

# THE JOURNAL OF MASTER NATHANIEL COURTHOP.

WITH NOTES BY THE LATE MARK ANTONY LOWER, F.S.A.



BAY-WINDOW, GODDARD'S GREEN (OR WARDS), CRANBROOK.  
The Seat of the Courthopes of Kent (from whom the Sussex family are  
descended).

[I think our Society cannot be too careful in confining their pens to matters purely *Sussexiensia*; and I would venture to request our kind contributors to endeavour to do so in future as far as possible. Our very name, "*Sussex Archæological*," seems to point to this as a duty. Let us strive to make the History of our County as perfect as possible. But we have no business to travel out of it.

Feeling this very strongly, I have naturally been reluctant in giving a place in our volumes to the following paper, especially as I had already been compelled to reject one of greater *general* interest from the same feeling. I hope, however, that the Society will agree with me that I could not act otherwise on the present occasion, and that circumstances have obliged, or at least justified me in making an exception in favour of Mr. Lower's paper. *It had been accepted by the Committee*, when I succeeded to the Editorship, and it was due, therefore, I think, to them, and perhaps to Mr. Lower himself, to respect their decision. Moreover, it is the compilation of one, and had, as I understand, been approved by another, of our most valued and energetic contributors, both of whom have been removed from us by death since our last volume appeared. It may, therefore, be regarded as a sort of posthumous work; and it seemed to me a fitting mark of respect to them, to give to the world one more, and the last, of the productions in which they were jointly engaged.

EDITOR.]

The following interesting narrative, though not relating to Sussex Archæology, will, probably, please many readers of our "Collections," since it was written by a gentleman of great enterprise and skill, who was a collateral ancestor of our ancient and highly-esteemed Sussex families, Courthope of Whiligh, and Campion of Danny.

"Master Nathaniel Courthop" was born in Kent, in which county his ancestors had flourished for many generations, though they originated at Lamberhurst, in Sussex, and took their name from lands in that parish, still called Courthope.<sup>1</sup> The accompanying woodcut represents his birth-place.

The MS. now before me is a copy of the autograph original, and was made by my late friend, William Courthope, Esq., *Somerset Herald*.

The full title of the MS. is "THE JOURNAL OF MASTER NATHANIEL COURTHOP, his Voyage from Bantam to the Ilands of Banda, being Chief Commander of the two

<sup>1</sup> See *Patronymica Britannica*, p. 72.

Ships, the *Swanne*, Admirall; Master Davis, Master; and the *Defence*, Vice-Admirall; Master Hincheley, Master; together with his Residence in Banda, & occurrences there; containing the differences in those parts betwixt the English & Hollanders contracted." A note adds: "Let none accuse me for tediousnesse, or being too punctuall in this relation: seeing the Dutch pestilence grew principally from hence: and hence may his Majesty's right to these Ilands be knowne to future ages: for which I adde this witness after Spurway."<sup>2</sup>

## I.

*"English kindnesses to the Dutch: the surrender of Poolaroon to His Majestie, and the fortifying there by the English: Dutch hostilitie, their taking the Swanne, Salomon, and Attendance, and keeping the Defence, betrayed by fugitives and other wrongs.*

English kindnesses to the Dutch at Maccasser: of these things see before in Spurway, Chap. 3. Other kindnesses to the Hollanders: Good sown in ill ground.

"We set saile from Bantam the last day of October, 1616, and arrived at Maccasser 17<sup>th</sup> Novr. with the *Swanne*: the *Defence* came in the 19<sup>th</sup>, where I went on shore to get readie our provision of goods & rice, having no goods as then in Bantam, to serve those places; but had commission to take them here; where I found small store, the chiefest being 100 Quians of Rice. 5 Dec<sup>r</sup>. I spyed a boate amongst the shore, being a Skiffe of the Hollanders come from their Ship (which was in the Offing) thinking that they had a factory here: but I soon certified them it was dissolved—the people their enemies. Whereupon they entreated me to stand their friend, & I forthwith went to the King & entreated him to dismisse them, in that they came ignorantly, who at my request let them goe, giving them warning not to attempt the shoare a second time. So being night I

<sup>2</sup> One might imagine that the frequent mention in these pages of "Spurway" implies a printed book; but it simply means that Spurway, like Master

Courthop himself, kept a Journall, which seems to have come into the latter's possession.

wished them to goe aboard my ship to refresh themselves & to depart at their pleasure. That night their Pinnasse went out to sea, but missed their ship, which came the next day into the Road, and not understanding the newes, sent their long-boat towards the shoare, which the King of Maccasser perceiving, sent a number of prowes, which surprized her, & slue every man of them, being sixteen in number.

“The 9 Dec<sup>r</sup>. we set sail for Banda, with the Hollander in our Company, & being clear of Maccasser, relieved them at their request with fresh water, & sold them two quines of Rice with some few Hennes, & racke” (*arrack*, a spirituuous liquor), “keeping company as far as Amboyne. Hence we proceeded, & the 23<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>. being neare Polarooone, sent my Skiffe ashoare to understand the state of the Ilanders, who were glad of our comming, as beeing not able to hold out longer against the Hollanders’ oppression, keeping them from reliefe of victuals.

“The same day came to anchor at Polarooone: the Aran-kayes came aboard, & I enquired of them whether there had beene any former contract betweene them & the Hollanders, who certified me that there had beene none at all. Then according to my Commission, I required them to surrender their land to the King’s Majesty of England, which they presently did: Polarooone resigned to His Majestie. & drew articles of trade & conditions to be observed betwixt us, which they agreed on. We spread St. George upon the Iland<sup>3</sup> & shot off most of our ordnance.

“The 25 Dec<sup>r</sup>. we saw a Holland Ship Fortifying there. coming from the Westwards, & forthwith upon councill landed three peeces of ordnance out of the Swanne: & mounted them upon a cliffe fittest for the purpose, & made what haste we could to fit a platform for them. We landed three other peeces of Ordnance & mounted them on a point of land which commanded the Road: thus fitted I landed most of the goods & settled a factory.

<sup>3</sup> That is, of course, the English red-cross banner of St. George. I dare say

“Master Admirall” felt very proud!

“Upon the 3<sup>rd</sup> Jan there came three Flemmish Ships into the Road, flourishing with their Trumpets, & came to anchor by us: Wee fitted our Shippes for fight & I sent Master Muschamp aboard the Admirall to certify them of the surrender, as also to demande if they could lay any claim to the said land. They answered, No. I further offered them water, or any thing the land affoorded: but they plainly told me they came for no such thing: whereupon I told them the Countrey people would not suffer them to ride there under their noses; and that they had been doing, but I caused them to forbear: & perceiving their intent to surprize us, & fearing they would lay us aboard in the night, I told them I could not stay the countrey people any longer, yf they were not gone before two glasses were runne. They thereupon weighed & departed. The 4<sup>th</sup> there came a Holland Boat & sounded all alongst the little Iland, at which Master Hinchley shot from the land, but hit her not, & they departed.

The Swan taken by the Dutch; see the manner of their unmannerlisse in Spurway.

Master Sophonia Cozack.

“The Swan being delivered, Master Davis would goe water at Wayre, obstinately contrarying my Command. I being then very sicke came aboard the Defence, & sent Sophonie aboard the Swan which departed January the 18<sup>th</sup>. I after had uncertaine newes, that the Hollanders had taken her, and sent the Sewes<sup>4</sup> over to Lantore to heare the newes, which brought word that the Swan was in Nero Road.

“On the seven and twentieth of February I sent Robert Hayes to the Hollander with a flagge of truce, to demand the reason of taking her. Their reason was, wee came yeerly to make our voyage, and lade our ships, & be gone; they had the brunt of the warre, and wee came sneaking to doe them injurie. And further they said, that the States of Holland and the Lords of the Councell should conferre of this business: and being demanded

Dutch peevishnesse: *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes* (?)

<sup>4</sup> Sewes, searchers or enquirers after news or intelligence.

the manner of her taking they said, 'Time should bring it forth.' And further threatned to bring the Defence out of the Road. They asked what men we had at Wayre and Rosingeng and said they would fetch them out of those places. They also sent a writing, the effect whereof was, That the wrongs wee offered them could no longer be endured, and that they would have one sent over to come to composition with them. Hereupon by councill it was agreed for the safety of our ship, lives and goods, to land all our provisions on the small Iland, with most of the men to manage the Ordnance, which being subscribed by Corthop, Spurway, Hinchley, Hayes, Stacy [and] Helmore, and the second of March to be put in execution, none else of the Ships companie would yeeld thereto, but would keepe the ship to death. The seventh of March a letter was brought from Xero by a Hollander with a flagge of truce from Master Davis part whereof I have transcribed: 'Master Courthop commendations &c. The admirall and the rest have settled their resolutions to have you off from Polarooone according to their commission, and I know that unlesse you doe talke together there will be much slaughter about it: For they are all double-mann'd from their Castles, and must fight it out as I have proved alreadie. For they did shoote at me twice before I began, although I was in the sea eight leagues off when they chased me. We faught almost boord and boord for the space of one houre and a halfe, untill they had killed five men, maymed three, and hurt eight. And when wee began wee had not thirty men able to doe any thing, nor no winde to work withall &c.'

"I answered by a letter to them that we doubted of their message and letter, except they would send an Englishman, one of the ship's companie, to notifie things unto us: that we heard they had murdered our men in cold blood: and as they pretended commission to beat us off, we had commission to maintayne the Kings Majestie's Right of England. We thus sought to prolong time for our better fortification: and the same night sent Ordnance and Muniton to the little Iland of Neylackey,

Neylackey, a little  
Island by Polaroone,  
fortified.

which maketh the Road: and if they had planted there as they pretended, they would have beaten all our ships out of the Road, and have kept all reliefe from the great Iland, so that we must have beene gone for want of food. The tenth of March came a Hollander with Master Davies' boy and a Letter from him, to signifie, that after the Flagge was furled, not one man was meddled with: Sophonie was the first man torn in pieces with a great shot &c. This letter came with other Dutch letters: but we being almost readie for them, wrote them an absolute answere, that if we should come into their subjection as they desire, we should shew ourselves no true subjects to his Majestie: and that our resolution was to stand to all hazards whatsoever, March 11th.

“On the fourteenth it was concluded by councell, to bring ashoare our Provisions and to bring the Ship about: her cables twice cut in two with the Rocks, and now having but two anchors to sea boord. But finding her leake, and unlikely to be brought about, wee agreed to bring her ashoare under the Defence's fort. Master Hinchley on the eighteenth came to an anchor neerer into the Bay, leaving aboard John King Boatson (boatswain) with some twenty more; and on the twentieth, in the morning, the ship was driven almost as farre as Lantore: which when they which were asleep in the ship perceived, and asked the reason, John King answered: Tell the Master, I had the watch, and being asleepe, the ship drove. Thus some went into the Long Boate, the rest, which were compacted, stayed behinde, and when the long boate was come away, they set their fore course and went into Xero road, and delivered the Ship to the Hollanders.”

## II.

“THE *Defence betrayed by perfidious knaves to the Hollanders. King, Christmas, Howres, Harris, Bridges, Rockwell, Carter, Taylor, & Woodlocke. See what a Dutch prison will do; together with lying pretences of the Hollanders & fugitives.*

*“The Devill was also a Lyer & Murtherer from the beginning.*

*“Thus did the Dutch with Generall Riall, Wry & all; I dare not say LYE ALL in pretence of Commission & the king’s letter.*

“The first of April, 1617, the Flemmings sent over letters with a flagge of truce, one from Master Davis to urge a composition, advising very passionately, ‘If I lose any more men by your arrogance, as here I have lost by sicknesse already, their lives and blouds shall rest upon your heads and your faction, and this I will write with dying hand, God give me leave: for what they doe or have done, their Commission will beare them out in: and are contented to let the law decide betweene our Masters and theirs, or will come to any reasonable matter of friendship, that no more bloud may be spilt on either side: For I plainly see how you carry it. You have caused the Master of the Defence to land his peeces ashoare from his ship, and make wracke of her to drive up and down. Is it in our hands to defend an army that have order for what they doe?’ He proceedeth to an in-

(Take this as the fugitives’ & Hollanders’ reports.)

vective, that they would defend treacherous Bandaneses, who are at Banda daily, to make a peace with the Hollanders, that they may have time to cut your throates, &c.

“I made answeere to the Hollanders, promising upon such two stayes to come and conferre withall, redemanding the Defence with her men and goods. Those pledges came not, but two others, and on the 6<sup>th</sup> went to Nero.<sup>5</sup> Where the next day the Generall and Councill offered me restitution of ships, goods, men, and all losses whatsoever, on condition I should take off my Ordnance from Polaroone, and Neylackey, and leave the Iland: to which I answered, I could not unlesse I should turn Traytor unto my King and Countrey, in giving up that right which I am able to hold; and also betray the Countrey people, who had surrendered up their land to our

<sup>5</sup> This place is spelt indifferently name in the Atlas. Xero and Nero; but I find no such



King's Majestie, but promised to confer with my counsell, and send them an absolute answer. I returned the eighth and sent him his pledges: The next day I called a counsell, shewed my commission, where it was resolved to send word to Bantam, and a resolute answer to the Hollanders, that we could not give away the King's right without treason: and to betray the Ilanders his subjects were both unchristian falsehood, and unreason-

able folly to incur their fury. But if New proffers. Riall's threats.

the Dutch would restore the Defence with men and goods, and helpe to convey them to Bantam, giving under their hands that no attempt should be made against the two Ilands, till it be decided in England or Bantam, then &c. They returned the Messenger to advise mee, by writing to consider it, and send my full resolution in three dayes, or else he would bring all his forces and take us perforce. He not comming we fitted a praw<sup>6</sup> to send news to Bantam, and demande ayde, wherein went Master Spurway, Master Hinchley, Christopher the Flemmish fugitive, whom doubting, I gave order to leave at Maccasser. I wrote a letter of occurrents to Bantam, signifying also the Dutch bravadoes (which they had made Master Davis believe) as that they

The copie of the letter for the length I durst not transcribe: a great part being the same that before you have read. — Reasonable offers made, if to reasonable men: but when conscience is removed from the hart to [the] hilt, & reason from the brain to the point of the Sword, Reason & Religion shall be no better dealt with, than the English & Bandan-eses here were.—And note that the Hollandt ers can shew no rights to the Ilands, but *ju- in armis*.

had our King's letters totake any of us to the East of Celebes: He offered, 'If they could shew such letters, he would give up all, or if they could shew any surrender made to them by the Natives, or if they would carry us to Bantam, and not meddle, till there or in England things be decided: that the Hollanders are hated of all nations in those parts: that they vaunt they have the Copies of the Companies Commission before any Ships come forth: that no English Generall hath the King's Commission: that they bring letters from Petty Kings (which are reputed as their slaves) as of

Amboyna and Hetto with the like, that if the Bandāneses

<sup>6</sup> *Praw*, a message boat?

will have their Countries in peace they must submit themselves to the Hollanders, for that no nation can compare to them: (with request of supply the next winds) that he could have had all Lantore Ilands delivered to him, but did not thinke it fit, having no goods or victualls for them: which, if it come in two dayes, will be done: the small league they enter with the Hollander being but to sustayne their hunger all of them being agreed to have no other peace with them &c.'

"The fifth of June the Holland Generall, Laurence Ryall, in a small ship came within a shot of our fort, upon Neylackey, having heard by the Defence fugitives that most of our men would runne away, if they had opportunity: but he expecting them in the Skyffe was welcomed from me with fourteene Shot, that a man was not seene to trimme the Sails, but they bore up the helme & departed. I sent another Prow with advice for Bantam, lest the former might miscarry by Master Stacy, which departed the 8<sup>th</sup> July.

"The 24<sup>th</sup> December we had newes that the men of Lantore had detayned 7 Hollanders of their Chiefe & their goods killing one of them in the taking, the other ransomed for 85 Bandanases & so the league was broken: The 23 Feb<sup>r</sup> I had newes that the Prow in which Master Stacy went was cast away & the King of Botton lent them another for Maccasser. The 12<sup>th</sup> March we felt a terrible Earthquake.

"The 25<sup>th</sup> March 1618 we saw two of our Ships about some 5 leages from Polarooone comming from the Westwards, with the very last of the Westerly Windes, & then being taken with an Easterly winde, which brought the foure Holland Ships (these we had seene looking out from the twentieth day) with them, the great Bantam, the Prow, the Star & the Swanne. These fought with them from 2 of the clocke till nine at night. The fight was in sight of Polarooone some legues off, & at midnight came the Attendance Skiffe ashore at Polarooone with 24 Bandanases, who told of three Ships, the

Fight of the Hollanders with the English, and taking two ships more, the Salomon and the Attendance, deepe laden with Rice, Clothes of divers kinds &c, as I have seen of Master Balls hand.

Solomon, the Thomas, & the Attendance; & how the Thomas had left them in the Streights of Desolam, & never was seene after, & that the Ships could no longer indure the Fight, because the Solomon could not use her lower teere, & their powder was naught. The 26<sup>th</sup> we lost sight of all the Ships, & on the 29<sup>th</sup> all six came into Nero Road, where the Hollanders wore our Colours under their Ships Sternes in a disgracefull manner.

*“THE Manner of the taking the Solomon & Attendance in divers letters described, Dutch abusive devices by lies to delude and dishearten our Men; divers extracts of letters of Maaster Corthop with other occurments.”*<sup>7</sup>

“The first of April Robert Fuller brought newes from Lantore that the Bandanese were most of them slaine by the Hollanders (in taking the Ships) & that they fezed (*sic*) the Hollanders twice over boord & slew many of them, but were oppressed with the number.

“On the 14<sup>th</sup> a Hollander with a flag of truce brought mee a letter from Master Cesarian David, Commander of the Three Ships aforesaid, in these words.”

(Then follows the letter dated Poolaway, 14<sup>th</sup> April 1618 stating the loss of his Ship, asking his advice & praying him to come over.)

Next follows a letter from George Jackson dated “aboord the Trow in Nero Road 26<sup>th</sup> April 1618,” giving an account of the engagement & signed

Your ever loving friend here now Prisoners  
Geo. Jackson, in the behalfe of Jacob Lane,  
Bartholomew Churchman & the rest.

Next follows a letter from Master Lane master of the Soloman now abroad the Trow of Amsterdam in Nero Road 12 April giving also an account of the battle & concluding “Thus with my love unto you with the rest of your Company, I cease, beseeching God to blesse you in your proceedings and deliver us

<sup>7</sup> In Master Corthop's Journall are him. (An interpolation in another Copies of Letters sent by him or to hand.)

out of the hands of these Tyrants, & send us all a joyful meeting. Your friend to his poore power to Command

Jacob Lane.

Another letter from Geo: Jackson dated "Adie in the Prison of the Castle Pooloway" concluding, "Thus not willing to be over tedious, I beseech you good Sir, to consider our Misery, & doe what may be for our releavement. Your ever loving friend  
to command

Geo Jackson."

"I sent an answer offering upon pledges to come over to Poolaway in the Vessell which they should come in.

"The 17<sup>th</sup> Aprill the Orrenkayes of Lantore came over to me to conferre about keeping the Iland another yeare, whiche they promised, to keepe out the Hollander from trading with them, onely relying upon our Forces the next yeare. The 18 by a praw that went to Bottoone, I sent a letter for Bantam, to be conveyed by that King (?) to our Factorie at Maccasser, signifying the taking of those Ships, the unadvisednesse of sending them so unseasonably (for one day sooner had brought them in, neither was there above half a day of Westerly winds to bring them to Nero) that many poore men were slaine, maymed or held in slaverie worse then Turkish Slaves; & had not four or five Java Junckes come in, for want of articles we must also have given up, & still live on Rice only with a little Fish, which in foule weather is not to be had, daily expecting an assault from the Hollanders & wish it not so much able to stand out, as willing to make them pay deare &c. We send another also for refreshment to the Factor of Maccasser.

Mr Courthop's letter  
to Mr Ball.

"The 20<sup>th</sup> April we were advertized that within two days the Hollanders would assaile us, but they came not. The 30<sup>th</sup> they trained their Men, about seven hundred. I sent another letter to Master Ball (where in relating the Fight these words are used) The Attendance before they yeilded gave the Bandanezes their small Boat: so

they escaped to Polarooome. But the Salomon was so belayd that the Bandanezes could not goe out of her. Master Cessarion yeelded in that manner, that if I had beene in his place, before I would have done it, I would have sunke downe right in the Sea: Thus he did fore-tell his own death in the cause & manner. That was in this manner after they had fought from two till nine at night, being almost boord & boord. The Dutch called unto him to take in his colours, strike his Sayles & come himself aboard, which all hee did. They detaigned him & his Boat, so our men in the Ship played a good & wise part likewise, for they perceiving their Commander kept aboard the Dutch Shippes, went & got the Bandanezes Swords, & hid them from them, only two of them kept their Swords privately: nineteene had no weapons & stowed themselves in the Ship, & some eight or ten of them with their Creezes & two Swords at the Hollanders entring of our Ships killed the Hollanders, at least 40 of them, & hurt divers more of them; most of this slaughter being done by two of the Bandanezes only. For at their entering our men kept themselves in the fore-Castle apart, whilst the Bandanezes fought; but at last being taken the Hollanders killed some 12 & saved seven of the yongest. So farre as I can perceiue, they neither respect right nor justice, but stand altogether upon force & armes. I have but thirtie eight Men to withstand their force & tyranny, our wants extreme, neither have we victuals or drink, but only rice & Water. The have at present 8 Ships here & two gallies, & to my knowledge, all fitted to come against us. I look daily & howerly for them &c. He signified also both to him & in a letter to the Factor at Maccasser, that he had not since first he came into these Ilands received one letter or advice from any English.

“In a letter from Master Lane to Mr. Courthop, is written that he had sent away the Bandanezes, but one Richard Tawton Masters Mate of the Thomas would not suffer it, for feare of the Dutch severitie; & that they seeing no remedie, shot William Shopley, after Mast, & cut the eare of the Gunners mate neer off. Another

they ranne thorow the backe. This is like to be the cause of taking away their Swords.

“The 7<sup>th</sup> May the Salomon went from Nero laden. The 25<sup>th</sup> the Hollanders gave an assault on Lantore landing eight Companies of Souldiers, contayning about 500 Men, but were repulsed with losse of foure of theirs & one Bandaneze. The 22<sup>nd</sup> for further Certaintie I sent another letter to Master Ball.

“The 28<sup>th</sup> June I had a letter sent mee from Master Cassarian David, wherin he signifieth the Dutch threats of perpetuall imprisonment, if I came not to better Consideration; which I answered repelling the Hollanders lies Dutch lies to scare the English, and cawse their imprisonment. ‘touching the Attendant’s boat taken up by them with bloud,’ & another that I should send the Generall a letter to surrender the small Iland, & that I have but ten English here; also that the Blackes had possession of my Ordnance &c.

“The last of June Master Ball’s letter was sent me by Master Lane, which is as followeth”—

Here followeth M. Ball’s letter dated Bantam 7 Jan 1617, acknowledging the receipt of his (M. Courthop’s) by Master Thomas Spurway & 30 June by Master Stacy, exhorting to make good what he had, trusting for forces the next yeare.

“The 7<sup>th</sup> July I sent Robert Hayes to Lantore to view the Road, what convenient place our Ships might ride in, free from Shot of (the) New Castle, & what place wee might plant Ordnance to defend our Ship & endamage the Hollanders which returned with a draught of the Roads there on the 18<sup>th</sup>. The 22<sup>nd</sup> I wrote again by a Java Juncke to Master Ball touching the taking of the Ships, the Hollanders proud wearing our Colours at their sterne & a long time never ceasing shooting day nor night as though they had taken half the goodes in the World. The third of this present, the Generall with five Ships set Saile to the Westwards, sending me word some foure dayes before, that he would come by me, & send me some flying Messengers to know I did: but like a bragging, lying &c—

“The 2 Aug: I sent Master Muchamp in a Banda Praw, with the Sabander of Pooloway & Inche Fungall to give intelligence at Bantam; by whom I writ, touching the intollerable pride & tyrannie that the Hollanders useth in these parts upon us both, in bodies & name, & that with a good conscience we may proceed in regard to the outrage & infamie they have offered us in these parts, both in disgracefull speeches to our King & Nation, & in their barbarous tyrannie they have used to our weake forces being captivated by them; having written how we may offend them by planting Ordnance at Oretaton, &c.

“The 13<sup>th</sup> Aug. then came fifteene Portugals borne at Goa (which had been surprized by the Hollanders) from Nero in a Praw, & I gave them entertaynment. The 15<sup>th</sup> I received a letter from Master Cassarian David in the name of the English at Poolaway, urging ‘to right what was amisse<sup>8</sup> & to call conscience to the Barre’ (words shewing what a hard imprisonment & faire glosses may doe with impotent & impatient spirits) which I answered the next day, both with best reason & sending them reliefe. I received also a letter from Master Willes as followeth.”

(Then follows a letter from Master Willes, dated Pooloway 15 Aug: 1618—& also a letter from Kellum Throgmorton.)

“The 19<sup>th</sup>, Master David sent me a letter from Master Ball bearing date 26<sup>th</sup> Jan: expressing his cares & endeavours for furthering the Banda businesse, ‘That it falleth out so late in the yeare<sup>9</sup> before I send unto you hath been caused through discord betwixt Captain P. & myselfe, who of himself weake & extreame covetous, & instigated by his proud & insolent Masters did obstinately insist

Disagreement of the English, advantageous to the Dutch: I had the whole letter, which being long, I have expressed this onely.

<sup>8</sup> (Interpolated note). M. Courthop’s magnanimous mind is not more seene in withstanding the Hollanders’ wrongs, than in bearing the impatience of his Countreyemen, impotently urging right.

<sup>9</sup> It must be remembered that before the New Style was introduced the 26th of January was late in the year.—M. A. L.

to crosse our designs, thinking to bring us under his command. If this Captaine & his Masters had beene, they had this yeare come for Banda, to have made further tryall of these Flemmings, that threaten fire and sword, but have sent only two or three Shippes, that are worst able to hold out, which if not catched up by the Flemming will be sufficient. But if taken, the losse will be the lesse unto us. I shall not be able to send you Beefe, Porke or Powder for your reliefe, because I can get none from these new come Ships, how much it doth grieve us, that wee are able to doe no better &c.'

“The Commander Captain Derickson used the English Prisoners with some kindnesse, & more would, but for Rials strict command: Some of the Dutch kind to the English. Derickson's kindnesse. him therefore I did write unto, with thankses &c—who also passed on the 23<sup>rd</sup> Aug, by the Iland of Neylackey, & strooke his mayne top sayle & there was shot in kindnesse on either part some five or sixe peeces; he going for the Moluccas. The 26<sup>th</sup> the Hollanders' Frigate, fetching water at Salamor, was beset by Lantore men, one killed & divers hurt, & had beene all taken but for discovery by Salomon men.

“The 10<sup>th</sup> Sep: I sent William Newbegin with supply & two goates, twelve henns, Mackerell, Oranges & other trifles to the English at Pooloway. The messenger returned with a letter from Master Cassarian David, commending the usage of the Captain The Captaine, his kindnesse to the English. since the departure of the Commander, in what he might be bold without offending orders prescribed unto him, that the Salomon & Thomas were sent away with goods and Victuals, & 21 dayes after the Attendance wherein I was to shape my course directly for Poolarooke; but by reason the Salomon & Thomas both ware their flagges on the mayne top, & that in sight, in going out of the Road of Bantam, the President thinking English dissentions & vanity. it done in pride by the two Ships' Masters; as also shaping a forbidden course for Water at Pontang: therefore it was decreed that I should



first goe to Maccasser, then to take the government of the three Ships & dispose them after the order of a Fleet. If it had not been for striving for authoritie betweene Captain P. & Captain B. you should have beene visited last yeere with the Charles & the Unicorne, & other good Ships. But multitude of Commanders maketh a confused Government, which is the only cause of our & your faring the worse this yeare &c."

(Here followeth letter from the English at Amboyna to Master David.)

"I received Copies of certaine Notes, the first, a Petition of the English for shift of Clothes & to be freed of Irons in the daytime; which was in some sort granted. The second, that each Man might come before the Generall to speake for his Libertie, which would not be granted. The third, that the Dutch Generall might give us an Old Ship, Pinnasse or Prow to carry us to Bantam, or that he would sett a ransome upon the English Prisoners; which he would neither grant, nor hear of, but answered, that he would keepe us prisoners so long as any English were upon Polaroone; the 7<sup>th</sup> June we were sent for Pooloway: The fourth humble Petition of the Prisoners in Nero Road. The 4 June 1618, 'Humbly shewing unto your good Lordship that whereas your Lordship's poore Petitioners & Prisoners being altogether doubtfull of any speedie Releasement, & desirous to avoid the danger of sicknesse & Mortalitie, incident to all men in these unwholsom Cuntries, do therefore beseech your Lordship, that it may stand with your Lordship's pleasure to grant unto your Lordship's said Petitioners to go for Holland this yeare in your Lordship's Ships. And so your Lordship's poore Prisoners shall doe our best endeavours to doe your Lordship's service, in our passage, wishing there may be a good end of all these differences; & thus hoping of your Lordship's favourable charitie herein towards us poore prisoners; we will pray for the prosperous success

Petitions of the English Prisoners to the Dutch Generall cruelly rejected.

of your Lordship's affaires.' The Petition would be granted. The fifth, on the 2<sup>d</sup> July: Humbly sheweth unto your Lordship, that we poore prisoners now in this Castle of Pooloway doe petition unto your Lordship, that we may be allowed such victuals as may sustaine our bodies without famishment, & that your Lordship will be pleased to spare us money to buy such things as are needfull for us, for our clothing at this time is but very bare; wherefore we beseech your Lordship to take some course for us before your Lordship's departure from hence. Likewise we beseech your Lordship that we may be suffered to walke abroad at severall times, as your Lordship shall be pleased to give order. And so your Lordship's poore Prisoners shall pray for the goode successe of your Lordship's affairs—which would not be (was not?) granted."

### III.

*"Other Acts of the Hollanders in divers places of the Indies: Encouragements from Sir Thomas Dale, Master Jordan & others, & various events in those parts till his Death.*

"The 27<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup>: I sent Robert Hayes with a white flagge to visit the English Prisoners, & to carrie such refreshments as Polaroone affordeth, who being kindly used by the Hollanders returned that night. The 28<sup>th</sup> Oct: I likewise sent Arthur Atkinson to Pooloway with refreshments. The 10<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> an ambushment ashoare at Oretaton, but caught one slave only whom they cut to pieces. The 13<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> there arrived a Keydusa Prow laden with Coco Nuts: she brought Newes of the Thomas. newes that Sir Thomas was gone for the Moluccas.

"The 14<sup>th</sup> Jan: I had provisions from Lantore, with Abraham that went with Master Mustian for Maccasser, who by the unskilfulnesse of the Pilot fell with Rosinging an Iland sixe leagues to leewards to our great trouble, to fetch provisions in small Boats hither. He brought divers letters, one from Master Staver- M. Staverton's letter. ton, in which is mention of the Hollanders, that

through their brutish usage & rapine, taking of Junckes of all places, they have excluded themselves all Java & the Rice Countries except where they hold by force: for Bantam, Jacatra, & Japara I referre you to the Presidents Letter.

“The 22<sup>d</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> last, here came three of their great Ships braving to this place & first came to an anchor off Tenna-cooke Castle without shewing any Colours. And at night it being faire moone light, they came neerer into the Road; and one of them went & rode under the Iland, under point Jantava. And in the morning they commanded two Java Junckes of Jacatra, having in them some 50 quoine of Rice, & by the Java Nochoda sent a letter ashoare to the King & great men of Macasser, pretending debts & required satisfaction for their mens lives murthered 2 yeares since, which they would balance with so many lives of men of qualitie at Maccasser: the King sent an answer, what I knowe not, & they writ again, but hee answered not. They burnt one of the Java Junckes, & on the 26<sup>th</sup>. set sayle as we conjecture for Amboyna. The last yeare I

The goods in the Ships which the Dutch took. wrote what provision I laded in the

Ship Salomon one hundred & one quoine, three hundred and seven q: of Rice, in the Thomas seventie five q: eightie four q:. On the Attendance sixteen q: five hundred and seventie six q: eight hundred sixtie five Jarres of Aracke, most upon the Thomas; also sending other provisions divided upon the Ships wiche with Racke (arrack) & Rice amounted to three thousand nine hundred & sixteen Mas.<sup>10</sup> What provision was laded from Bantam & Jacatra I know not; and, but for prolixitie, I had added the Invoice of goods from theme.

“The last yeare happened great mortalitie: there dyed out of the Hope Captaine Newport, that worthy Sea-

Death of many; of man & Commander, also Henry Ravens, Captain Newport. Master and fortie more of that Ships

Company out of the James, Captain Childe &c. He sent

<sup>10</sup> [This is the description of the goods, as given in the copy of the “Journall” presented to the S. A. S., by Charles F. Courthope, Esq., of Maplehurst, Hors-

ham. It differs slightly from that given in “Purchas his Pilgrimes” (Vol. i. ed. 1625). ED.]

to me Master Ball's letter to him wherein is relation of Master Jackson's losse with Juncke, goods & Slaves, except three which saved themselves by Swimming, as by writing from his father appeareth: For wanting Rice & necessaries he put into Jortan to the number of 23, under colour of bringing provisions aboard [qu., they? ED.] entered the Juncke, & killed him & all his Company, but three which leapt overboard, & carried the Juncke away. The rest of the Port remayning ashoare are Prisoners to the King to answeere for their fellows. The Flemmings landed at Japara by night, fired the Towne & 7 or 8 Junkes in the Roade. The People fled to the Mountaines, they have forcibly built a fort upon Mayne at Jacatra, & another upon the Iland over against the Watring place, which makes the Pangram of Bantam looke about him.

Spaniards and Portugals at Jortan kill M. Jackson.

Japara spoyled.

Jacatra abused. Bantam frighted.

“The 27<sup>th</sup> Jan: here arrived a small Pinnasse called the Francis with aduice from the Fleete & reliefe, Master Robert Jackson Master.” Then follows Sir Thomas Dale's letter, commencing

“Master Courthop, as unknowne I remember my love, which I will alwayes be readie to expresse in respect of your worthy service for the honour of our Countrey & benefit of our Honourable Employers; & doe desire you to proceede in your good resolution, with the rest of your honest Companie; nothing doubting but that the Companie will recompence your deserts in the full. I have sent you by this Bearer only to supply your present wants: the particulars are enclosed in the Presidents letter &c. &c.”

The President's Letter commencing

“Master Nathaniel Courthop—we heartily Salute you with the rest—we have thought it good at present to send you this smalle pinnasse, the Little Francis as an adviser with such provisions as she is

able to carry, thereby to comfort you & your Company in the interim, not dowing but as you have begun so you will continue with a constant resolution to defend the place”

goes on to detail various Wrongs sustained by (from?) the Dutch & to state that Sir Thomas Dale had gone against them with 11 Sayle of Ships, & concludes

“ Wee like very well of your former proceedings, & of your large advice concerning those parts; praying you to continue therein, & with a steadfast resolution, notwithstanding the Hollanders threatening to defend the place until wee sende further ayde. And no doubt but the Honorable Company will highly reward you and all those that faithfully & truly doe their endeavour in their affaires. Thus leaving [nothing] further to insert at present, referring all things to our next, in which God willing, we will write you more at large, praying God to prosper your proceedings to his glory & your hearts desire. Your loving friends

Bantam  
23 Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1618. }

John Jordan.  
Augustine Spaldwin.  
George Ball.”

(A Post Script states an engagement having taken place between the English & Dutch Fleets near the Iland of Jacatra, apparently without advantage to either party.)

“The 2<sup>nd</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> we by Councell ordered that the Francis should ride under the Fort to releev such Junkes as should come hither for reliefe, divers of which with some Praw or Curracorra they had intercepted, so to starve the inhabitants. The 5<sup>th</sup> came a Praw from Pooloway with

Letter from the prisoners complayning of many of them dead by misery of imprisonment.

letters from the English Prisoners ‘deploring that lying in misery & irons, many of them have lost their lives, who if they had beene at libertie might have been alive, & have done their King & Countrey good service & praying to supply their wants by that Praw with money & what else could be sent, not

knowing whether they might be suffered hereafter to send or no,' which I answered with Certificate of the Newes & provision.

“The 13<sup>th</sup> Feb: there were 3 Ships in Nero Road, one whereof had her beak-head shot thorow in fortie places. I ghesed it one of the Ships which were in the skirmish at Jacatra. The 18 I received a letter by a Prow from Wayra from Bartholomew Churchman, wherein with thankes for things sent, he certifieth that the Angell came from Amboyna that night, where they left their Generall to get all their forces together, which will be fourteene or fifteene Ships with the old Generall too, that cometh from Ternate; & shortly they looke for their fleete from the Maneelos (Manillas) which is 10 Ships. And they say they will goe all to Java together, & where they had the overthrow. There again they will set upon our Ships to recover their former losse & disgrace in sight of all the Javas. But I thinke they will be hanged before they meet upon equall tearmes. Three days after we had received your Letter, they brought us all to Nero where they doe allow us more Victuals & libertie than they did before (God be thanked therefore) & within 2 or 3 dayes we are to goe for Amboyna in the Angell &c.

“The 22<sup>d</sup> Apr: 1619 I did write to Master Stavenson at Maccasser & also to Master President certifying that at that time there was neither Holland Ship nor Gally in Banda, & that the English Ships comme as they promised I verily thinke there would not at the end of this Monso(o)n been left an Hollander, enemie to us in Banda, by reason, I know, the World was never so hard with them: their wants being extreame, both for Men & Victuals: likely that few of their Souldiers but would have fled to us: wee having neither stocke nor victuals, but bare encouragement of Words &c.

“The 8<sup>th</sup> June the Pinnasse set Saile for Seiran, & returned the 14<sup>th</sup> July with 50,000 cakes of Sago.

“The 23<sup>d</sup> August, I sent her thither againe: Shee returned the 25<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>: so full of leakes, that the 3 Dec<sup>r</sup>: we haled her on shoare, and found her so rotten that we saved what we could, and set fire on the Rest.

“The 5<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> there came a Lantore Corocora, whiche brought Newes that foure dayes before they had taken a Holland Praw rowing from Nero to Pooloway, there being four Halland Praws in company, bound for Pooloway, who came by Lantore, daring the Banda Men to come forth : who manned two Prawes, & followed them almost to Pooloway, & tooke one of them, & killed all the Men, being twentie Blackes & 9 Hollanders. The Lantore Men are now in heart, and now I have gotten the Banda Men to reparaire the Fort at the Iland being much out of reparations. The 24<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> heere arrived a Juncke from Maccasser, which brought us some provisions, but no Newes from the West. That day Master Jackson misse-behaving himselfe to the Captaine was censured.

“The 12<sup>th</sup> Jan: an Holland Coracora which came from Amboyna, with letters to the Captaine of Nero, put off by a gust, was taken by the Ilanders. The Letters con-tayned their losing of Bachan to the Spaniards, & their troubles at Amboyna & Luho, but no Newes from the West.

“Jan<sup>y</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> I sent over Robert Hayes with the priest of Pooloway to Lantore, to conferre with the Orancaias there about the surrender of their land to the King’s Majestie of Eng-land, to which they all agreed that the Sabandar of Lantore should be the man to come over and agree with me about that Businesse. But that whatsoever he should agree upon the whole Country should affirme unto. Also I sent to them concerning their making Islams of all such Hollanders as came running from Nero, which caused so few to come. They promised it should be no more so ; but hereafter as they should see cause, they would either kill them or send them to mee.

“The 28<sup>th</sup> Jan went by a Holland Ship & never touched at Pooloway nor Nero, only a Boat came aboard her & whither she went I know not. I ghesed they brought me reliefe, & therefore would not stay for feare of Mutinies amongst the Souldiers, they being in great want &

distresse for victuals. Whiles Master Hayes was over at Lantore, the Hollanders brake league with the Salamon Men, taking 3 prawes of theirs.

“The 13<sup>th</sup> Feb. came in a Java Juncke & a Praw of this Iland, with Sago from Buro. The Javas could tell us no certaine newes of our Shipping, but they reported that thirtie foure Holland Ships were at Bantam, & that fifteene English Ships were gone thorow the Streights of Sunda and thought that no English Ship would be heere this yeare; which was Cold comfort to me, who had neither direction nor stockes. Many junckes arrived which could tell no other newes, one a Portugall Frigat, & in the Mattheus a Blacke, whom I had sent [during] the last Easterly Winds to Maccasser, which brought letters from thence, but Junckes & letters were cast away. He came in this Frigat which was bound for the Moluccas, but having stricken on a Rocke was perswaded to come to Poolarone: I took up all his lading, God made me able to pay him.

Holland Fleet reported, thirty foure sayle.

“20<sup>th</sup> March, I received a letter sent from Master Staverton at Maccasser dated 7<sup>th</sup> Feb: wherein is mentioned the report of the Hound and Samson, taken at Patania by the Dutch, the Beare, Rose, Hope, & Dragon at Tecoo; & at Bantam a Ship called the Starre, new come out of England; complayning also of wants there, by neglect at Bantam.

Seven English Ships taken in divers places by the Hollanders.

“The 22<sup>d</sup>. here arrived a Praw from Maccasser with one Guilliam Gualtier, a Frenche Man’s goods sent mee to sell for him. The losse of the Ships aforesaid, I thought good to add out of a letter of Master Muschamp to Master Courthop.”

Here follows a letter from Master Muschampe, dated 9 March 1619, giving an account of the taking of the Ships, in which occurs the following:

“I doe not much value my life, and have every day lesse comfort, & courage to remain in these parts for either you or myselfe, howsoever I make no question, our honourable Masters will truly value



your deserts. God send you well home, to receive the guerdon thereof, & the Comfort of your friends, who, as I heare are very desirous to see you, and your elder brother wished the Pursers mate of the Starre to tell you, that you should come home with the first, and that while he had a peny, you should not want (fail) to receive it."

"28<sup>th</sup> Mar: 1620, here arrived a Juncke from Jortan laden with rice. 3<sup>d</sup> Apr: three Holland ships sailed into Nero Road.

"This yeare I had no letter nor any advice from our Commanders at Bantam, nor any supply & am enforced to take up all my men's goods, to buy victuals, to pay fiftie per cento, per annum interest.

"The 30<sup>th</sup> I sent a letter to the President and Commanders signifying my wants, & if the Portugall Frigat had not come in, I must have given over the place, whome (?) yet I am enforced to send to Bantam for his payment on my Bill. 'God grant mee good getting out of these Countrie people's hands; for they have spent their Gold & estates beggering themselves; & divers of them losing some their lives, others their liberties in holding out in expectation of the English forces. Can the Heathens saile to & againe, as also all other nations, French & Portugalls, & only the English feare to adventure the Companies goods; passing over the matter will rub out another yeare. We have rubbed off the Skinne already & if we rub any longer shall rub to the bone: I pray looke to it &c.'

"The 3<sup>d</sup> May the longe expected Jurotinge arrived with his juncke. Master West dyed of the Fluxe.

"The 20<sup>th</sup> June, I sent letters to Maccasser, with a letter inclosed to the President & Commander, advising to send a Ship with provisions, & of the Lantore Men holding out still in expectation, & that except some such course be taken they should see mee before they should heare any further from me.

"The 23<sup>d</sup> Sep: Jurotinge set saile for Maccasser whom I sent to fetch rice & with him 3 China Men, which ran

from Nero to the Blackes at Lantore, which but for me would have forced them to turn Slammes.<sup>11</sup>

## IV.

*“The Continuation of the former Journal by Master Robert Hayes, Contayning the death of Captain Courthop, succession of Robert Hayes, surrender of Lantore to his Majestie, newes of the peace & after the peace Lantore & Poolarone seized by the Dutch with abominable wrongs to the English.*

“18<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup>: 1620, our Captaine Nathaniel Courthop came to me Robert Hayes & said that he heard say, there were two Praws gone into Lantore Yesterday which were Key Prawes, as he thought (yet were not) & in regard of former abuses to Jurotinge hee would go & revenge the same. I prayed him to stay till he heard from thence whether it were so or no: But hee refused saying if they were not of Key (?) it were so much labour lost, & now he might go with the Priest. Thus went he over that night with his Boy William; well fitted with Muskets & Weapons, promising to returne in five dayes, & bidding me send for Water on the 3 and twentieth at night. Hee came accordingly part of the way, the Priest staying at Lantore, because it was a great feast with the Blackes the next day. There were one & twentie persons in the Boate with sixe Muskets and Fowling Peeces of the Companies, & goods of the Captaine to the value of one hundred & fiftie Ryals of eight or upwards. Comming thwart of Poolaway about 2 or three a clocke of the morning, they met with a Hollanders’ Corocora & one Praw more with some fortie small shot, & comming up with them fought with them; where the Captaine behaved himselfe Courageously until divers of the Banda men were slaine. And

This Jurotinge, M. Staverton in a Letter of his which I have, calleth him an unluckie fellow (as here he proved) seeming a blacke Saint, being a blacke Devill (!)

<sup>11</sup> *Slammes*. I search in vain for the meaning of this word. It may be a cant sea term.—M. A. L. [Mr. C. F.

Courthope’s copy solves the difficulty by reading “Islammes.”—ED.]

the Captaine also receiving a shot in the brest sate downe, and with all his Peece being cloyed threw  
Captaine Courthop wounded, leapes over-board. it over boord, & then leapt over boord  
 in his Clothes the Prow being too hot to  
 stay in, and what became of him I knowe not; but the  
 Blackes say surely he there sunk by reason of his wounds,  
 & his Clothes all about him. There came of those one  
 & twentie persons, seven ashoare, who had not beene  
 wounded, & were strong to swimme, the Shore being  
 some five miles [distant.] The same night Riall a Dutch-  
 man, (formerly turned Moore) ranne away to the Hol-  
 landers with a small Prawe."

A letter from William Van Anthen dated Poolaway  
 in the Castle of Revenge 9 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1620, new stile, to  
 Master Robert Hayes Factor for the English at Poolaroono  
 giving an account of the Peace concludes—

"The Captaine Nathaniel is killed in the Prow  
M. Courthop buried by the Dutch. for which God knoweth I was hearti-  
 lie sorie; we have buried him so  
 stately and honestly as ever we could fitting for  
 such a Man."

& in a subsequent letter 8 Feb. 1621 written to the  
 East India Company, in England, from the factours, is  
 the following—

Nathaniel Courthop. "Moreover our Captaine of Pool-  
 aroone who had defended the Iland  
 foure yeeres together going to Lantore (at the re-  
 quest of the Inhabitants) to receive the surrendry  
 thereof for our kings Majesties use (as aforesaid)  
 and returning backe againe about the beginning of  
 November 1620, was slaine by the Dutch. And it  
 is very probable they did it after the time they had  
 intelligence of the accord at Bantam in March 1619.  
 For presently upon the said publication, they sent  
 secretly to the Ilands in those parts where they did  
 trade, to prevent us of our part of the spices due  
 unto us by the accord."

The surrender of the Ilands of Pooloway & Poolaroone; of the Country of Wayre & of the Iland of Rosingen, (the articles of which surrenders are printed at length) were severally made to Nathaniel Courthop, Sophonie Cozock & Thomas Spurway: The articles for the surrender of Lantore, made to Robert Hayes "after the loss of Captaine Courthop" are dated 24 Nov. 1620.

*Note by Mr. Courthope, "Somerset Herald."*

In the March following the decease of Nathaniel Courthope, Lantore was seized by the Dutch, the town burnt, & the English "villanously abused." Afterwards they took possession of Poolaroone, which for four years had been so gallantly defended, Master Robert Hayes making no resistance, not being able (as he says in his Journal) to withstand them: on the twentieth they dismantled the fort and took away the English flag, and on the 2nd of May signed articles of agreement similar to those which Capt. Courthope had entered into with them.