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A Remonstrance
of the Bewinthebbers
or Directors of the
Netherlands East
India Company.
lately exhibited
to the Lords States
General in Justifi-
cation of the
Proceedings of their Officers at
Amboyna, against the English.
there.

Translated out of French



LOAN STACK



HC448
A24N36

¶ *To the Reader.*

G E N T L E R E A D E R ;



*He Remonstrance of the Ne-
therlands East India Company,
hecreafter in the first
place following, was by
the same Company pre-
sented to the Lords States
Generall of the Vnited Pro-*

*vinces in November Anno 1624. for answere of
the Relation of the English East India Companie
touching the vniust, cruell, and barbarous
proceedings against the English at Amboyna,
and for justification of that infamous Processe.
The Coppie of which Remonstrance being im-
parted to the said English Company, they forth-
with writ the subsequent Reply, and sent the
same to be presented to the said Lords States
Generall, for a Counterpoyson against the said
Remonstrance.*

the late Governor of And

To the Reader.

altogether verifying their suspition of the drift of the *Netherlands Company* before mentioned. For the said Letter of the *Lords States* being by the *English President* at *Iaccatra* safely delivered to *Carpentier*, Governour Generall of the *Dutch* in the *Indies*, he, when *Harman van Speault* the late Governour of *Amboyna*, and head of the bloody treachery against the *English* there, arrived at *Iaccatra*, received him with great honour, yea with triumph; and in stead of sending him for *Europe* to answer the Cōplaints of the *English*, according to the direction and cōmandement of the *Lords States* by their said Letter, made him chief cōmander of a Flecte of Shippes sent from thence to *Suratt*, and other Northerne parts of the *Indies*; the *English President* & Councell at *Iaccatra* in vaine protesting here-against, and vrging his remission to *Europe* in consequence of the Letter of the *Lords States* aforesaid. Neither haue the Officers of the said *Netherlands Company* in the *Indies* in all this respite of 18. moneths, made any restitution or reparation to the *English*, as was promised and pretended, nor any preparation therevnto; but rather haue added new grievances. So that it now plainly appeareth,
that

To the Reader.

that the said *Netherlands East India Company*, in their earnest suite to the *Lords States*, to procure his *Majestie* to giue a respite for the due tryall of the Cause of *Amboyna*, inserted in the latter end of this ensuing *Remonstrance*, intended nothing lesse then such a true tryall, but rather a cooling and blunting of the edge and zeale of the *English Company* in pursuing of their due remedies; hoping (as it is in the fable of him that vnderooke to teach the Asse to speake) that in long delay and respite of time something might happen, vtterly to elude and frustrate the reall performance. In the meane time, besides the goods of the *English* that they detain, they enioy the whole trade of the *Moluccoes*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, the true though wretched motiue of their abhominable Processe against the innocents; and haue raised the Nutmeggs, Maces and Cloues, being by this means solely in their own hands, to more then double the price of that they were at in these parts when the *English* had their share in them. Whereby it appeareth, how sincerely this following *Remonstrance* flighteth this matter as a poore end, though it so much tend to enrich that *Dutch Company*;

that the said Netherlands East India Company in
their contract with the Government to pro-
cure his Majesty to give a respite for the due
trial of the Cause of ~~Amoy~~ interest in the
later end of this ensuing Remonstrance, inter-
posed nothing less than such a true trial, but
rather a cooling and plucking of the edge and
scale of the English Company in pursuing of their
due remedies: hoping (as it is in the table
of the said Amoy to reach the Vile to
break) that in long delay and respite of time
something might happen, utterly to elude and
frustrate the real performance. In the mean
time, besides the goods of the English that
they detain, they enjoy the whole trade of
the Amoy, Banda, and Aboey, the true
though watched motive of their ambition
ple for the against the innocents; and have
raised the Nimmeggs, Maces and Cloves, be-
ing by this means solely in their own hands,
to more than double the price of that they
were at in these parts when the English had
their share in them. Whereby it appears
how directly this following Remonstrance
lighteneth this matter as a boore end, though
it so much tend to enrich that Dutch Company;



A REMONSTRANCE
 of the Bewinthebbers or Directors
 of the Netherlands *East India* Company
 lately exhibited to the Lords States Gene-
 rall in iustification of the proceedings of
 their Officers at *Amboyna* against
 the English there.

Translated out of French.

High and mighty Lords :



THE Directors of the vnited
 Company and Society of the
East-Indies did in the moneth of
 Iuly past, present vnto your Ho-
 nours a Deduction concerning
 that which was past in the Pro-
 uince of *Amboyna*, and of the
 execution there made in March 1623, with a proui-
 sionall answer of the Obiections which then were
 made and knowne against it : But where this Cause
 by that meanes could not be ended, and for as much
 as daily there are found & spred abroad great Bruits
 against that which is mentioned in the Deduction.
 B afore-

aforesaid ; therefore the said *Directors* in regard of their charge and office, as also for the defence of their Seruants, so farre as reason permitteth, and not to be thought destitute and naked of good defence, yea that they may not leaue the matter for condemned, as diuers haue spred abroad, and gladly would make the world belecue, cannot forbear to make, after due reuerence, this more particular Instruction in forme of Remonstrance vnto your Honors.

A.

In the first place then, the *Directors* doe yet persist in their said Deduction, because the same may serue to giue light to the whole cause : And considering the waightry and infallible Inditia and euidence that preceded this discouery of the Treason of certaine English, yea the same being notorious, as also the proceedings which haue legally and according to Law passed against the Confederates, as appeareth by the Iudiciall Acts (signed as well by those which were examined, as by the Councell of *Amboyna* which is a Colledge admitted and sworne) and against which no prooffe, much lesse any vaine and friuolous suspition should bee admitted, They the *Directors* absolutely beleue (so long as they see no more to the contrary) that the said English Conspirators and other Confederates which were in our seruice, were well apprehended, and the fact (in our opinions) so well proved according to Law, and the vse & custome in such case obserued, the proceedings haue been legall, & in pursuit therof the punishment which they haue sustained was inflicted according to the common Law, with good moderation of the rigour of Iustice & with clemency. Notwithstanding

B.

ding there haue beene many Writings and Deductions, as the *Directors* vntill this time perceiue and discover, sowed and spred against this cause as well in *England* as in these parts: among which (for as much as we know) the first is a summary of *Newes* out of Letters dated the 19 of Iune 1623, written by the English Factors at *Batauia*, which immediately will be iudged by euery one who neuer so little and superficially shall reade the same, to be full of passion contrary to the Truth, and without any prooffe: For first the proceeding by the Iustice at *Amboyna* vpon the Confederates there, is blamed therein, and by preiudication called an vniust Murder, wicked and barbarous, the fashion and manner of the racke or torture likewise described and exaggerated with great vehemency and passion: And also it is not true that therein is said, that the other *Indians* (besides the English) confederates in the fact were Seruants of the English Company, whereas it appeareth otherwise, to wit, that the *Indian* confederates were Seruants of the Dutch Company, as is well knowne to be true; and yet this writing hath taken great place amongst great and small, and hath beene showed as a patterne or modell whereupon the other griefes haue beene formed against the said Iustice of *Amboyna*. Vpon which, incontinently followed a more large and ample Writing called *The true Relation of the cruell and barbarous torture and execution committed by the Flemings vpon the English in Amboyna*.

C.

• In the Introduction whereof proceedeth impertinently a description of *Amboyna*, and of the Garison

and force of the Dutch in the same place; and this onely to the end; as appeareth, to show thereby that there is no appearance that the English should consult of the taking of the said place as a thing impossible; As if, by reason of the small vnderstanding and simple foundation which the Conspirators had to put their designe in execution and in effect (omitting all other accusations) they had not in any kind merited and deserued any punishment: the contrary whereof appeareth to be practised daily in the like crimes; And to cite this presumption vnto the annihilating of a truth so notorious, and proued, and against the proper confessions of the executed and other Confederates, against the conscience and testimony of so many honest men and of credit, which haue beene imployed in the cause, and against a Colledge of Iudges publicke and sworne, this cannot in any manner be admitted, receiued, nor had in consideration by such as haue vnderstanding in these affaires. But to the contrary and besides all the reasons aforegoing, the Dutch Company hath made it to appeare by good proofes, that the English to the end to diuert and get forth of the Castle the forces of the Dutch, had in the Countries and Ilands therabouts stirred vp, induced, and caused to rebell, all the Ternatanes, Ceraniens, and the *Indian* nations bordering there, openly and by publicke violence to make such vnaccustomed outrages vpon the Subjects of the Castle, that the Gouvernor might be constrained to goe forth from thence with all his forces for to appease and quiet the said Rebels, and to bring them to their ancient obedience. And there-
upon

upon the English should haue assayled and inuaded the Castle and the Towne (as being destitute by the retiring and departure of the Army) then when the Dutch should be most feeble and in their greatest necessity as well of men as of Dutch ships, which should haue beene imployed in this voyage. And concerning the force of the English which were in *Amboyna*, they alone would not haue enterprised the attempt, but would vnto this purpose haue called vnto them all the slaues which they had in great number in their Factories: Neither would they haue begunne the same before the ariuall of certaine English Ships in *Amboyna*: The people whereof they would also haue set on worke and imployed to the attempt: The retinue also, which daily the compli- ces did vnderhand procure (as *Gabriel Towerson*, Cape Merchant of the English had ordered) should haue beene much augmented, the rebell subjects of the Castle should haue weakned the force of the Dutch and augmented the force of the conspirators; And further (which is the principall point) the end and designe of the Conspirators was not to force and constrain the Castle (onely) by violence, open warre, or siege, (to which purpose all these imagined fortresses of the Castle, and the power of the Dutch, might haue their consideration) but the plot was, to inuade the Castle by Treason, and with the aid and assistance of the *Japonian* Souldiers which were then in the seruice of the Dutch at *Amboyna* aforesaid: which small number of *Japonians* were not slightly to be regarded, in respect of the valour and prowesse of that Nation, and their extraordinarie resolution in

F.

G.

hazarding their liues in any dangerous enterprises; Infomuch as a certaine small number of the *Iaponians* onely of themselves and without any aide or support haue vndertaken and accomplished the most great attempts and designs in places of the greatest and most puissant gouernment in the *Indies*. As among other things it appeareth by that which passed in the kingdom of *Patany*: where certaine *Iaponians* forced and pillaged the Towne, afterwards made their retreat in good order and with good composition. And in the Kingdom of *Siam* in the Towne called *Iodea*, full of thousands of persons, the King whereof himselfe can in a short time bring into the field aboue one hundred thousand men of armes, and heretofore obtained great victories vpon many great Princes his neighbours, who then were and as yet are of great power; in that towne (I say) which is the capitall Towne of the Kingdom, certaine *Iaponians* surprized first the Castle and Royall Palace, and being entered thereinto by force, afterwards they tooke the King in person prisoner, they kept him in their custody, and being wholly become masters of the said Castle, they made by meanes of threatnings (as to put the King to death, and otherwise) an honourable and aduantageous composition: By which the said small number of *Iaponians* went away & departed without any damage out of the Kingdom of *Siam*, with great glory and magnanimity, and very great riches. Which exploits are without comparison much more great and dangerous then the said attempt of *Amboyna* against an open Towne and a Castle empty and naked of forces,
into

into which also the *Japonians* might haue their daily
 accesse with the English who were held and reputed
 for friends : So that whatsoeuer is mentioned in the
 Deduction of the English vpon this presumptiō, to
 draw into a doubt all the actions of the Confede-
 rates, is altogether without foundation, in a Cause
 so notorious and publikely conuincd. Of the like
 force and efficacie is that which is set downe before
 in the said English Deduction, as if the Dutch had
 no other designe by this imputation of Treason but
 to thrust forth the English out of *Amboyna*, and to
 remaine sole Masters of the Trade in those quarters :
 But if such had beene the intention of the Dutch
 Company, they might easier and with more appa-
 rance and pretext haue forborne to receiue and ad-
 mit the English at the beginning in *Amboyna* in the
 yeare 1620, then haue thrust them forth in such a
 manner: and God forbid that any one should vnder-
 take to performe or effect such a thing by such vniust
 and maligne proceedings, and with such effusion of
 blood, onely to thrust forth the English from *Am-
 boyna*. And concerning the Dutch Company here
 in *Europe*, neuer any such thing came into their
 thoughts, nor did they euer giue any Commission
 for the putting forth of the English, by warrant
 whereof the Officers of the said place in generall
 might haue had ground to begin any thing to such
 an end. And concerning the Officers themselves,
 they are by those that know them esteemed and repu-
 ted to be honest and worthy men : who in like man-
 ner would no wayes entertaine a thought of such
 an Action.

H.

I.

And

And to say the Truth, why should the Officers with such feigned wrong accuse and put to death the English and the Confederates being innocent: seeing that (as aforesaid) they had no Commission, and if they had any giuen them (which cannot be well imagined) yet the Gouvernor and Counsell of *Amboyna* are such people as would not haue yeelded or giuen obedience thereunto. And the same Gouvernour nor other Iudges which are fourteene in number, could not haue drawne any profit or advantage by their so doing. For admit it were so that the English came in this regard for to leaue *Amboyna*, this could no wayes aduantage them in their particular; but to the contrary, returning vnto *Europe*, they themselues should be (besides the burthen and remorse of their owne Consciences) charged and aggrauated with great blame and infamy, hatred and malice, and put in great danger of their persons; So that, of such a thing they could not expect otherwise then detriment, disadvantage and disgrace, yea punishment and chastisement vpon themselues. Now if this be not so, then may not this presumption of the English be true, nor in any wise admitted and receiued, who maintaine and inhumanely say, that this molestation and destruction was offered and done to the English, to the end to deliuer and free *Amboyna* of them, and to retaine it onely by the Dutch. For the Dutch Company doe declare the amity of the English Company to be vnto them of chiefe and speciall importance; and they desire for to enioy the same with all confidence: And furthermore wee could produce and alleadge many

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L.

true, as well in accusing the other *Japonians* his fellows which were in our service, as in the charge of the other English, and of himselfe: why also were the other *Japonians* indicted and executed, if the Dutch sought it but onely vpon the English; as is without colour pretended? for the *Japonians* haue euer been in good esteeme with vs, and haue alwaies beene much trusted, and not hauing any occasion of malice, or rancor, or feare of them, or against them; where now to the contrary by this transgression it becometh our nation to be alwayes in mistrust of the *Japonians*, and not so confidently to vse or be serued of them as before. And it ought not to seem strange that during this Examination of these *Japonians* (which as aforesaid, was begunne and ended before any thing was done to the English) that the English for the space of three or foure dayes (although herein they spare the truth) were so forward and so bold as to goe in and out, to and from the Castle: For they thought that it would tend and serue vnto their conseruation, so the end they might giue the lesse suspicion: for if they had fled away, & hidden or concealed themselves, in such case they had bin publicly discovered. And if they had thought or would haue attempted to flye, it was impossible for them so to doe, for the Gouvernor and Councell had giuen order all about for the assurance of the place, and of all persons which frequented and had any intercourse of Merchandizes in *Ambayna*, of which the English complices could not be ignorant; so that they were constrained to put on a good face, cheere, and countenance, the better to shunne the perill and danger.

But

But it further appeareth that that which the English maintaine is abusive and erroneous; that they had continued three or foure dayes in going to and from the Castle after the said imprisonment, and during the examination of the *Japonians*: For they beganne to examine the *Japonians* the 24 of February, and the 25 the English were arrested; so that there was but one day betweene them both, and therefore that which is mentioned in the English Deduction is not true. Also for the confession of the first *Japonian*, as likewise of all the rest of the *Japonians* vnto the number of twelve, they do not onely accuse the English, but themselves also; so that there cannot be any suspicion or doubt of false accusation, seeing that they themselves could not haue any aduantage in the preservation of their owne persons; as otherwise there can be no suspicion of calumny: which in such a case could not be nor happen in any fashion or manner.

That which is contained in the English Deduction; to wit, that the English had neuer kept any conversation with the *Japonians*, appeareth to the contrary by the Acts of the Proesse and the confessions of all, and particularly of *Towerson*, made without Torture or Fetters, long after his examination. So that from these contrarieties and dissimulations are discovered, many other signes and tokens for to beleue that the English Deduction doth wander and stray very much from the truth, and that all which may be construed to the contrary is true, in consequence of that which the Dutch Company of the East Indies doe sustaine in the iust defence of their Officers and Ministers.

M.

N.

O. But that whereby the said Deduction is enlarged and amplified, is to make mention and discover many particularities which in time hereafter shall be refuted and proved to be matter meerely fained in the most part of the most important and substantiall points : as also in that which they speake of the racke and torture giuen to the English, which is described in particulars contrary to the truth, thereby to moue the Reader to pittie. But when they haue said all, it is but a bare and naked Discourse without proöfe, that the English haue beene tortured and racked : for to giue the torture when the case so requireth, is no fault of the Iudge, but it is a thing customable throughout *Europe*, and so in the *Low-countries*; And if such torture hath been giuen to some of the English, it was surely done vpon good and pregnant euidence, and weighty proofes, and confessions of others, whereof some may haue beene brought to a more rigorous examination, according to the exigence of the case, without doing or executing any iniustice.

P. If also the Iudges of the Dutch would haue wrongfully pressed and constrained the English to confession by torture, wherefore did they not presse and constrain them all to confession : which neuertheless appeareth by the Deduction of the English not to haue beene done; and that many were let passe without torture; yea many of them which the English Deduction abusiuely affirmeth to haue beene tortured; it being not reasonable to proceed against them as against others which were charged with more great and vehement suspicions and proofes.

And

And if they proceeded herein with such excesse,
how commeth it then that the Iudges pardoned and
discharged some (as faulty as the rest) but onely to
giue testimony of their proceedings, and that the
iustice thereof might fully appeare to all whomso-
euer? which otherwise they were not bound to doe
nor would haue done in all likelihood.

Q.

But to winne the Reader by compassion the man-
ner of the torture is there very finely and prolixely
set downe: but who knoweth not that the manner
and fashion of the extraordinary question is in it selfe
rough and harsh; and specially must seeme so to the
English in *England* (where there is no such kind of
torture vsed, vnlesse it be in case of high Treason;)
how moderate and gentle soeuer it be, as the paine
of the torture of the water, which is much more ciuill
and lesse dangerous then other tortures of stretching
or pressing, which is in diuers manners vsed in *Eu-
rope*: for such torture and paine of water doth but
cause and produce an oppression and anxiety of
breath, and respiration, and not the swelling of the
body of the Patients (as is abusiuely mentioned in
the English Deduction) and is without fraction, brui-
sing or mutilation of the members which others are
subiect vnto: So that all which is comprised and
contained in the same description is onely set downe
for the embellishing and adorning of the said Wri-
ting, to the end onely to moue the Reader to
compassion, to make him insensibly to draw in and
swallow all the other errours and vntruths vnder
these close conueighances, and giue them credit to
the aduantage of the drift of the said Deduction:

R.

But he which to the contrary will sound and search out the truth, and whether that which is therein declared and related bee proued, and ought to bee admitted and receiued or not, let him bee pleased further to obserue, as followeth.

That all which is said therein is without prooffe, and if that any prooffe be found therein, it is of very few persons, yea such as in a cause that concerneth themselves, and wherein they were once judicially convinced, may not bee admitted for witnesses against the Iudge and the proceedings past against themselves, nor against the legall confession which they once and oftener made and confirmed with their owne subscription, which now by other depositions or particular declarations, cannot bee made vaine and elusory against the testimony and certificate of fourteene Iudges, who were present in and at all passages, whose reputation and wisdom is so well knowne, that such wicked, vnorderly and vniust proceedings as the English pretend, may not bee in any sort or manner charged or imputed vpon them.

S.

Lastly, concerning certaine Declarations and Writings of the condemned English before their death, whereby they haue protested their innocency, and that they were iudged wrongfully, whereupon by presumption is inferred that it must be true, because it is not to bee beleeued that any one was so wicked and impious as to dare to faine and dissemble at the houre of his death, &c.

This Argument maketh little in the cause; for first it ought to appear that there are indeed such Declarations and Writings of the English: But the truth can

can be testified by them which were present, and about them at all times, that there is no such thing; much lesse that which is said concerning certaine pretended miracles which had happened in witnesse of the innocency of the executed, so that it may well seeme that they had moved heaven and earth to hide and conceale this detestable deed: but howsoeuer it be, who would presume that honest men of reputation, and wisdom knowne and publicke would haue showne themselves so impious and vnhumane, as wrongfully and innocently to accuse the persons executed: and much lesse it cannot bee presumed vnto the charge of a Colledge established and sworne.

And although that which is aforesaid appeare and be known first by the truth of the thing, as it is caried by the Deduction aforesgoing, presented in Iuly past vnto your Honours; and that secondly it is credible that by this writing here were broke and decided all obiections and difficulties inferred by the English, as also some acts alleadged, which in regard of the English might be produced and alledged against that which is aforesaid, and against the Legality of the proceedings in *Amboyna*, in such manner that more cannot be required in iustification of the behaviors of the Dutch Officers: So it is that the *Directors* notwithstanding find it necessary (although superfluous) to repeat and make mention here of many particularities which much more fully and all at a blow doe show that the reports spred and sworn with such vehemency by the English against the truth doe contrary the one the other, so that nothing more can be
had

T.

had nor rest of fuspition, whereby the proceedings and executions at *Amboyna* may bee accused, much lesse condemned, and in consequence likewise, which the great haste and assiduall precipitation vsed herein, hath been wholly done in poste, for to learne and show the world the truth of the discouery in the businessse; as hereafter shall appeare more clearly and euidently.

In the first place then, so it is that the Company after the first Deduction of Iuly, haue further vnderstood by the last Ships out of *Battaia* ariued here in September, and that by Certificate or Attestation deposed by M^r. *Frederick de Houtman*, chiefe Counciller of the Indies, and ancient Gouvernour of the Isles of *Mulloques*; that it was firmly and vndoubtedly beleeued in *Amboyna* throughout and of euery one, yea by himselfe as he yet doth beleue, that the English of the said place, and the *Iaponians*, had truly and really conspired to inuade the Castle of *Amboyna* at their best opportunity; so that none ought in any wise to doubt hereof.

Secondly, for strong prooffe of that which is aforesaid, the said Gouvernour *de Houtman* comming from the *Molucques* to *Hitte* in *Amboyna* in the moneth of April, anno 1623, a certaine Englishman called *George Sharock*, Assistant, (which before had beene also prisoner, and examined vpon the said conspiracie, and by fauour released and pardoned by the Gouvernour and Councill of *Amboyna*, notwithstanding that the said *Sharock* was a good while priuy to the said Conspiracie, and had promised his assistance) kneeling downe vpon his knees and prostrating himselfe

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English aforesaid for to obscure the cause, and to shunne the dishonour of the Treason, seeing the free confession of *Beomont* which much astonished them, he caused him for this cause to keepe close and not to speake to any body, because that the thing by the voluntary confession of the said *Beomont* against the intent of the English principalls, should not further be discovered and confirmed.

Fiftly, concerning the persons which were imployed as Iudges in the cause of *Amboyna* in the matter of the condemned, and specially the Gouvernour *van Speult* (because he is best knowne,) they are such that there cannot be any the least suspicion or doubt of them, that they had wrongfully or without sufficient ground caused the English to be accused, or ill handled, or much lesse to bee put to death, if they had not beene found really in fault worthily to haue deserued the punishment: the Gouvernour *van Speult* being held for an honest man, of credit, and fearing God, by all those that haue conuersed with him: and by consequence, there may not bee admitted such a contrary suspicion of his impious and maligne proceedings.

In the fift place, concerning the Torture of Water, which the Dutch haue alwayes vsed in the *Indies*, as the most assured and ciuill: which is not a torture so rough and dangerous as the tortures which are ordinarily vsed in this Country and throughout *Europe*, which are farre more seuerer and dangerous then that of Water; whereby the health of the person cannot any way be offended, nor the members lamed or bruised,

against the English at Amboy

All which things aforesaid in representation and maintenance of the truth in this case, and which further might be in conformity of what is aforesaid, represented by the coming and arriving of many other persons out of the *Indies*, who also have knowledge of that which passed at *Amboyna*: May it please your Honors to take into consideration, and to consider whether there bee not sufficient matter and cause given to the English *East Indian* Company for to leave and remit the fault vnto them who were the authors and practisers of this abominable conspiracy, & of their owne misfortune, which they thus drew vpon themselves, and not to defend them, and aggrauate against the Iudges of the Dutch: to which end the *Directors* in defence and maintenance of their Officers and vnblameable Ministers in the *East Indies* aforesaid, cannot omit to beseech your Honors that the cause may not bee precipitated; but that conuenient time might bee given and granted for a more exact research (if need bee) of the truth, yea in all to grant them such protection as all good Subjects and Patriots of the Vnited Prouinces are to attend from your Honors in equity and iustice. For how can this businesse be so inuerted, that in stead of the dishonour and blame which ought to dwell vpon the Confederates, on the contrary now they will blot and smother the truth of the thing, and to accuse and charge the Dutch Officers, as if they had had no honesty or conscience: which cannot bee presumed of substantiall people of good renowne vpon any either voluntary (though not true) or suborned and false deposition, of such as may not be admitted

to testific in their owne cause, against the iudiciall Acts of a Colledge of Iudges, sworne, and in so great a number, which haue of a long time beene so imployed; when it appeareth not otherwise by any other legall proofes.

The intention of the *Directors* neuer was nor yet is to maintaine any iniustice, outrage, or imposture, if in these proceedings there were any vsed: but as long as it appeareth not clearly (as it ought in this case, against a Colledge, and against a cause iudged) nothing else, vnder reuerence, can be done in the businessse but to grant time for to make more exact and serious search (if need be,) and that by the authority and interuention of your Honours (as it shall appertain) all misunderstandings, contrary Deductions, and ill expositions, griefes, and designs may cease and bee suppressed, vntill such time as the contrary may (if need be) appeare. The said Defences are such (in our opinion) as vnder reuerence this ought to be done. And although it were so, that the cause of the English against the Iudges of *Ambona* seemed wholly to be cleare and proued; (which hitherto hath proued to the contrary) neuerthelesse the proceedings of the said Iudges may not in anywise be condemned (as touching the substance thereof) without hearing the Iudges themselves, whom the cause properly toucheth and concerneth, and not the *Directors*; who onely mediate, for as much as according to the information and knowledge which they haue of the cause it seemeth to them to be in effect iust and faire, and therefore the humble remonstrance or representation and prayer of the Administrators

strators or Directors haue euer beene, that it would
 please your Honours to giue and grant conuenient
 time for the inquiry, information, and research of
 the businesse vntill such time as the ships of *Batavia*
 shall be arriued here; to the end that the matter may
 more plainly and truly bee discouered and knowne;
 and without doubt there will come and be transpor-
 ted therein from thence some that will neutrally and
 in such sort maintaine vnto your Honours the par-
 ticular informations of the proceedings passed in
Ambogna, that they may be wholly beleued and re-
 ceived: as at this present there is come and fallen
 out by the comming and returne of M. *Frederick de*
Houtman chiefe Councillor of the *Indies* and ancient
 Gouverneur of the Isles of *Molucques*; who hath
 deposed and by oath testified the points in manner as
 they are recited and related in order as aboue; which
 bringeth not a little light in this cause, but may whol-
 ly tend and turne to the ouerthrow of all contrary
 expositions and calumnies, which heretofore haue
 beene vsed and set forth, with such differences and
 vehemency, whereby we hope that your Honours will
 in all points, and that with equity, right, and reason,
 giue and cause to be giuen such content, that all dis-
 content (at least by prouision) may cease, vntill such
 time as the whole truth may more and abundantly
 come to light by aduice from the *Indies*, to the
 full satisfaction of those whom it toucheth or con-
 cerneth. For may it please your Honors to know
 and vnderstand that the best and most pertinent and
 true knowledge of the businesse must come from the
 Prouince of *Ambayna* to *Batavia*, and from thence

hither. Notwithstanding so it is that since the departure of the Pinace called the *Hare* from *Batavia*, which was in the beginning of *January* 1624 (by which the first notice of the Execution was brought) vntill the departure of the last ships which also came from *Batavia*, there is not nor cannot haue come any newes from *Amboyna* to *Batavia*, concerning this businesse, because the winde called the *Westerne Mouffons* blow continually from *November* vntill *Aprill*. And for to come from *Amboyna* to *Batavia* an *Easterne Mouffon* is necessary; and that be- ginneth first in *May*: so that without that it is a thing impossible to send or to get any aduice or ships from *Amboyna* to *Batavia*.

We hope also that your Lordships will finde this reasonable, and that due and reasonable time required shall be granted and permitted in iustice for the more ample search and information of the cause (if need be) and we cannot coniecture (being a thing incredible) that any one will condemne any cause or persons without first hearing the iustification of the parties, which alwaies hath beene held and obserued inuiolably of all nations which would iudge according to right and equity. Therefore wee hope that it will be thus granted; yea it is not reasonable that any reparation should bee required, before the due defences and informations of the businesse be made and taken, and the same ought to be made and taken by and from the persons whom the cause concerneth, appertaineth, and is knowne, and who also pertinently know how to refute the obiections and circumstances alleadged and heretofore vrged to the con-

contrary : which vnto vs is impossible to doe, not hauing been present: but only for the defence of our Officers, for so much as is iust and reasonable wee can alleadge that which they haue written vnto vs from the *Indies*, and what else we haue certainly perceiued and vnderstood.

Also we cannot in the meane time conceale from your Honours that the fact of this conspiracy is so notorious in the *Indies*, and that thence may be drawne so strong and vigorous proofes, that the Truth shall fully and sufficiently appeare to the full discharge of the innocents, and the confusion of those which will defend and maintaine a bad cause; And this may be proued, there besides the points aboue alleadged.

First, that all the *Iaponians*, complices in the conspiracy haue signed each with their owne hands their confessions, and afterwards iointly and all together haue persisted therein after the end of the examination, without torture or fetters, at many sittings and full assemblies of the Councell at *Amboyna*, without reuoking any thing, or desiring to diminish or augment any thing from or to their said confessions.

In the second place, That the English complices at sundry times of their owne accord without paine, irons, tortures or menaces, ratified the same, and respectively signed their confessions : vpon which confessions they were afterwards againe examined three or foure times, and re-examined in a full Councell and Assembly; and after their examination haue persisted therein without reuoking or changing any thing.

Thirdly

or Thirdly, that the Gouvernour of *Ambayna* (after that all the complices had respectiue ly foure or five times ratified their confessions and persisted therein a little before the execution, seriously remonstrated, exhorted, represented, and demanded; of the said complices (as before had done vnto them in particular) That in case any one of them had by apprehension of iustice, feare of menaces, or terrour of paine, said, confessed, and signed any thing, by which he was surpris'd and made guilty, and whereby others might come and fall into danger or hazard, that hee should speake and manifest it openly that he might discharge the party thereof. For the Gouvernour protested that he was not desirous of the destruction and death of any that was not guilty. Vpon which proposition euery one of them shrunke vp their shoulders and said, that what he had confessed and signed particularly was true, and therefore he persisted therein.

In the fourth place, One of the complices called *William Webber*, in his last examination confessed that he had recieued a Letter from *John Clarke*, by which hee was aduertised that something of great waight and consequence was handled amongst the English; but he could not vnderstand what it might be: the which letter containing as aforesaid, the said *Clarke* confessed also in the absence of *Webber* that he had written it.

Fiftly, that *Edward Collins* being examined and making his confession without any torment or torture (as appeareth by the Acts) offered to confesse all of his owne freewill: yea hee declared the same
before

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had deserved once, yea twice to dye, he asked mercy seeing that he was a man of about fiftie yeares, &c. And so after so much fauour was giuen to the said *Tompson* for to draw a lot with *Coulson* and *Collins* which of them three should be released and freed.

In the eight place, that two or three dayes before the execution, Captaine *Towerson* being in the Hall with other the conuict English, said in the presence of the Gouvernour and all the Councell, and to the rest of the English in generall by reproach, that their ill and disordinate liues, their whoredome and drunkenesse was the cause that it pleased God that they should not keepe secret the intended enterprise; and that by reason thereof they were now fallen and brought to such misery.

Ninthly, that *Gabriel Towerson* author of this conspiracy, in his last extremitie prayed the rest of his complices to pardon him, because that by him *Towerson* they were instigated and brought vnto the said enterprise, and were reduced to that case, and that the businesse was come to be discovered by the all-seeing God, and that he must of necessity dye, and therefore hauing brought them into this danger and ill chance he prayed them to pardon him, as they also did.

In the tenth place, The said *Towerson* a little before his death writ a Letter to *Samuel Coulson*, which letter is yet in the hands of the Gouvernour of *Ambayna Herman van Spieult*, by which the said *Towerson* said and alleadged vnto the said *Coulson*, that he the said *Coulson* was the first and principall cause which had made the agreement and condescending vnto the act
of

of inuading and making of themselves masters of the Castle, but notwithstanding at the present he pardoned him.

Eleuenthly, that the ship called the *Vnicorne* sailing from *Amboyna* to *Batavia*; the two English Merchants *Edward Collins* and *Iohn Beomont* which were pardoned were transported therein, vnto the end to impetrate and obtaine their full pardon in *Batavia* afore said, and they two English Merchants being requested by the officers of the ship to come sit down and eate at the Table of the Commissioners, during the said voyage; the said *Collins* said, excusing of himselfe, that they were not worthy to sit by the said Commissioners, because that the said English had had such an ill purpose and design against the Dutch, and yet they were by them in that fashion entertained, and were exempted of the punishment; and therefore they could very well eate apart: which excuse notwithstanding was not receiued nor accepted by the Commissioners of the Dutch.

In the twelfth place are adioyned and annexed the report and depositions of the said *Gouernour de Houtman* concerning the confessions of the said two English Merchants made before the *Gouernor* himselfe, and afterwards before the President and principall English, and that which further may be declared at *Batavia*, whereof diuers persons there haue notice.

In the thirteenth place, concerning the torture in the proceedings vsed at *Amboyna*, they can giue certaine prooffe of the truth it selfe, that many persons mentioned in the English Writing to haue bin

tortured with water and fire, haue not one beene once touched.

In the fourteenth place, concerning the particularities and petty points of the said Writing in English touching the examination of certaine persons therein mentioned for the discharge and innocency of the English, the same shall bee proued neuer to haue beene done nor heard, by depositions of those which haue beene present at all, and by persons before whom such things must needs haue beene spoken and declared.

In the fifteenth place, it shall also bee found that the pretended miracles were deuised onely for the discharge of the English, and in their fauour.

Y. These said points and many others which are yet further well knowne to the *Directors*, may be clearly and by good prooffe showne in time and place, if due and conuenient time be giuen and granted vnto the cause and re-search thereof: which in a matter so important and of such waight, comming also from so remote parts, cannot (vnder reuerence) be denied to any: So that your Honours may please to desire the same of his Maiesty of *Great Britaine*, without which the *Directors* can very ill propose any other meanes which would not be mingled either with iniustice, or the great preiudice and disadvantage of the Dutch Company.

We also surely hope that his said Maiesty according to his great wisdom and iustice cannot refuse or deny the said respite for the examination of the businesse more exactly and particularly; which wee
be-

againſt

beſeech your Honours in all reuerence to interpoſe
and mediate, and by all meanes to effect and obtaine;
that (as reaſon requireth) neither the Company in
generall, nor the Maſters in particular may not du-
ring this interim be any way grieued or preiudiced
in their iuſt defences. Which doing, &c.

...and the ...

The Board of Directors of the
 Company has the honor to
 acknowledge the receipt of
 your letter of the 15th inst.
 and in reply to inform you
 that the same has been
 forwarded to the proper
 authorities for their
 consideration.



A

REPLY TO THE REMONSTRANCE

of the Bewinthebbers or Directors
of the Netherlands *East-India* Companie
lately exhibited to the Lords States Gene-
rall, in iustification of the proceedings of their
Officers at AMBOYNA, against
the *English* there.



A.

He Directors of the Nether-
lands *East-India* Company,
finding it needful to defend
their Officers at *Amboyna* by
this *Remonstrance*, referre
themselves in the first place
vnto a former deduction
which they had exhibited
vnto the *Lords States* in *July*
last: Wherein they professe still to insist. And con-
sidering (say they) the infallible *Indicia* that prece-
ded the discoverie of this conspiracy, and the iust and
B Legall

Legall proceedings vsed against the Complices, appearing by the iudiciall acts signed aswell by the parties examined, as by the *Gouernor and Councell of Amboyna*, who are a *Colledge or Court* of Iudges admitted and sworne; against which no prooffe, much lesse any vaine and frivolous suspicions ought to be admitted, they therefore conceived (vntill they see the contrary) that the *Conspirators* (as they call them) were lawfully, and rightly apprehended, the fact well prooued, according to the Law and Custome of the *Low-Countries*, and consequently that the punishment was lawfully inflicted, with moderation of the rigour of Iustice and with clemency.

This deduction of the moneth of *Iuly* heere mentioned, hath not beene yet imparted to the *English East-India Companie*. Otherwise they would haue examined the same, as they did the Relation printed in the Scheme of a letter Missive. Which yet they verily beleue to be the verie same in effect, and compiled by the same pen; for that it appeareth by comparing of the printed Pamphlet, with the Acts of this Proceffe at *Amboyna*, here mentioned (copie whereof was communicated to the said *English Companie*) that the body of the said Pamphlet, (the preamble excepted) was wholie taken out of the same acts; onely with some sophistication, of the act touching Master *Towersons* pretended voluntarie confession, noted in the *Answer* to the same Pamphlet. Where although it may be supposed that this deduction here referred vnto, is already sufficiently answered in the said answer to the *Dutch Relation*; yet because in this very recitall of the *Directors*, there are certaine generall heads, either recapitulated out of that deduction,

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any Court of Iustice being orderly kept, yeeld a very sufficient prooue in the point of fact in Court: that is, they prooue that such and such examinations, confessions, proofes, and evidences were taken and made; and such iudgement thereupon giuen as is therein entered. But for the point of *Iustice*, that must be judged by the comparing of the proofes with the sentence grounded vpon them. Now as touching the orderly keeping of these *Acts* imparted to the *English East India* Company as aforesaid: the same are neither agreeable to the formes of other Courts, nor vniforme in themselves. For the point of conformitie to other Courts, it is not here meant to require, that the Acts of the Councell of *Amboyna* should in euery point agree with the formes of euery Court in the *Low Countrys*; the seuerall Courts whereof haue their seuerall formes and stile, and some differences in points not substantiall. But some generall Requisites of forme there be, which are obserued in all Courts; yet omitted in these *Acts* of *Amboyna*. As first the date of euery dayes passages ought to be prefixed or annexed vnto them; which is not obserued in these said Acts. But in these Acts the examination of all the *English*, being 18 seuerall prisoners, goeth vnder the date of the 25. of *Februarie*: although the confessions are so many and so large, as could not possibly be taken in one day: yea three of the same prisoners, to wit, *Powle*, *Wetherall*, and *Ladbrouke* were but apprehended first vpon the 26. of *February*, and that at *Cambello* the outmost factory in *Seran*, and arriued not at *Amboyna* (where these examinations were taken) vntill the second of *March* *sic* *noto nouo*. So that they could not be examined at *Amboyna* the 25. of *February*.

February as the Acts import. Next, it is a solennitie in all Courts, to note in the Acts, the day of the examination of the *Prisoner* vpon the *Torture*, or in the place of the *Torture*; and then the act of his subscription to his confession vpon another day. For these two may not be done vpon the same day by the Law: but the confession must be iterated and confirmed by the Prisoner being free of bonds and irons, at least a day after the sence or sight of the torture: els it is not held for good, and concluding against the partie that confessed it. But in all these Acts of *Amboyna*, there is but one date and one Act for both these: contrary to the Law it selfe, and the Custome and forme of all Courts. Thirdly, the Acts ought to specifie whether the Prisoner confesseth vpon *Torture* or without. But these Acts doe not so: but onely in the generall; in the beginning of the Acts of the 26. of *February*, it is entred, that some confessed before *Torture*, others with little *Torture* as followeth, &c. Whereby it appeareth not, who was tortured and who not; nor what was confessed with, and what without torture. Fourthly, the Acts ought to specifie what finally becometh of euery prisoner; but in these Acts there is no entry made what became of *Sherrocke*, *Webber*, and two of the *Japons*, to wit, *Soyfima* and *Sacoube*; these being by the Acts neither condemned, nor absolved, nor reprimed; and yet all foure are *de facto* dismissed and set at libertie.

As for the point of Vniformitie in the Acts themselves, *Collins* and *Beaumont* are disposed of by speciall Act; yet *Sherrock*, *Webber*, and the two *Japons* (all in the same case) are discharged, as before, without any Act for it. Yea there is an Act entred for disposing of the

Portugalls wife, though shee were neither accused nor examined: as if shee had beene a partie to the Proceſſe, rather then *Sherrock*, *Webber*, and these two *Iapons*, against all whom the *Fiscall* craued judgment. Further, some of the Examinations haue the *Gouernour* and his *Councels* names subscribed to them, and some not: some of the confessions haue the prisoners names subscribed and some not; with diuers other defects and disconformities, which easily and plainly discover that they are not allowable for orderly and authentick *Acts* of a *Court of Iustice*.

Thus hath beene shewed what credit may be giuen to these *Acts* in the point of fact therein recorded. Now for the point of *Iustice*, appearing by comparing the proofes against the prisoners with the sentence, it is in the first place to be noted, that there is no proofe nor euidence of any thing entred in all the said *Acts*, no not so much as a witnesse named, much lesse deposed, of the least *Indicium* against the prisoners, or any of them; but onely the meere confessions of the prisoners themselves, drawne from them by the paine or just feare of torture. Which meere confession of the parties, without other *Indicium* or proof, is no sufficient ground to condemne any by the Law of the *Low Countreyes*.

Secondly, it is a *Requisite* of their Law, that the prisoners subscribe their confessions being free of bonds and irons. Now neither is there any mention in all the *Acts* of any such free confession, and all our people that escaped are ready to confirme vpon their oathes, that from the first apprehension vntill the houre of going to the execution, there was no intermission of the fetters.

Third-

Thirdly, the same confessions are full of contrarities: as one while that the plott should be executed when some *English* ship or shippes should be there arrived, the people whereof should assist in the expleyt: another while, that when the Castle was taken, then Maister *Tower*son would first send to *Iaccatra* for assistance. Likewise, one while that it should be attempted when the *Dutch* Gouvernor was abroad vpon some enterprize: another while that the Gouvernor himselfe should be killed in the Castle. Further, one while that all the *Japōns* were wonne to the plotte before Maister *Tower*son opened it to the *English*, and consulted with them; another while, that he sent out some of the *English* eight dayes after that consultation, then to winne the *Japōns*. Also one while that the *Japōns* had consulted diuers times with Maister *Tower*son himselfe in the *English* house; another while that they neuer treated with Maister *Tower*son himselfe, but with others in his name; with other like contradictions, differences, and incertainties. Further, the place, persons and time were specified to *Abel Price* in his examination, contrary to the Law. In the last place the thing confessed to be plotted, was not onely impossible to be atchieued by such meanes and manner of execution as was confessed: but as impossible also to come into the imagination of any man in his witts: as is already sufficiently shewed in the answer to the *Dutch* Relation. By which premises appeareth, that as well through defect of other prooffe, besides the meere confessions of the prisoners, and that in Irons; as in respect of the incertaintie, inconstancy, and contrarietie of the same confessions, the specification and leading examinations, together with

with the impossibilitie of the truth of the thing confessed, there is in these Acts no lawful ground for the sentence of condemnation.

The third generall ground that is laid in this Remonstrance is, that the Acts were signed by the prisoners themselves, and by the Councell of *Amboyna*, which is a Court or Colledge of Iudges admitted and sworne; and therefore no proofes, much lesse any vaine and friuolous suspitions may be admitted to the contrary.

As for the subscription of the Prisoners to their confessions; of what value that is without other *Indicia* and proofes hath beene already declared. Now that no proofes may be admitted against sworne Iudges, is a strange *Maxime*: which being granted must needs inferre either that such Iudges cannot erre and judge vniustly; or else that how euer they carry themselves, their doings must not be examined, much lesse punished. So that then the Law hath in vaine provided punishment for a Iudge in case of wrong imprisonment, causlesse vnorderly torture, and of vniust absolving or condemning, and the like; for which there are so many and so diligent prouisions. It may be thought indeed, that vnder this confidence this whole Processe was begun and followed; as the safest and fairest way to be ridd of the *English*, without such reckoning as was formerly made for the courses of open hostilitie. But if this way goe for currant, though towards a forraigne Nation: how comes it that by the Law and custome of Nations, so many Reprizalles and warres haue been made for iniustice done by the Iudges of one Nation to the people of another, when none other redresse could be obtained; yea and many times in such
foule

fooule causes as this, without any demand of redresse?

These grounds aforeſaid, being thus laïd, this *Re-*
monſtrance proceedeth to take notice of two ſeuerall
 Diſcourſes ſpread as well in *England* as in the *Low*
Countrys againſt the *Dutch* cauſe of *Amboyna*: the firſt,
 a brieſe Collection of the effect of certaine Letters
 written by the *English* Factors at *Iaccatra*, dated the 19.
 of *June* 1623. The ſecond, a more ample Writing,
 entituled, *A true Relation of the cruell and barbarous*
Tortures and Execution of the English at Amboyna by the
Dutch there. The former of theſe this *Remonſtrance*
 chargeth with paſſion and great vehemency; becauſe
 it doth by way of preiudice, enſtile the Proceſſe, of
Amboyna, an vniuſt and barbarous murder: and ag-
 grauateth the faſhion and manner of the Tortures.
 So it vouchſafeth this none other anſwere; but this
 note of paſſion; and that it falſely nameth the *Japons*
 executed to be the ſeruants of the *English*; Whereas in
 truth they were the ſeruants of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna*.
 What or whoſe this Diſcourſe thus excepted againſt
 and thus anſwered is; the *English Company* knowes not.
 Yet they belecue not that any of the *English* partie,
 would (except it were by a ſlip of the penne) call theſe
Japons, ſeruants of the *English*: the ſame being contra-
 ry to all the reports and aduertifements that came
 from *Amboyna* and *Iaccatra*; it is likewise to be preſu-
 med, that if in that Writing there had beene any thing
 els, which they could haue anſwered, they would not
 haue diſmiſſed it as they doe. For, as for the terming
 the execution, *An vniuſt and barbarous murder*; that
 were no more cauſe to reiect the Diſcourſe without
 further anſwere; then the like ſtile giuen it in the very
 title

B.

title of the second and larger Writing, which neuertheless hath obtained a more particular answer.

C. Having giuen the first Writing this quicke dispatch, the *Remonstrance* proceedeth to the answer of the Relation set out by the *English East India Company*; and in the first place chargeth it with an impertinent description (in the very introduction) of the Castle of *Amboyna*, and the *Dutch* Garrisons and Forces there; to the end (saith this *Remonstrance*) to shew that there was no likelihood nor probability that the *English* there would vndertake the surprize of the Castle; being a thing impossible to be done: as if (saith the *Remonstrance*) the want of vnderstanding in the Conspirators, and the foolish ground of their proiect (all other accusations ceasing) should haue excused them from punishment: the contrary whereof is euery where obserued.

Here in the very first steppe of the Answer, the end of the *English* Company in setting out the impossibilitie of the fact, is either mistaken or traduced. For if the conspiracy had beene sufficiently prooued according to the direction euen of the Lawes by which the *Dutch* are gouerned; then the probabilitie or possibilitie of the fact had neuer beene alledged. For in such case it is true, that the foolishnesse of the plott excuseth no man. But when there is no other prooffe or euidence, but the meere confession of the prisoner, (which is the present case) then the very text of the Law of treason, enioyneth the Iudge to consider the person of the prisoner (*which is the present case*) then the very text of the *Law of Treason*, enioyneth the Iudge to consider the person of the prisoner; whether he be able to execute such a thing as he is accused of, whether he euer practised the like

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fessions.(as other the Acts doe not so much as mention)why then are proofes and confessions here distinctly accumulated; as if there were any other proofes besides the said confessions. As for the conscience and testimony of those that managed the Processe, being a publique and sworne Colledge of Iudges; it is not at all to be reckoned of; when it appeareth that they haue not proceeded according to the Law. And if this plea might be admitted, no Iudge should euer be found guiltie of Iniustice. Further, if the very qualitie of the Iudges be considered, it will rather hurt then helpe them: there were none amongst them that had any ordinary knowledge in the Law, whereby they vnder- take to iudge causes: besides their young yeares and wicked liues: which if it were pertinent to the cause in question, might be set forth by many speciall instances. But if they were neuer so learned, experienced, or well famed; yet that would not auayle when they haue proceeded against the prescript of their owne Law (to say nothing here of the treatie) as they are sufficiently prooued to haue done.

But this *Remonstrance* not trusting to this Answer, in slighting the improbability and impossibility of the fact, as not worth the considering; yet for all that, in the next place laboureth and sweateth to make the fact seeme probable and possible, the contrary whereof in vs that hold the contrary part, it reiecteth as impertinent; Is it impertinent for vs to shew the improbability and impossibilitie of the fact; and yet pertinent for them to shew the contrary probabilitie and possibilitie? But let vs see and consider their presumptions: First (they say) they haue already proued, that the *Ex-*

E.

glisb.

English for a diuerſion of the *Dutch* Forces in the Caſtle, had inuited and induced all the *Ternatans*, *Seranians*, and neighbouring *Indians* to rebell, and doe violence to the *Dutch*, that when the *Dutch* Gouvernour ſhould haue drawne the maine of his Forces of men and ſhipping that way, then the *English* might with eaſe take the Caſtle ſo emptied and denuded of her Forces.

How vaine this point is, is already manifeſted in the Anſwere to the *Dutch* Relation. And as for the proofes here mentioned; there is in all the Acts not ſo much as any offer made of any prooffe of this point.

But it is worthy againe to be noted, that here the deuiſe and *Scene* is changed. For where in the *Dutch* Relation it is ſaid, (though no where prooued) that the *Ternatans* of *Lobo* ſhould haue come with their *Curricurries* to aſſiſt Maister *Towerſon* at *Amboyna*, and that the *Dutch* Gouvernour muſt haue beene killed there in the Caſtle by the *Japens*; now he muſt be gone with all his Forces out of the Iſland to tame thoſe *Ternatans* and the reſt of the *Seranians* & neighbouring *Indians*; that the *English* might ſurprize the Caſtle in their abſence. As for the ſhippes of the *Dutch*, which now alſo, muſt haue beene abſent: it is well knowne, that the ſeruice here pretended would neither need, nor could haue uſe of their great ſhippes, but one'y of *Curricurries* and ſmall Veſſels, which alſo the *Dutch* after, uſed, leaving their great ſhipping in the roade by the Caſtle.

The ſtrength of the *Dutch* thus extenuated, in the next place the *Remonſtrance* purſuing the argument of poſſibilitie, amplifieth the Forces of the *English*: And firſt it deliuereth, that the *English* had a great number of

of slaues in their Factories, which great number is already truely confessed in the answer to the *Dutch* Relation, to be iust fixe and all boyes. Next it is added, that they would also haue stayed their actuall attempt of the Castle, vntill some *English* shippes were arriued there; which point is also at large refuted in the said Answer. Thirdly, here is alledged, that Maister *Tower-son* had giuen charge vnto his other *English*, to haue daily laboured and wonne by vnder-hand practize, o-ther subiects of the *Dutch*, thereby to augment their owne partie, and to weaken the strength of the *Dutch*. Of which point, as there was no probabilitie; so in all the Acts, there is no shadow of prooffe thereof made, or so much as endeoured: how euer now the desperate cause requireth the helpe of so grosse a fiction. Fourthly (which is vaunted for the principall argumēt) it is here seriously obserued; that the Castle should haue beene surprized by treason and not by siege; and so like enough the *English* (though but few) might by this meanes doe wonders. A very poore note; as if the *English* Relation had cited impossibilities by way of siege, and not as well by way of trechery. But besides that, this argument beggeth the maine question; to wit, that there was indeed such a treason: was there euer any such treason or stratagem practized in any Countrey, to surprize a Castle by a small force; without a competency of seconds to make good and hold that which was so entred and possessed? Yet this argument is further enforced, not onely by the opportunitie that the *Japons* had to betray the Castle; themselves seruing as Souldiers therein; but also by the extraordinary valour and hardinesse of that Nation, set forth by two seuerall

Apo-

Apochriphal Legends of strange feats of other *Japons*; without specifying of the number of them that performed these wonders, but leauing a blanke to helpe the tale at their pleasure. But let it be granted that the *Japons* are all Gyants, and had opportunity being trusted: yet is it likely, that the *Dutch* Gouvernour in his expedition here supposed against the Rebels of *Seran* and the other *Indians*, would haue left such Worthies idle in their Castle at home, and not haue taken them with them, according to their Custome? Would they haue withdrawne their *Dutch*; and trusted such strangers with their Castle, being yet so suspitious of them, that they would torture them for asking an ordinary harmelesse question? O miserable presumptions! And yet here we haue all the particulars that are alledged, or could be inuented.

In the next place, the Rémonstrants returne to the answer of the *English* Relation: finding themselves grieved, that their Councell of *Amboyna* is charged to haue forged this crime against the *English*, thereby to be ridd of their company, and so to enioy the trade there alone. For their purgation wherein, here are diuers arguments alledged. As first, that if they had not liked their company there, it had beene easier and fairer to haue kept them out, when they were out, then to haue so cast them out after their admission of them by the Treatie, *Ann.* 1619. And God forbid (saith the *Remonstrance*,) that any should vse such wicked and bloudy meanes for so poore an end, as onely to driue the *English* out of *Amboyna*.

It is true ordinarily; *Turpius eicitur &c.* It is more discourtesie to turne out a guest, then at first to deny him

H.

him entertainment. But sometimes there may be such a necessitie, as that a man must needs, for avoyding of a greater inconuenience, entertaine the guest, whom he is as glad to be ridd of, as he was vnwilling to receiue him. And sometimes a man entertaineth a guest in hope of some benefit to be made by him; whereof afterwards being frustrate, he will gladly be quit of his guest as soone as he findeth himselfe defeated of his hoped ends. Both these considerations haue had their place in this entertaining of the *English* by the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* and other places. For the former, all that are acquainted with the occasion, and the passages of the Treatie of the yeare 1619. know very well, that there was then none other or better way or meane for the *Hollanders East India Company* to giue satisfaction to the *Kings Maiesty* for the bloud of many of his people, and the inualuable damage done vnto the *English Company* by the said *Hollanders* vniust taking of their shippes and goods onely in respect of their lawfull trade into the Islands of the *Moluccoes* and *Banda*; but the accomodation of the whole matter, by admitting of the *English East India Company* into the participation of the trade in those Islands, and this of *Amboyna*. Which being yeelded vnto with great difficultie; yet the said *Dutch* with might and maine reserved the Forts which they were then possessed of, in their owne hands: thereby still retaining the power and opportunity to master the *English*, and weary them of their lodging at their pleasure. In the next place, it seemeth by their after-course that hauing so assured themselves of the Forts and Mastring power, they hoped to make benefit by this partnership; by the ordering

ring of their Accompts in such manner, as that the *English* should pay their part of the charge as well of the Garrisons as of their new buildings, and of the warres which they vnderooke for enlarging the *Dutch* Dominion, and all this in ready money, whilst the *Dutch* furnished their owne share in commodities, and at what prizes they list. Now when the *Dutch* in the *Indies* saw, that the *English* there would not suffer themselves to be thus bridled and saddled; but made their protests and complaints against this dealing: they sought meanes to be quit of them. And finding that the blunt way of fact would not be well taken, but giue a new offence to the King, (especially after the Treaty to the contrary) they deuise this new meane to thrust out their vnwelcome guests, with lesse bloudshed then they before had kept them out with, and with lesse feare of accompting for the same, being done vnder the faire colour of Iustice; which point being clearly enough touched in the very Introduction of the *English Relation*, this *Remonstrance* professing an answer to the whole, yet passeth ouer this with a dry foote, and deepe silence: yea, it minceth the very matter whereof it seemes to take notice, making the charge against them to be onely the driuing of the *English* out of *Amboyna*, where the *English Relation* chargeth them to haue contriued and executed this bloudy businesse, with intention to driue them (the *English*) out of the *Molaccos* and *Banda* also, as well as out of *Amboyna*. Which end and drift of the worke how euer it is slighted here by the *Remonstrants*, yet it appeareth of what value it is in their secret estimation, by that which they haue formerly done to keepe the *English* from

from the trade of those Islands.

1.

Yet further to cleare themselves of this end and designe, they alledge that the *Netherlands East India Company* here in *Europe* neuer gaue any Commission to their Officers at *Amboyna*, to put such a thing as this in practice, nor could haue any benefit thereby, but rather losse: and the Officers themselves were too honest and wise to haue executed such a Commission: especially since themselves should haue no profit by it, but incurre great danger of giuing accompt for the same.

For the point of Commission, the *English Company* doth not charge the *Dutch Company*, nor the whole Colledge of *Directors*, with any such proiect or direction. Neither doe they thinke that any one amongst them would by his priuate aduice incite the Gouvernor of *Amboyna* to this or the like fact in particular. But they cannot tell whether some one or few amongst them of special place and authoritie; and of like respect with their Officers in the *Indies*, may not vpon some discontent or dislike of the Treatie & the effects thereof, haue giuen aduice to the principall Officers of the *Dutch* in the *Indies*, to lay hands and make vse of any colourable occasion, to weary the *English* of the trade established by the Treatie; and so the Gouvernor of *Amboyna* may haue fallen vpon this particular out of such generall grounds of aduice. Which suspicion of the *English Company*, ariseth not onely from the earnest and strayned defence and iustification which they now obserue to be made of this execrable fact; but also from a passage that fell out here in *London* immediately after the Treatie *An. 1619.* which now this dispute calleth to their remembrance. And herein they report themselves

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money, the *Dutch* paying in wares, would beare their share of the charge of Fortifications and Conquests, whereof the benefit accrued wholly to the *Dutch*, as long as they would ioyne with the *Dutch* to finde the Enemy worke in one place, while the *Dutch* might thereby the easier winne for themselues onely in another place: so long the *Dutch* might easily make benefit of their partnership, and abide their sharing with them for one third part of that trade. But when the *English* shewed themselves sensible of this *Leonine* Societie, and protested against it, and refused to pursue the Action of defence in such a course: Then it was time to seeke out an occasion to be vtterly freed from their partnership, now proouing otherwise then was before hoped. As touching the honestie of their Officers at *Amboyna* here alledged, there hath been enough said already. And for their benefit also by thus ridding themselves of the *English*, who knoweth not what benefit may be expected by being an Instrument of so great profit, atchieuing it by such a conueyance, wherein who euer giueth Commission, is by ioynt guilt obliged to gratifie and promote his instrument euen for his owne safetie? Besides, their Officers had their owne priuate quarrells against the *English* for their daily complaints against their riotous liuing, and the great expence thereof, deriued in the greatest part vpon the *English* by the arts, aboue-mentioned. Especially the Gouvernour himselfe had a maine griefe, that the *English* had often complained to the *Councell* of Defence at *Iaccatra*, of the extraordinary & excessive charge of his Table and other expences: which by the Journal of the consultations of the said *Councell* appeareth to haue bin
a matter

a matter of much dispute there; and was at last promised by the *Dutch* partie to be reformed. Another quarrell also the same Gouvernour had against the *English* at *Amboyna*, about a *Dutch-man* that was executed for killing of an *Englishman*; Which *Dutch-man* when the Gouvernour could not fairely saue (the fact being too foule and manifest to beare it) he was so offended with the *English* prosecution of the matter, that he solemnly vowed, if euer any of the *English* came within his compasse, such should repent that none of them had interceded for the life of the said *Dutch-man*. Lastly, it must be remembred, that at the time of this forged crime, the newes of the Match with *Spaine* was very rife and hott at *Amboyna*; wherewith how all the *Dutch* there were enraged, and what insolent speeches they vsed of the Kings Maiestie, is well enough knowne; though thought vnmeet to be here recited.

Having thus laboured to cleare the finall cause of this Proesse, the *Remonstrants* returne to charge the *English* (that are executed) with other arguments of their pretended treason. As (say they) if it were not a true treason, why came the *Japon* (that was first apprehended vpon the walles) and made such curious inquisition about the setting of the Watch, and of the *Dutch* Forces in the Castle? How came it that being examined, he forthwith spake so pertinently of this treason? If he were suborned by the *Dutch*, why then did they execute him? Why did he accuse his owne Countrymen as well as the *English*? Why should the *Dutch* thus vse the *Japons*, whom they had no cause otherwise to hate?

The first of these questions is already answered before, to wit, that the *Japon* did nothing herein, but what any Souldier may lawfully, and is wont to doe, without blame or iust suspition. It importeth euery Souldier to know the strength of the place where he serueth, and the order and course of the seruice, as is said in the answere to the *Dutch* Relation. The second question would be as easily answered, if it had seemed good to those that kept the Acts, to haue kept faithfull Record in them of the Interrogatories ministred to this *Japon* in his tortures. But the *English* Relation in the Examinations of *Collins*, *Sherrock*, and *Beamont*, hath discouered the Art vsed in all the rest; to wit, the leading Interrogatories, or rather Directories, specifying to the prisoner what he might say to come quitt of the torture: As for the suborning of this *Japon* by the *Dutch* here mentioned in the third question; The *English* easily grant that hee was not suborned, but (which is worse) he was tortured to make him accuse both the *English* and his owne Countrymen) the *Japons*; which also answereth the fourth question of this Rhetoricall Dialogisme. And for the fift and last question, why the *Dutch* should also practise the *Japons* destruction: it is easily conceiued, that els the *English* should haue seemed to haue had no Complices, nor hope of assistance of other Nations, which would haue made their crime appeare more impossible to be a true charge then now it doth; although (as now it is) it is vtterly voyde of all probabilitie and possibilitie. And is it any wonder they would sacrifice the bloud of tenne Infidells for that end, for which they spared not tenne Christians, and those of that Nation which most a-
greeth

greeth with themselves in Religion, and to whom they are of all other Nations most beholden?

In the next place, the *Remonstrance* proceedeth to answer a circumstance related by the *English*, that the *Japons* being examined three or foure dayes before them, they yet fled not: whereby they shewed their innocency. To the consequence of which argument the *Remonstrance* first answereth, that the *English* did this to auoyde great suspition, being sure enough they could not fly: the Gouvernour had (euen to their knowledge) taken such order to stop all passages, as well of all other Merchants that then frequented *Amboyna* as of the *English*. L.

This is a meere fiction: for the *Curricurries* and other Vessells departed as freely from *Amboyna* while the *Japons* were in examination, as at any time before. And if the Gouvernour had vsed neuer so much circumspection herein, and the *English* had knowne of it, yet how could so many guiltie consciences haue contained themselves, and not one of them all haue attempted to flie or hide or disguise himselfe in all this time? All men know that a guiltie conscience prouoketh men to attempt escapes aboue and against all reason. And therefore the Law euer enquireth of the flight or shrinking of the accused as a speciall *indiciam* of their guilt. Why did not the *Dutch* then in their examinations question and sift out by what consultation and agreement all the *English* came to be of one minde, to shew such confidence in this case?

But to make a further and better answer to this argument, the *Remonstrance* chargeth the matter of it with vntruth: Saying that the examination of the *Japons*

Japons began the 24. of *Februarie*, and that the next day after, to wit, the 25. the *English* were seized; So that here was but one dayes respite for the *English* to shift for themselves.

M. This impudence is very strange; for, the Acts of the Proceſſe record, the beginning of the examination of the *Japons* to be the 23. of *Februarie*, and the resolution to seize the *English* to be the 26. which is the third day after *inclusiue*. It is well wee haue a copie of their Acts, (such as they are) els we see into how many formes this *Proteus* would turne, to auoyde the true discouery.

N. After this the *Remonstrants* with the like modestie note another vntruth in the *English* Relation, where it affirmeth that the *English* had not any conuersation with the *Japons*; the contrary whereof (say the *Remonstrants*) appeareth as well by the confessions of the *English* as the *Japons*, and particularly by Maister *Towersons* voluntary confession, made long time after his examination.

What credit the Acts and confessions may deserue, is alreadie shewed: and the very persons themselves therein assigned to this conuersation with the *Japons*, had no language to serue them therein. And for Maister *Towersons* voluntary confession pretended to be made so many dayes after his examination; besides the foule play of the *Dutch* vsed in alledging it so, alreadie discovered in the answer of the *Dutch Relation* (which by this very touch appeareth to be the worke of the same Penne that wrote this *Remonstrance*) that pretended voluntary confession hath not one word or mention of the *Japons* in it: And yet this *Remonstrance* (ha-
uing

After this, the *Remonstrance* commeth to the examination of the *English* prisoners, set downe in our Relation : and promiseth that the particulars thereof shall hereafter in time be refuted, and prooued vtterly counterfeit in the most and most substantiall points : as shall likewise that which is there related of the tortures. But why haue they not all this while made, or at least attempted some disprooffe hereof ? Why could not *Maerschaltke* (whom they haue now deposed in other points) haue said something to these ; being himselfe the second person in the Councell, and acquainted with all that passed ? Well, since they be prooued here by fixe Witnesses, let them yet stand for true, vntill this promised Counterprooffe arriue.

This hath beene sufficiently replied to in the *English* Answer to the *Dutch* Relation, where it is prooued, first that the *English* were not lawfully subiect to the iurisdiction of the Gouvernour of *Amboyna*, and therefore vnlawfully tortured. Secondly, that the kinde of torture

used, was not agreeable to the Law and Custome of the *Low Countryes*: and lastly, that there was no sufficient *Indicium* for the torturing of the first *Iapon*, nor none other proofes or *Indicia* against the *English*, but the forced confessions of the tortured *Iapons*; which ground of torture is prohibited by their owne Law.

P. Yet further the *Remonstrants* fetch an argument out of this point of the tortures, in iustification of their officers fact at *Amboyna*. If (say they) they would haue drawne confessions out of the *English* by tortures; why did not they torture all the *English*?

This riddle is plainely vnfolded by the same *English* Relation: where it appeareth, that after they had tortured, *Johnson*, *Collins*, and *Clarke*; glad was that *Englishman* that could deuise any thing to confesse, to please the *Fiscall*, and auoyde the torture. Yea, *Sherrock* prayed to God to assist him in this kinde. Others asked those that had beene formerly examined, what they had confessed; saying, they would doe the like, thereby to shunne the crueltie of the torture. As for those that were acquitted (as hauing confessed nothing) the *Dutch* plot could not reach them. For hauing laide the consultation of this pretended conspiracie at *Amboyna*, where none of these foure were vpon *New-yeares* day; they had no colour to torture them, whom their owne people that stood by, knew to be so farre absent: And no man imagineth that all the *Dutch* that were by at the torture, were priuie to the intention of the *Gouernour*; who in this case was to carry himselfe so, as that he must not make the busines so grosse, that all that stood by might vnderstand it. It sufficed him that he caught the chiefe of the *English* there,

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chiefe of them also were thus cut off, and the rest dismissed with their life for a prey, and for an argument of the *Dutch* Officers clemencie. But if these few *English* were saved to this end, in the *Dutches* intention, to giue testimony of all their proceedings, as here is alledged: Why then doe not the *Dutch* receiue and allow of their testimony? For these all with one mouth accuse the *Dutch* to haue proceeded by trechery and most execrable iniustice in this whole action: although indeed some of them that were absolued, confesse vpon oath, that they conceiue the reason and end of the *Dutch* in sparing them, to haue beene in hope that for that fauour they would haue giuen testimony on their part, when this businesse should come to be examined here in *Europe*: if yet the cause should euer come to be reuiewed here; for some of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* declared plainely, that they made accompt the *Spanish* Match would preuent the accompting for this businesse.

R. The next point that the *Remonstrants* note in the *English* Relation of the examination of the prisoners, is the description of the tortures of *Water and fire*: which (they say) is finely and proluxly set forth and embelished, to moue compassion, and to inueagle the Reader, to swallow the rest of the errors and vnttruths of the Relation. But that, albeit all torture is in it selfe rough and harsh; especially seemeth so to the *English*, because none is vsed in *England*, but in cases of high treason, yet the torture of Water is the most gentle, ciuill, and safe of all other kindes of torture: onely causing an oppression and anxietie of breathing and respiration, but no replenishing and swelling of the bodie,

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as the *English* Relation setteth it out, &c. Yea that all that the said Relation deliuereth touching these Examinations, is but a bare narration onely without any prooffe: or at the most is witnessed but by a very few persons, and those such, as the cause concerneth: in which being themselves once iudicially conuicted, they may not now be admitted and allowed as witnesses against the Iudge and his Proceedings, against a Court and Councell of foureteene Iudges, persons well knowne to be of worth and vertue; and against their owne confessions legally taken, and confirmed with their owne subscriptions.

For reply to all this: first, for the description of the tortures, which is here (scoffingly) said to be so laboured & adorned, to moue compassion, & make an easie way for vntruthes; it is remitted to the reader to peruse & iudge it. It will be found as voyd of this art of painting, as it is of the vntruths which the *Remonstrants* mention, but specifie not, least they should be cleared, as other pretended vntruths are already in this reply. The cause of the *English* needed no such helpe. The truth of the things deliuered in the whole Relation so shineth in the meere *Series* and circumstances of the fact, that it disdained those borrowed colours, feathers, and trash, wherewith the *Remonstrants* haue trimmed vp this their answere. But it is a signe of their penury of matter, that they thus carpe at the style of the *English* Relation. As for the gentlenesse of their torture of Water; that is also left to be iudged; yea euen by the words of this *Remonstrance*, that acknowledgeth it to be an Oppression and stopping of the breath: then which what striueth more with the very life of a man, or more forceth

ceth the noblest and tenderest parts? It is no marvaile that some of their owne *Adventurers* tell these Directors in Print, that they can cut of another mans care, with as little feeling as of an old shoe. But our people that haue tasted of this *water-torture* of *Amboyna*, and haue heard those that suffred both there make the cōparison, say, that this is more terrible & insupportable for the time, then the torture of fire: how euer the wound of the latter resteth longer in the flesh. The same men also tell vs, (and that vpon their oath) that it is not onely a stiffling and oppression of the breath; but also a replenishing of the body till it be swollen and stretcht, as in *Clarks* examination is set downe: contrary to that, these *Remonstrants* here affirme. Yea, but (say they) these witnesses are but a very few, and the same also parties in this cause, and ought not to be heard against a Colledge of Iudges, honest and substantiall men, nor against their owne former confessions. That they are so few, wee may thanke the *Dutch* that left vs no more. But all that they haue spared vs, agree in one vnanimous and constant testimony. Neither can there in this case be any other prooffe required. What? Would the *Remonstrants* haue vs prooue these things by the testimony of the *Dutch* that were employed in this Proesse, and are themselves guiltie of this masqued murther? Should we haue brought a Certificate hereof vnder the seale of *Amboyna*, with the Gouvernour and his Councils hands to it? What other prooffe is the nature of the cause capeable of, but such as wee bring? And whereas the *Remonstrants* say here that our witnesses are parties, and formerly conuict in the cause; they seeme to forget, that their owne Acts shew,

shew, that some of them were absolved expressly, or
thers neuer condemned. As for the Credit of the Col-
ledge of Iudges, so often repeated, it is already exami-
ned in the beginning of this Reply, as also in the an-
swere to the *Dutch* Relation.

Finally, for the Declarations and Writings of Ma-
ster *Tower*son, *Coul*son, *Griggs*, and others, set downe in
the *English* Relation, these *Remonstrants* seeme to doubt
whether any such be extant. And for the strange signes
of the storine, the sodaine madnesse and death of *Dun-*
kyn, and the new sicknesse at *Amboyna*, following the
execution of the *English*, which they tearme pretended
miracles; they say, that the truth can be witnessed by
those that were present and about them at the executi-
on, that no such thing happened. And here they adde,
that the *English* stirre heauen & earth to conceale and
couer this detestable fact. But who will suppose (say
they) that substantiall people, (men of approued worth
and vertue) would shew themselves so impious and in-
humane to torture and execute innocent persons?
Much lesse must this be presumed of a Court of Iudges
sworne and established.

As for the Writings of Maister *Tower*son, *Coul*son,
Griggs, and others, mentioned in the *English* Relation
(now doubted of by the *Remonstrants*) wee report vs
vnto the Lords of his Maiesties priuie Councell, that
haue scene them, and to the friends of the parties that
know their seuerall hands; and lastly, to the same Wri-
tings themselves still extant and kept to be shewed vp-
on any occasion. As for the signes related, they are
sworne by our men that came thence, and further to be
prooued by Letters written, from some that then ser-
ued,

ued, and (wee suppose) doe yet serue the *Dutch* at *Amboyna*, if they be not since dead, whereof no newes is yet come. But what Witnesse doe the *Remonstrants* bring, that those things so set downe with their circumstances, and so the easier examined, were not so? The truth (say they) may be witnessed by those that were present and about the prisoners at the execution. But who be those? Why doth not *Maerschallcke* in his desperate oath (anon to be examined) attest that there was no such matter as the *English* pretend? Or why shall wee reiect our peoples testimony, and belecue these *Remonstrants* without any witnesse? But wee shall haue witnesses hereafter. In the *Interim* then, let the thing so already witnessed remaine for true, till it be contradicted by more and better witnesses. As for the *English* stirring heauen and earth, not to conceale or couer a detestable fact of their owne people (as the *Remonstrance* speaketh) but to discouer a most damned practise of the *Dutch*, and to procure Iustice vpon it, they conceiue they are not to be blamed herein: yea that it is their dutie to moue heauen and earth against them, that haue moued hell against Innocents.

Now for the honestie and credit of their Gouvernour and Councell at *Amboyna*, a string often harped vpon: although it be euident that there is a great difference of the stufte betweene the Iudges of *Amboyna*, and all other Iudges in the parts of Christendome: yet the honesty and credit euen of the best Iudges is no sufficient defence for them against such apparant proofes of Injustice, as are extant in this cause, euen in the acts of the Proesse it selfe, as is before declared. For the Iudge
that

that in his Proceſſe obſerueth not the order preſcribed by the Law, is reputed as a priuate perſon. Otherwiſe indeed, the Iudge is not without prooſe to be preſumed to haue done vniuſtly : but this will not ſerue theſe Iudges. Neither is any partie accuſed, to be preſumed guiltie, without *Indicia* or euidence: but euery man to be preſumed good vntill the contrary be prooued. Which ſhould haue moued thoſe Iudges of *Amboyna* to haue bene tender and carefull in the *Indicijs* that were made the pretexts to torture the firſt *Japon* : and not to torture a poore man for asking an vſuall and harmeleſſe queſtion, yea, and needfull in the place of his ſeruiſe; as is ſhewed in the anſwere to the *Dutch* Relation. Much more ought they in this reſpect to haue bene tender of taking the extorted confeſſions of the *Japons*, for a ſufficient *Indicium* againſt Maister *Towerſon*; not onely in regard of his qualitie, as being the *Agent* and Cape Merchant for the *English* there; but alſo of his innocent and harmeleſſe, (yea godly) behauiour at *Amboyna*, and all his life before. For as he was a man of note, and knowne to moſt men of his qualitie here in *England*; ſo all that knew him (eſpecially that were well acquainted with him, whereof there is no ſmall number) ioyne and iumpe in this one opinion & commendations of him, that he was of a moſt faire condition and ſweet diſpoſition, harmeleſſe, and without ſpleene or gall; and (in a word) the vnlikeliſt *Englishman* that euer went into the *East Indies*, to be a plotter or practiſer of ſuch a fact, as he was condemned of.

\ The *Remonſtrants* hauing thus finiſhed their anſwere
 to the *English* Relation, affirme that by their deduction
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of *July*, and this answere, they haue sufficiently iustified the proceedings of their Officers at: *Amboyna*; neuerthelesse *ex abundanti* they produce further euidence out of an attestation of *Signeur Houtman* their late *Gouernour* in the *Moluccoes*. Which because it is afterwards againe repeated in seuerall Articles, shall be there with the rest answered.

V. In the meane time, they appeale to the Lords States generall, whether they haue not by all this giuen sufficient satisfaction and cause to the *English Company*, to abate and let fall their suit, leauing the blame vpon the Authors of this abhominable conspiracie (as they call it) and of their owne misfortune. Neuerthelesse, not daring to goe to tryall of the maine cause vpon these their allegations and proofes, they pray that there may be no precipitation vsed, but a fit respite granted them for the exact enquiry of the truth in the *Indies*: and that in the meane time, they may haue the protection of the Lords States, and all misunderstanding and contrary deductions may cease; at least prouisionally. For put case (say they) that their Officers be truely guiltie (as the *English* pretend) yet they must be heard before they can be condemned. And in their opinion (say they) the ground of the *Confusance* of this cause must come from *Amboyna* to *Battania*, and thence hether: and time conuenient being giuen, there will doubtlesse come daily more and more cleare proofes and light in the cause. As for themselues, they at last plainly confesse, that they cannot answere the objections and circumstances alledged and proposed; but that this must and can be done by them onely, whom the cause toucheth and concerneth: to wit, their Officers at *Amboyna*. Here

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with new proofes, which they affirme to be so strong and vigorous, that they are of power, more then sufficiently to giue their Officers an entire discharge, and to confound their Aduersaries: and that without helpe of the points before alledged. And to make good these great words, they produce eleuen seuerall Articles taken by deposition of *Laurence Maerschallck* their late Cape Merchant at *Ambogna*, and now returned into *Holland*, and sworne to the same Articles before the *Senate* of *Delfe* the 4. of *November* last *scilicet nouo*; whose name in this *Remonstrance* they conceale. Next they annexe the report and deposition of *Signeur Houtman* their late *Gouernour* at the *Moluccoes*, before mentioned. And in the last place, they repeate some points already by them alledged in this *Remonstrance*, and so shut vp their whole Worke.

For the testimony of *Maerschallck*, it is to be considered in the generall; that he is a partie, being the second man of the Councell of *Ambogna*: and therefore what is before said against the whole Councell, falleth vpon him in his particular with more enforcement. Neuerthelesse, this protestation against his incompetency to be a *Witnessse* in this cause being thus premised; wee will peruse and examine the particulars of his Attestation: yet with this leaue, a little to inuert the order of the Articles, (but without preiudice of the substance of them) thereby to take all the matter of one nature together, to auoyd prolixitie and needlesse repetition of the same thing in diuers parts of the answer.

The first, second, and third Articles affirme, that as well the *Japons* as the *English*, not onely signed their
seuerall

seuerall confessions with euery of their hands respectiue, but ioynly and seuerally confirmed and persistered in the same, euen out of the fetters and irons, at seuerall sessions of the Councell; yea the *English* three or foure seuerall times, without retracting or reuoking or changing of any thing: albeit the Gouvernour seriously admonished them to alter or reuoke any thing which they had falsly confessed through paine or feare &c. But that all the *English* shrinking vp their shoulders confirmed all they had confessed to be true, and craued mercy and not Iustice.

These impudent fictions are answered by that which is already noted concerning the Requisites and Solennities of the Acts of all Courts of Iustice: which by prescript of the Law it selfe record the passages of euery Session, with the date thereof. But in all the Acts of the Court of *Amboyna*, (vnlesse they haue giuen a false Copie, which yet were to be taken for true against themselves that so falsified it) there is no mention of any more confession then one of euery prisoner, nor of any freedome from fetters, nor of any such admonition by the Gouvernour as is here pretended. Besides the *English* that are escaped, as well those that were absolved, as the rest, vtterly deny these seuerall points to be true. Yea the gesture here added of the contracting or shrinking vp the shoulders, being no *English* gesture, sufficiently refuteth this fiction.

The fourth Article saith, that *William Webber* one of the Complices confessed he had receiued a Letter from *John Clarke*, intimating that there was some extraordinary matter and of great importance in hand by the *English* at *Amboyna*: and that *John Clarke* confessed to haue written such a Letter.

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The confession of *Webber* touching this Letter, is acknowledged in the *English* Relation : but whereas this deposition saith, that *Clarke* also confessed the writing of such a Letter, the Acts themselves wherein *Clarke's* confession is set downe by the *Dutch* Actuary, refuteth it, not making mention of any such thing, nor of any question ministred to *Clarke* touching this Letter, or his meaning by that intimation ; Which would not haue beene omitted, if the *Fiscall* had not perceiued that *Webber* had faigned this matter onely to auoyde torture.

The fifth Article being of the same nature with the eighth and ninth, shall be anon with them answered.

The sixth and seauenth Articles recite certaine pretended voluntary confessions of *Thompson* made before some of the Councell apart : to wit, that he had endured so much torture without confession, because he was often vpbraided by Master *Towerson* with drunkenesse, and warned that he should not in his cupps discover the pretended plott. Whereupon he had vowed and sworne to himselfe, that he would not be the third nor yet the fourth man that confessed : what euer torture he suffered. But afterwards he confessed (saith the seuenth Article) that he was glad that God had reuealed the fact, for the sauing of innocent bloud, and that he had doubly deserued death : yet craued mercy. Here let the course of the *Dutch* in making *Affidauits* of the pretended voluntary confessiō of Maister *Towerson* before six of the Councell apart (and entred into the Acts) be considered, as it is truely set downe in the answere to the *Dutch* Relation : and it will manifestly appeare, that this confession of *Thomsons* (if any such

such had beene) was of much more importance to the clearing of the *Dutch* Proceedings, then those obscure words of Maister *Towersson*: and so would the rather haue beene brought by way of Attestation into the Acts, as the other were. But in the Acts there is no entry of any such confession of *Thomson*: who also going to the execution, and being reproched to be a *Schellam* or villaine, openly and boldly answered, that he was as honest as the Gouvernor himselfe, and by and by tooke his death that he was innocent.

The fifth, eighth, and ninth Articles affirme, that *Collins* confessed all without torture, and being confronted with Maister *Towersson* before the Councell, auerred his confession, and perswaded him to doe the like; also that Maister *Towersson* being another time before the Councell with the rest of the *English* prisoners, reproached them with their drunkenesse and disordered liues, and imputed the discouery of the conspiracie to Gods iudgement vpon their wickednesse: yet that at last Maister *Towersson* confessed himselfe to be the Author and instigator of the rest, and asked them forgiuenesse.

Of all these matters being farre more pregnant (if they were true) to haue beene the ground of the sentence then any thing entred in the Acts, there is no one word or mention in all the Proesse, although these things are here affirmed to haue passed before the bodie of the Councell. But it seemeth that *Maerschalk* (since his arriual in *Holland*) is shewed the defects of the Proesse, and so would supply them by his owne testimony. But he commeth now too late to make new Acts, after the Copie of the Proesse imparted to the *English*.

English. In particular, *Collins* was tortured with water in such sort, as the view of him afterwards made *Coulson* confesse without torture, as is set downe in the *English Relation*, and yet auerred by those also that saw him come out as *Coulson* did. Further, how sencelesse had the speech of Maister *Towersson* beene, to impute the discouerie of the plott, to Gods iustice vpon the bad life of his pretended Complices, and not rather vpon himselfe for being the inuenter and Author of the conspiracie, in it selte more haynous, then any thing he could charge the rest withall? Lastly, it is already sufficiently prooued by more competent witnesses then *Maerschalk*, that Maister *Towersson* and the rest were neuer together before the Councell, from the first apprehension vntill the last sentence: and that in all that time, he spake with none of the *English*, but *Coulson*, *Griggs*, and *Fardo*; so impudent is this attestation of *Maerschalk*, that he vsed the speeches here pretended, vnto *Collins* and the rest; and that before the Councell.

The tenth Article saith, there was a Letter written by Maister *Towersson* to *Coulson*, charging him to be the prime and sole cause that mooued him to this enterprise of making himselfe Maister of the Castle: and that the same Letter was in the hands of the Gouvernor of *Amboyna*.

If this be true, how could Maister *Towersson* make himselfe the first author of this conspiracy, as the Acts and *Maerschalks* owne relation in the former Articles present him? How cometh it, that there is no mention of this Letter in the Acts, nor the same Letter or any authentick Copie thereof sent ouer for iustification of the cause, being so pregnant and pertinent a prooffe?

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The 11. Article telleth a tale of *Collins* his refusing to sit and eate with the *Dutch* Merchants in their passage from *Amboyna* to *Iaccatra* in the shippe, when he and *Beamont* were sent thither: vpon scruple (forsooth) to eate with such honest men, being himselfe a traytor.

This as it is friuolous and of no value in it selfe, *Collins* being then as a condemned man to stand to the mercy of the *Dutch* Generall at *Iaccatra*: so the truth of it is vtterly denied by *Beamont* that passed with him in the same shippe, and together with *Collins* did eate at the same Table with the *Dutch* Merchants without straying of any curreisie for the matter.

But to helpe the testimony of *Maerschalk*, that sweareth all the former points in his owne cause, and against the very Acts themselves, and all other probabilities: the *Remonstrants* in the next Article, supply him with a *Contestis*, beyond exception as they pretend: to wit, *Signeur Houtman* their late Gouvernour in the *Moluccoes*. Who comming thence to *Amboyna* after the execution, heard and saw some things pertaining to this businesse; whereof, (being now returned into *Holland*) he maketh report and deposition, in sixe severall points, *viz*: First, that it was firmly and without question or doubt beleevied at *Amboyna* generally, and by euery man in particular; yea by himselfe also: that the *English* and *Iapons* there had truely and in effect conspired the taking of the Castle. Secondly, that the said *Signeur Houtman* comming through *Hitta*, *George Sherrock* (one of the *English* Complices) fell at his feete, and acknowledged the great fauour that Gouvernour *Spaul* and the Councell at *Amboyna* had done him in

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pardoning his delict. Thirdly, that he was afterwards present at *Iaccatra* when *John Beaumont* (another of the *English* Complices) confessed his fault before the *Dutch* Generall *Carpentiere*, and craued mercy for the same. Fourthly, that himsele and diuers others at *Iaccatra*, had good and sure information and notice, that *Beaumont* freely confessed the conspiracie also to the *English* President there; but that the *English* President thereupon lockt him vp close from speaking with any man; thereby to preuent the dishonor of the treason. Fifthly, that the Gouvernour *Speult* is reputed for a man of worth, honorable and godly, by all that haue conuersed with him: and the rest of the Councell also, such as cannot any way be doubted or suspected guiltie of so foule a fact, as to accuse or misvse the *English*, much lesse to put them to death, if they had not beene guiltie. Lastly, that the torture of Water is alwayes vsed by the *Dutch* in the *Indies*, and is not so cruell nor dangerous, as other kindes of torture vsed in the *Low Countries*, and in all *Europe*.

First, the *English* that were saued from the butchery of *Amboyna*, doe not yet beleue, that Signeur *Houtman* hath deposed, as is here inferred. For when he was at *Amboyna*, and laboured to be brought in *ex post facto*, for the saluing of the businesse; he openly professed: that he would wash his hands of it, and that *Harman van Speult* had begun it, and *Harman van Speult* should end it. And this presumption of theirs is further confirmed by the manner of citing this Signeur *Houtman*, euen in this Article, where his deposition is not simply and clearely alledged; but with this doubtfull variation: *Les dires et depositions du Signeur Gouverneur Houtman, &c.* Neither is it specified, where

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notorious, as is before shewed. For the second and third Articles, concerning *Sherrack* and *Beamonts* confession of their faults *extra* iudicially, and while they were yet in danger: they are of no moment, to prooue their guilt, much lesse the guilt of those that were executed, of whom these confessions make no mention; nor especially can they giue any succour to the cause of the Gouvernour and Councell for their proceedings: who ought to haue had the grounds of their sentence in the Acts of the Proceffe, before they condemned and executed our people. More particularly, *Sherrock* indeed confesseth, that with humble obedience he complained to Signeur *Houtman* of the *Dutches* daily reproaching him with treason, and prayed him that he would deale with the Gouvernor *Speult*, to take order with them for their inciuilitie. For (said he.) although I had beene guiltie, yet being now pardoned, why should they thus reproach me? Other confession then this, he vtterly denieth, to haue made to Signeur *Houtman*. *Beamont* also confesseth, that when he came to *Iaccatra*, being sent thither to stand to the mercy of the Generall; who then told him, that he came thither to die; he was much amased. But when sodainly the Generall in better earnest told him, he forgaue him; then he gaue him humble, and open thanks; but made no confession of his fault, nor was by the Generall vrged in the least thereunto. For the fourth point, that Signeur *Houtman* and others had such notice, as is here pretended of *Beamonts* confession to the *English* President; who also clapt him vp for it: it were here requisite that Signeur *Houtman* (if he haue thus attested) did name his Authors if he will be beleued.

beleueed. For himfelfe is but *testis ex auditu*. In the meane time, not onely *Beamont* denyeth thefe things, but *Collins* that lodged in the fame chamber at *Iaccatra* with him, auerreth, that his restraint and clofe custody is vtterly feigned; neither did he euer heare any word or inckling of fuch his confeffion to the Prefident. Maifter *Auguftine Spalding* alfo then one of the *English* Councell at *Iaccatra*, (but now returned into *England*) giueth the like report. For the fifth point, being the faire testimony of Signeur *Houtman* touching the perfon of his brother Gouvernor, *Van Speult*, and his Councell; It is a point of ciuilitie in him, to helpe them with a good word in the generall: but it is farre too light to lay in the fcoale againft the feuerall and pregnant proofes of their foule Iniuflice, before in this reply at large fpecified, by the witneffe of all our *English* that were faued (as well thofe that were abfolued as the reft) by cleare circumftances of the whole bufineffe, and by the Acts themfelues of the Councell of *Amboyna*. Laftly, for the Water torture, it appeareth without Signeur *Houtmans* testimony, to be vfed by the *Dutch* in the *Indies*. The poore *Polarones* and the *English* witneffe it with a mifchiefe. But to make it lawfull; it fhould be prooued to be, vfed in the *Low Countreyes*: as hath beene alreadie fhewed. But why doth Signeur *Houtman*, nor the *Remonftrants*, in all this difcourfe, fay nothing for the Fire-torture, which was alfo vfed, and that in moft barbarous manner and degree vpon the poore *Iapons*, and diuers of the *English*?

The *Remonftrance* hauing thus preffed the testimony of *Maerschalck* and Signeur *Houtman*, in the next place (being the 13. Article) telleth vs without any witneffe:

that diuers persons (which the *English* Relation mentioneth) to be tortured with Fire and Water, were neuer once touched.

If this were true and certaine, it had beene easie for the *Remonstrants* to haue named the persons touching whom such error is committed. The *English* Relation nameth none but *Johnson*, *Thomson*, and *Clarke* to be tortured with Fire. Which of these will the *Remonstrants* denie to be so handled : against such cleare euidence of our part ?

The foureteenth Article promiseth, that the particulars and pettie matters (as they are here tearmed) shall be disprooued by the depositions of those that were in presence, and should haue knowne them if any had beene. Therefore vntill they be thus disprooued, (which will neuer be) let them remaine for true ; especially being alreadie prooued by the oath of credible persons, and carrying truth in the very circumstances.

Lastly, for the extraordinary signes that happened at the time of the execution, which are here (scoffingly) tearmed miracles, the same are also prooued by oath, and further by Letters written from some of the seruants of the *Dutch* themselves at *Amboyna*, readie to be exhibited vpon occasion. And as it had beene a sillie part of the *English* to haue feigned such matter, so is it no lesse impudence to deny that which so many as well *Dutch* and *Indians* as *English* saw, and knew to be notorious.

r. After all this new charge so confidently giuen, yet the *Remonstrants* fall off againe, and not desiring to put the triall of the cause vpon these, nor all the rest of their allegations ; they returne by way of conclusion to pray
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the Lords States Generall, that there may be a convenient respit given for the better examination of the whole matter: and to that end that they will mediate with his Maiestie, to content himselfe also therewith.

But the *English East India Companie* vpon the grounds before at large deduced, doubt not but that the cause will appeare as well to his Maiesty as the Lords States, to be ripe and readie for such an Act of State as is desired, and for the apprehension of the Authors of this odious and execrable Proceffe, as soone as they, or any of them can be gotten. And then the iudiciall Proceffe against them may follow, as shall appertaine to so foule and infernall a Fact.

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