

THE  
ANSWER  
VNTO THE DUTCH  
PAMPHLET,  
MADE IN DEFENCE  
OF THE VNIUST AND BAR-  
barous proceedings against the  
ENGLISH at  
AMBOYNA

In the East-Indies, by the HOLL-  
LANDERS *there.*

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M. D C, XXIV.

THE  
ANSWER

TO THE QUESTION

WHETHER

IT IS ADVISABLE

TO BRING UP

A BILL

FOR THE PURPOSE

OF



Printed and Sold by

M. D. C. C. C.



AN ANSWER  
TO THE DUTCH RE-  
LATION, TOVCHING THE PRE-  
tended Conspiracie of the ENGLISH at  
AMBOYNA *in the Indies.*

**T**HE 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: 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; provides more skilfully than fairely, for both these points in the preamble of this relation: To this end, he takes and heapes together all the jealousies and dangers that the Dutch

had in the Indies, yea and more than they truly had, at or about the time of the pretended conspiracie, and applies them all to the suspicion of this 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 puished. Wherefore although this be no direct charge of the English, but vsed by the Author to supply the want of probabilities in the proceffe 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 alleaged to this purpose, may appear by the Journalls of those parts; which evidently shew, that this Treatie betweene those of Ternata and Tedore; was in Nouember, 1621. that is to say, fiftene moneths before this forged conspiracie; and that with the knowledge of *Houtman*, the Gouvernour of the Dutch, who, vpon the

the 19 of Nouember the yeare aforefaid, 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 waire, that the Treatie was dissolued *re infectâ*, And the seventh of December following, an Edict was published by the King of Ternata, commanding all the Tedorians forthwith to depart the Island of Ternata, 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 seventeenth of February 1622. being a full yeare before the feined treason of the English, the King of Ternata, with twentie Curricuries, tooke a Spanish Galley, slew fortie in fight, and took 150 prisoners, whom they sold to the Dutch for Cloth and Rice: and comming by the Hollanders Castle of Maalaio, 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 Ternata. The 22. of May next ensuing, the king of Ternata went forth to Machian with sixe Curricuries, and at his departure was honoured with thirty shot of great Ordnance from the Dutch Castle. The 15. of  
Iune

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 March 1623. *new stile*. Vpon the 14. of which moneth, the Dutch gaue the king of Ternata, and other Blacks, two hundred Bails 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 Journalls, to haue beene holden the 19. of Iuly 1623. which was siue moneths after the execution of the English at Amboyna, and so came too late to moue suspition against them.

**C** And yet this pretended feare and icalousie 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 year 1619. had deserted the defense, and sent no more ships, neither to the Moluccoes, nor to the Manillias: 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 Curricuries of the Tenatans, without helpe of the Hollanders. But for the default of the English, which is heer odiously alledged, it will be requisite to set downe the true causes wherefore the English relinquished the action of defense, aswel at the Manillias, as elsewhere; being a matter much aggravated vpon all occasions by the Hollanders, albeit themselues haue giuen the cause thereof. Wherefore briefly, the true motiues of the English, there desisting from the action of defense, were as followeth. The English had, by agreement of the Councell of defense, two yeeres together maintained a Fleet of five tall & warlike ships, to ioinc with the like strength of the Hollanders, for the action of the Manillias, and the profit of the voyage (as the charge) to bee common to both Companies. The Dutch prepared another Fleet of seven shippes, all of their owne, for Macao, bordering vpon Chyna, neer the Manillias, 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 provisions vnto them. This Fleet passing by two of the English ships, which were appointed for that quarter of the Manilliaes; the English welcomed them, and offered to joyn with them in their exploit. Which the Dutch refused, saying, That this being an exploit of their owne, the English 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 English and Dutch, for the coast of Mallabar, to secure the trade in that part. Of the Dutch ships (about a moneth after they set saile) two were found to bee so weak and leak, that they were faine to returne to Iaccatra. The rest being comne 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 notwithstanding the protestations, obtestations, and exclamations of the English against this preuarication. So that foure Caracks of the Portugals coming that way, the rest of the Fleet of the English and Dutch being thus weakened by the default of the foure Dutch ships aforesaid; the fairest oportunity that euer hapned; eyther before or since the joyning of the English and Dutch Companies, or is euer likely to offer it self in the future, was lost and vtterly defeated. By this it appeareth, what cause the Dutch haue to complaine of the English for deserting the action of defense, and what reason and encouragement the English haue to continue the joynt action and charge with those that vse so little sincerity, euer contriuing the common  
actions



actions and charge to their private advantage; that when the joynt forces are employed to giue the enemy work in one part, they (the Hollanders) might with ease oppresse them in another, and appropriate the whole benefit to themselves.

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 exâple, 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 Gouvernor 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.

This dealing of the Authour is like the former about the Treatie of peace with the Tedorians, and truce with the Spaniards. For when the Gouvernour of Amboyna set forth the last Fleet of Curricurries before the apprehension of the English, hee stood on good termes with the Ternatans at Loho; neither of the Factories heere mentioned being then burnt or injured. The Gouvernour then went onely, according to his yeerely 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 ranne away, and, being afterwards laid hold on, was rescued by a reputed holy man of or neere that part; the English craued assistance of the Dutch Gouvernour: who did his best, but was therein abused by those of Loho; and not only some of his men

D

outraged, but the English Factor Master *Beomont* 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 dissembles 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 Gouvernour of Amboyna made out a Fleet 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 applyed 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 English.

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 Governour, that knoweth well that the Ternatans haue no gun-powder, nor other prouisions, for such an exploit; and yet are far behinde the Governour of Amboyna for number of Curricurries, besides the Dutch ships and Castles.

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

But the last, and that which alone is expressly 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 prooffe, 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 correspondencie 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

correspondencie with those of Loho, when at one time they way-laid M. *Beomont* to kill him, and at another time shot him in the hand with an arrow, offered to kill *William Grigs*, and from time to time abused and outraged our people, equally with, and as the Dutch? Further, our people, as wel 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 means maintained they this correspondencie? Yet this was vnderstood, saith this Relation. How vnderstood? Perhaps by the Gouvernors dreams: for that (as hee 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 Proesse.

G

The Author, hauing thus quit himselfe in this preface, proceedeth to the matter it selfe, first setting down the occasion and manner 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 onely his curious questioning touching the setting and changing of the Watch, and of the number of the Souldiers in the Castle: which, what sufficient *indicium* and cause it was to torture a Souldier of their owne, that, seruing them, had reason to desire to vnderstand the course of their Watches, and the strength of the aid hee might expect, if any sudden attempt should happen in his quarter; is easily to be judged. And how this poor man, and the rest of his country-men 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 bene alreadie discoursed 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 Gouvernour and Fiscall in their owne

processe found *John Powle*, *Ephraim Ramsfey*, 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 *Towerfon* a preface to the rest, to induce them to the exploit, he tells vs; that they made doubt of the point of possibilitie, (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. *Towerfon* told them that hee 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 Governour should bee some where abroad vpon some exploit, and some English ships, or ship at least, at Amboyna; the people whereof hee 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: we must beleeuue, if this Author or his voucher say true, that Master *Towerfon* 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 *Towerfon* told him, that hee had then sent out *Johnson* and *Price* to treat with the  
Iapons,

Iapons, and winne their consent to this enterprife. But what should these (being all but ten) haue done? Marrie (saith the relation by and by) Master *Tower-son* had ordeined, that eight of them should haue bin 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 & respit to kill or take them by two, & by two. A sweet conceit! and such a seruice as perhaps hath bin somtimes represented vpon a stage, but neuer acted in surprife of a Castle in good earnest.

Thus we see how eight of the Iapons were to bee employed; what should the other two haue done? forsooth they should haue waited in the great chamber to murder the *Gouernor*. Yea, but this relation told vs yer while, that this plot should haue been 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 bene occupied. 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 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 *Towersson* 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 *Towersson* was so slight, as to open his plot to all the English at Amboyna, yea to the Taylor and Barber; and, which is more, to the Iapons, so long before it was to bee put in execution, and before hee knew the mindes of his chiefe assistants, of whose arriual 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 aiwell to the English as to the Dutch, as is before shewed in answer to the preamble. When were they reconciled? how commeth it, that in all the examinations of the Eng-



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. *Tower-son* in his expressly denied it, and was pressed no further. The truth is, the Gouvernor and Fiscall of Amboyna knew, that what-ever had been confessed in this point, would not haue been belceued 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, w<sup>ch</sup> had no colour at *Amboyna*.

Concerning the time of executing this plot, it was (as the relation saith) not yet prefixed, but left to the next meeting of the conspirators, which should be shortly holden, when *Gabriel Tower-son* 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 years day, and plotted as is before related: and now it was the five and twentieth 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 vniforme confession of all the English, by themselues seuerally subscribed. In the next place the Author relateth somewhat singular in *M. Tower-son'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 proiect, he would forthwith haue giuen aduertisement thereof to the rest of his nation at Iaccatra (which now they haue christianed Barauia), 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.

Here 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. Tower-son*, 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. Tower-son* haue, that the President and English Councell at Iaccatra, liuing vnder command of the Dutch. Forr there, and altogether subject to the Hollanders, durst joyne in any such action, thereby to giue occasion to the Hollanders to arrest, torture, and condemn them of treason? *M. Tower-son* 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

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 receipt, were all aduertised from time to time to M. *Towerson*, who therefore was sure he could expect no assistance from them, that were themselves in such a predicament. The other part of M. *Towerson's* resolution is said to haue been, To keep the Castle for himselfe, and to agree with the Indians, in default of helpe 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 Islands of Amboyna, and at Cambello hard by, all well furnished with men and prouision, besides their power of shipping, which makes them stile themselves Lords of the Sea? And yet how could M. *Towerson* hope to winne the Amboynezes (the Hollanders sworn subiects) to his side? He might rather assure himself, that after hee had mastered the

Hollanders (if yet that must be beleued to be possible), the Amboynezes would haue surpris'd 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. Tower-son* 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. Tower-son's* (To keep the Castle for himselfe) to bee a mad plot; and for which, *M. Tower-son* 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 wit, that *M. Tower-son*, after his examination was finished, beeing expostulated withall by the Dutch Governour, and demanded whether this should haue been the recompence of his (the Governour'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 *Tower-son* was  
“ended the eight and twentieth of February, so many  
“daies before. But how shall we belecue this ? For-  
sooth, hee hath it out of the Acts of the Proesse 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 addi-  
tion, aswell as of such mutilation and omission ? But  
let vs peruse the words of the Act it selfe, which are  
these :

**W**EE, whose names are heerunto subscribed, do de-  
clare upon our troth, in stead of an oath, that  
Gabriel Tower-son, after that hee had bene already  
examined touching his said offence, and that the wor-  
shipfull Governour Van Speult had expostulated with  
him thereupon, asking him whether this should haue been  
the recompence of his courtesies from time to time shewed  
vnto him, the said Tower-son : thereupon hee, the said  
Tower-son, 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 Am-  
boyna, and subscribed.

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

Thus we see the Act it selfe, and this pretended vo-  
luntarie confession of *M. Tower-son* ; which is not de-  
liuered

liucred vpon the credite of the Court or Councell at Amboyna (and yet how small that is, is before shewed) but vpon the Attestation or Affidait of the Governour and siue 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 solemnity, 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 is. 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, collectts it to be voluntary, because (as he faith) 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 Affidait? The Attestation faith, that these words were spoken by *M. Towerson* after he had bin already 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. Towersons* 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 seized at Amboyna, Larica, Hitto, and Cambello, to discover 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 vntained? 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 murderously, that the blood of the poore people cryeth to heauen for vengeance.

*Demonstration to the Lords States, touching the government of the Maiores.*

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, Johnson, 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 scuerall 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 proesse. 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, foure-teene English, and the Neatherlandish Marthicho, 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. Which how true it is, is already declared in the conclusion of the English Relation. The truth is, this Captain of the Slaues was of the Portugall race, and born in Bengala. His verie name, *Augustine Perez,* sheweth, he was no Neatherlander.

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Having thus finished this relation, this Authour

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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 Gouvernour 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 Gouvernour. Then hee telleth vs, that the Authors 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. Which also may be granted in this point of apprehension, & safe custodie : but how it may proceed al-

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

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 and 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 bene vpon other occaſion 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 Gouvernour and Fiſcall led the priſoners, was wholly againſt the forme and rule of all lawes of tortures;

*Scilicet in fabrica ſi praua eſt regula prima,  
Cetera mendosè fieri atque obſtipa neceſſe eſt.*

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

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*, *Ramsley*, and two others of those Factories guiltlesse.

Next, this Author taketh notice of an obiection made in England against the iurisdiction of the Dutch Gouvernor, and his Councill 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 Councill of defence of both nations at Iaccatra. For information in which point this Author saith, he hath perused ouer all the feuerall 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 Councill of defence hath no other power, but onely ouer the Fleet of defence, ouer the commerce, and final-

ly, to tax 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 bee added by way of ampliation, to provide for that which was not particularly and expressly cared for in the former. Which is most plaine by the words of the explanation vpon this thirtieth article, agreed vpon at the first, and subscribed by the Commissioners on both sides, *An. 1619.* where this course of proceeding is expressly directed, not only in disputes about the meaning of the Articles, but also about any other matter hapning in their common aboad. Since w<sup>ch</sup> also the kings Ma: 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 ouer each other. 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 Holladers in *Amboyna* are bound to obserue the laws of the vnited Prouinces; for so saith this author himselfe. Do 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 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 *Johnson*, *Tomson*, and *Clarke*? or especially the splitting of the 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 beleued, nor the prisoners to haue beene condemned thereupon, without other sufficient *indicia* or euidence besides.

In the last place, this Author handleth the excessse of torture, whereof (hee taketh notice) there is much complaint in England; 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 murderous 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 processe,

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cesse, against the poore Polaroones, whom in August, 1622. being about fixe moneths before this execution of the English, their Gouvernor there vsed in like sort, as the Gouvernor 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 vnlikely, that their Gouvernour 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,

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hee went back secretly to his owne Countrey 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 Gouvernor, 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 Gouvernor 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 seuentie 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. Neuerthelesse, 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 go to Poloway to purge themselves. Where, as soon as they were arriued, they were instantly carried prisoners to the Castle: and withall the Gouvernor, 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

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 Gouvernor 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 belceue 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 vnruely & 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

*Noortwendich  
Discourse,  
printed Ann.  
1622. under  
the name of  
Ymant van  
Waermond*



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 Gouvernour 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 male factors,

lefactors, and then set them vpon a wheele on the end  
 of a great pole, there to languish to death : an execu-  
 tion farre more diu'full than the English pressing,  
 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 exe-  
 cution? Let him do it yet, and he shall haue moe Au-  
 thors of his owne Countrey, that condemne their  
 course of tortures: and yet the English complain not  
 of the course in generall, but of the vnlawfull vse of  
 it; contrary to the rules of the Lawes euen of the v-  
 nited 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 English Relation: but he can find little  
 or none mentioned in the Acts. What if he will not  
 find it? or what if their Officers of Amboyna haue  
 conceal'd it? shall we not beleue those that suffred it  
 themselues? shall we not beleue those, that beeing  
 themselues acquitted, yet heard the cryes, and saw the  
 bodies of *Johnson, Clarke, and Tomson*, and haue con-  
 firmed their relation by their corporall oathes? As  
 for the Act of the five & twentieth of February, which  
 this Authour hath here transcribed; it cannot be a  
 true Act: for therein it is said, that that day all the  
 English were examined one by one, and some before  
 torture, and some after confessed the fact. Whercas  
 it appeareth not onely by the English Relation, but  
 by this very Author in the precedent page, that they  
 were not all examined the same five and twentieth day  
 of February; but that the examination continued six  
 daies together, euen to the third of March inclusive.  
 How then could the Act of the five and twentieth of  
 Febru-

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 removed: wherein it was resolved, 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 termes 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 feare 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 beleue. 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 *Towers* and all the English from Amboyna to Iaccatra. Which Letter was opened and read by the Dutch Gouvernor, 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 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 aggravating the crime of the English very ridiculously, because (forsooth) that this plot among other things, was against the wealth & advantage of the Netherlands East India company: as if a conspiracy of this kinde (if any such had bin) 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; & lastly, 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.



