to permitt us to leave a factorye to vent the rest of our goods brought for that place there or noe, was delivered unto the hands of Muccrob Chaun a letter from Dangee, a Benian in Cambaia, by the instigation of the Jesuits there, advising them that if they gave place to the English in Suratt the

Portugalls would come with force and burne all there sea townes and make spoile of all the ships they should send abroad; the contents whereof was applauded of most, all soone agreing it to be there best course; and thereuppon presently dismist our people as aforesaid.' On learning this decision, Middleton wasted no further time in argument, but at once sent orders to the English at Surat to repair aboard. Accordingly Jourdain and his companions quitted the city and embarked in the fleet (February 6, 1612); and thus ended the first attempt of the East India Company's servants to establish themselves in the dominions of the Great Mogul.

The ships sailed on February 11, and proceeded in the first instance southwards to Dābhol, the chief port of the Bījāpur kingdom. At that place fear of their guns procured them a respectful reception, and a small amount of business resulted. A council was now held to determine their future action. Three courses were put before the assemblage. The first was to sail to the bar of Goa and demand satisfaction from the Viceroy for the wrongs he and his subordinates had done to the English. This was set aside as unlikely to yield any result commensurate with the loss of time it would involve. The second—to proceed in their voyage to Priaman and Bantam—was also ruled out, for various reasons; and finally the third proposal was adopted, namely, to return to the Red Sea and there lie in wait for the Indian ships bound for Mocha—a course the more attractive, in that any injury inflicted on those vessels would fall partly on the port they were bound for, where Middleton had been so cruelly treated fifteen months before. The subjects of the Mogul had refused the English the common right of peaceable trade, after making them lose valuable time by promising to grant it; and they had done this at the instance of another European power which was ostensibly on amicable terms with Great Britain. Middleton was determined to teach them that his countrymen were not to be trifled with, and that they were as well able as the Portuguese to use force in defence of their

interests. 'For that they would not deale with us at their owne doores,' he writes (*Purchas*, i. 272), 'wee having come so farre with commodities fitting their countrie, no where else in India [*i.e.*, in the Indies] vendable, I thought wee should doe ourselves some right, and them no wrong, to cause them barter with us, wee to take their indicoes and other goods of theirs, as they were worth, and they to take ours in liew thereof. All mens opinions were for the Red-sea, for divers reasons; as first, the putting off our English goods, and having others in place thereof fitting our countrey; secondly, to take some revenge of the great and unsufferable wrongs and injuries done me by the Turkes there; and the third and last (but not the least), to save that ship [Saris's], men and goods, which (by way of Massulipatan) wee heard was bound for those parts; which we held unpossible to escape betraying.'

Accordingly, on April 4 the *Trade's Increase* anchored between Perim and the Arabian shore, while the *Darling* guarded the wider, but less used, strait between the island and the African coast. Downton, with the *Peppercorn*, had been left off Aden to drive into the net any Indian traders that might be making for that port. During the next three weeks ship after ship fell into Middleton's hands; and on April 24, finding that he had secured as many as he could well manage, he shepherded them into Asab Bay, where he was joined on May 14 by Downton with a further prize. In the meantime complications had arisen owing to the presence in the Red Sea of another English fleet, viz. the three vessels of the Eighth Voyage under John Saris. At the moment when Middleton reached the Straits, Saris was lying off Mocha. The local officials had given him a good reception; and as he was provided with a *farmān* specially obtained from Constantinople, authorising him to trade in 'Yemen, Aden and Moha,' he 'reckoned himselfe sure of trade,' and had 'great hope we might leave a factorye.' The news of Middleton's arrival and of his capture of several Indian ships naturally put a stop to the negotiations, and left Saris no option but to join his

countrymen at Babelmandeb. The two Generals met in no cordial mood; for while Saris was annoyed at being disturbed in his trade, Middleton on his part was no less vexed at the prospect of having to share his booty with a rival. On the latter point Saris soon made his intentions clear; he was working on behalf of a distinct group of adventurers, and was determined to lose no chance of making a lucrative voyage. Owing to Middleton's action, he found himself excluded from trade not only at Mocha but also at Surat, and he had made up his mind, therefore, to have his portion of whatever was to be exacted from the Indian ships. Middleton, whose temper had been sorely tried by the ill-success of his voyage, and who was rather disposed to take a high tone with one who had formerly been his subordinate at Bantam, strongly resented this demand. The squabbles that ensued are related at some length in the text, and it is only necessary to record that in the end it was agreed to force the Indians to exchange their commodities for English goods, and to divide the former in the proportion of two-thirds to the ships of the Sixth Voyage and one-third to those of the Eighth. The English merchants thereupon helped themselves to all the calico, indigo, etc. that they wanted, and gave in exchange their own broadcloth, kerseys, lead, iron and tin, the rates fixed for the latter being roughly those at which they were sold at Surat. Then a further dispute arose. Middleton had demanded a large sum from the Mocha officials as further compensation for the wrongs done him the previous year, and had threatened, in case of refusal, to prevent the Indian vessels from proceeding to that port. As the Turkish authorities made no sign of yielding to this demand, he assembled the Indian captains and informed them that he intended to take their ships with him out of the Red Sea, in order to prevent their dealing with his enemies. The captains, who had still the remnants of their cargoes to dispose of, as well as the goods which had been forced upon them, were alarmed at the prospect of losing their monsoon, and reluctantly consented to pay a sum of

money in satisfaction of his claims, each ship to be rated in proportion to the value of her cargo[1]. As the payment was nominally made in lieu of compensation due from the Turks to Middleton, the latter thought that he alone had a right to it; but the alert Saris declared that he too must be satisfied or he would take strong measures with the Indians when Sir Henry had finished with them; whereupon the latter, not daring to drive matters to extremity for fear of incurring the displeasure of his employers, agreed, after a fierce explosion of anger, to give Saris one-fourth of the amount received as ransom, leaving the Company to settle whether a larger proportion should be paid. Then came the task of assessing each vessel —'a most troublesome and hart-relenting busines,' says Downton, 'in regard of the outcries of the pore people and the dificultie (according to our hast) for them to gatt the mony; and that which they had from the Turkes was hired at a most excessive ratt.' At last it was ended, the five ships being forced to pay 32,000 rials of eight.

Jourdain did not stay to see the end of these questionable proceedings. Middleton had decided to send the *Darling* ahead of him to Sumatra, 'to provide pepper against his comeinge,' and incidentally to forestall Saris as much as possible; whereupon Jourdain, 'beinge weary to see and heare dailie such controversies betweene the two Generalls,' begged to be allowed to go in charge of that vessel. To this request Sir Henry, though loth to lose Jourdain's services, assented; and on May 19 the *Darling* quitted the fleet and stood away to the eastwards. Saris, determined not to be outdone, four days later despatched the *Thomas* in the same direction.

Tiku, then one of the chief pepper ports of Sumatra, was reached on July 7. Owing to the master having been given wrong directions, the *Darling*, when going in, struck

---

[1] See Downton's narrative in *Letters Received*, i. 185. It may be noted that this ransom was only extorted from the ships of Surat and Diu (five in all).

a coral reef; but fortunately a strong breeze was blowing, and she lifted over the obstacle without damage. A month was now spent in endeavours to come to terms with the local officials, who thoroughly understood the value of procrastination when a buyer is both eager to purchase and limited in the time he can wait. At last an arrangement was concluded, and a small quantity of pepper procured and stowed upon a little island in the harbour. The probability of getting it to Bantam seemed, however, slight, for their worm-eaten vessel was as leaky as a sieve and most of the crew were sick. Hearing of this, the *Thomas*, which had been refused trade at Tiku and was now endeavouring, with scant success, to purchase pepper at the neighbouring port of Priaman, set sail to join the *Darling*, hoping to induce Jourdain to sell the little stock he had managed to scrape together[1]. But on the very day (October 19) on which she approached the roadstead, Sir Henry Middleton made his appearance from the Red Sea with the *Trade's Increase* and *Peppercorn*—'to our greate comforts,' writes the relieved Jourdain. Middleton, however, made but a short stay. Finding the prospects of trade so poor, he decided to go on at once to Bantam; and with this object in view he changed ships with Downton, leaving him in the *Trade's Increase* to ship the pepper already purchased and procure more if possible, and in the meanwhile to search for a leak which had rendered that ship almost unseaworthy.

In these duties and in patching up the *Darling* a month passed away; and then on the night of the 20th November the two vessels set sail in company for Bantam, Jourdain being now in the *Trade's Increase*. But before they had gone more than three leagues that unlucky ship in the darkness ran on a rock and stuck fast for three hours, with the result that when with much trouble she was got off, she was found to be leaking worse than ever, and was forced to return to Tiku Road. There the greater part of her cargo

[1] Towerson, the captain of the *Hector*, which had also reached Priaman, had already made overtures to the same effect and had been refused.

was landed, and the leak was discovered and stopped. On December 8 they once more put to sea. This time they got safely away from the dangerous coast, and three days before Christmas they anchored at the island of Panjang, in the Bay of Bantam, where they found Middleton busily superintending the repair of the *Peppercorn*. In Bantam Road were Captain Saris's three ships, in one of which, the *Clove*, he was preparing to start on his memorable voyage to Japan; the other two, the *Hector* and the *Thomas*, were lading pepper with a view to an early departure for England, whither was also bound the *Solomon*, another of the Company's ships[1].

Jourdain, too, must have felt tempted to take the opportunity of returning to his native land. But a strong friendship had sprung up between him and Middleton—'Mr. Jurdaine,' wrote Captain Downton a little later (*O.C.* 106), 'in Capt. Sharpeigh his absence is his [Middleton's] greatest help'—and now that all the chief merchants who had come out with the latter were dead, Sir Henry persuaded him to accept the post of head factor at Bantam for the Sixth Voyage. Middleton's own intentions were, after sending Downton home with the *Trade's Increase*, to go himself in the *Peppercorn* to Amboyna, the Bandas, and Borneo, in the hope of procuring sufficient cargo to return to England with some amount of credit. His plans, however, were upset by the discovery that the former vessel was too worm-eaten to be sent to sea without being first careened and sheathed; and he thereupon decided to let Downton take home the *Peppercorn*, which had already been repaired. As it was obvious that his own ship could not be ready in time to save the monsoon for the eastwards, he next resolved to send the little *Darling* in her place, under the command of William Pemberton. But here again his plans seemed to be on the point of frustra-

[1] Captain Hawkins embarked in the *Thomas* with his Indian wife, but only to 'dye on the Irish shoare in his returne homewards' (*Purchas His Pilgrimage*, ed. 1626, p. 521). His widow thereupon married the captain of the *Hector*, Gabriel Towerson.

tion, for the sudden death of Giles Thornton, the master of the *Trade's Increase*, made it imperatively necessary to retain Pemberton at Bantam to superintend the repair of that vessel. In this emergency Jourdain came forward with an offer of his services to command the *Darling* in the proposed expedition—an offer which Middleton, though unwilling to lose his assistance at Bantam, was only too glad to accept; and accordingly in the middle of February, 1613, we find our diarist setting sail from Pulo Panjang, bound for Amboyna.

This voyage opened a new and important chapter in Jourdain's life, for it made him the protagonist on the English side in the struggle that was commencing between the two chief Protestant nations for the trade of the Spice Islands. He had already been a witness of the efforts which the Portuguese were making to exclude all but themselves from commerce in Indian waters; he was now to be brought into contact with a somewhat similar state of things in the Far East, with the difference—an all-important one—that there our opponents were the Dutch, who, having already driven out the Portuguese, were endeavouring to establish an equally exclusive dominion in their place. Their aim, which was being pursued with all the energy and clear-sighted thoroughness of their race, was to establish an absolute monopoly of the trade of the Spice Islands, including not only the Moluccas proper, but also Amboyna, the neighbouring coast of Ceram, and the Bandas—in short, all the regions producing the cloves and nutmegs which were so much in demand in the markets both of Europe and Asia. The war between the United Provinces and their former overlord, the King of Spain and Portugal, had supplied a justification for the despatch of fleets and soldiers and the expulsion of the Portuguese garrisons from most of the islands; and these measures had caused a vast expenditure, for the recoupment of which the desired monopoly appeared to offer the surest and speediest means. The plan of action was a simple one. No attempt was made to conquer the islands or to destroy

the native governments. On the contrary, the Dutch posed as the deliverers of the latter from the oppression of the Portuguese. An alliance was concluded with the Sultan of Ternate (whose rival of Tidore was forced in consequence to fall back upon Spanish assistance), and this gave them not only a footing in the Moluccas but a predominant position in the other islands, all of which in a greater or less degree recognised the suzerainty of that monarch. The next step was to negotiate a series of treaties with the local chiefs, by which the Dutch bound themselves to defend the natives against the attacks of the Portuguese or other enemies, and in return were given the sole right of purchasing cloves or nutmegs. These agreements having been concluded, and fortresses and factories established in suitable localities, it may well have seemed that the Dutch domination was practically complete, and that the time was approaching when they would have nothing to do but to receive the spices in due season and despatch them to Europe to a market wholly controlled by themselves and yielding therefore a handsome profit.

We may easily imagine the alarm and indignation with which the English watched the development of their rivals' plans. The first moves, it is true, were regarded with indifference, perhaps with some satisfaction to see the Dutch entangled in hostilities with both the Portuguese and Spaniards (who under the spirited guidance of the Viceroy of the Philippines had come to the assistance of their fellow-subjects) and spending their money in building fortifications and maintaining ships of war. Moreover, there was a certain feeling of security, arising from the intimate relations subsisting in Europe between the two peoples. To Englishmen of that generation it was natural to regard the Dutch as being in a measure dependent upon the British crown; and it took time for them to realise that Holland had stepped definitively into the circle of nations, and that her gratitude for the help doled out so grudgingly by Elizabeth and her successor had its limits. When, however, Captain Keeling in 1609 and David Middleton

in the following year were roughly ordered away from the Bandas, it was evident that matters were growing serious. In the autumn of 1611 the Company petitioned the Lord Treasurer for protection against 'these injuryous courses' (*First Letter Book*, p. 429); with the result that King James's ambassador at the Hague was instructed to remonstrate with the States General. This he did, and was assured that representations would be made to the Dutch Company in accordance with his wishes. He doubted, however, whether this intervention would do any good, for that Company was 'a body by themselves, powerful and mighty, and will not acknowledge the authority of the States General more than shall be for their private profit' (*Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1513—1616, p. 234). A little later he mentions a suggestion for a union between the two Companies, 'which is here taken to be the surest course both to live together in good amity and to be master over the Portugal in those islands' (*ibid.*, p. 236); and in March, 1613—at the very time when Jourdain was disputing with the Hollanders at Hitu—three representatives of the Dutch Company, accompanied by the celebrated Grotius, arrived in London to discuss proposals for a settlement of the differences. For nearly a month they debated the matter, but no progress was made. The Dutch stood firmly on the rights given them by their treaties with the natives, and complained of the unreasonableness of the English in expecting to share free of cost in a commerce which had been snatched from the Portuguese by force of arms and at a vast expense, and was being safeguarded by the same means. The English, on the other hand, argued that they had traded with the islanders before the Dutch had appeared in those seas, and that the war between Holland and Spain ought not to be made a pretext for limiting the commerce of another nation; they were entitled by natural right to free and unrestricted trade, and none but a declared enemy could debar them of this. Co-operation, financial or otherwise, in the struggle with Philip they would not hear of, nor would they recognise any