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The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, Sciences and Social Condition of the present and former inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon

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OVE GIEDDE IN CEYLON 1620—1621

Translated

BY

MARY MACKENZIE

Note.—The following pages contain a translation of extracts from a Danish work, the title of which, translated, is :

A selection from Danish History,
Numismatology, Economics, and Language,

BY

JOHANN HEINRICH SCHLEGEL

Professor and Royal Danish Historiographer

Kopenhagen 1771

The extracts include
(i) a part of the Editor's introduction in German.
(ii) Ove Giedde's detailed report of his mission, in Danish.
(iii) The Log of the Danish fleet.
(iv) Further History of Danish Trade.
(v) Changes in Ceylon.

It was prepared at my request in 1920 for the Ceylon Government, which has kindly placed it at the Society's disposal. A preliminary Note, read on 19 February, 1926, is printed in Vol XXX of the Journal. Other relevant documents are dealt with in Some Documents relating to the rise of the Dutch Power in Ceylon, Colombo, 1929.

It is convenient to mention the chief figures which occupied the stage at this time.

First there was the King, Senevirat, once a Bhikkhu, and perhaps as attractive a figure as ever occupied that three-footed stool, the Sinhalese Throne. Next stood Antonio Baretto, who had risen from being a limping camp-follower among the Portuguese, to be a formidable guerilla leader and Disāva of Uva, till he turned round on the King and carved out a Kingdom for himself. Then came Māyādunna, a Prince of the Sītāvaka family, with whom Baretto had joined forces. And lastly there was the Portuguese Conquistador, Constantino de Sa e Meneses, who had been sent out in 1617 to make a desperate effort to restore the fortunes of the Portuguese in the country which, as the bitter complaint ran, " was eating up the State by the sackful."

In the meantime the East India Company of the Hollanders was rapidly cutting into the Portuguese monopoly of the Eastern trade, and in 1612 their under Factor, Marcellus de Boschouwer, had appeared at Senevirat's Court and negotiated a Treaty of alliance with the Sinhalese. The Envoy himself was appointed to the King's Council of State, the golden headband of a Sinhalese dignitary was fastened round his brow, and villages,

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including Negumbo from which he took his name of Mīgomuvē Rāla, were granted to him for his maintenance. But the pressure of the never-ending hostilities was very sore, how sore has already been set out in another place, and in 1615 he was sent by the King to fetch the help which had been promised by the terms of the Treaty.

Two years of despairing expectation passed and in August 1617 Senevirat was forced to make peace with the Portuguese, while the South-west of the Island remained under the control of Baretto. This enabled de Sa to concentrate his efforts on the reduction of the latter with whom was Māyādunna. After elaborate preparations by a rapid advance into Sabaragamuva the Portuguese drove Baretto from the neighbourhood of Balangoda, and Māyādunna's men were cut to pieces in an ambush at Leḷlōpitiya.

This incident has been graphically described by a Sinhalese eyewitness in the *Kostantīnu Haṭanē*....." Unnumbered heads lay scattered over the field, and the Rakshas and the Yakkas, the ogres and the demons, with all the vultures and hawks and jackals and dogs, bloated to their full with human flesh, gambolled o'er the plain." Māyādunna retired into Sat Kōralē from where he was driven into the Bintänna, while de Sa himself advancing along the Coast from Galle, pressed Baretto hard within the waterless regions of the East.

P. E. P.

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I

INTRODUCTION FROM THE GERMAN

Position of European Trade with the East Indies at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century.

.....Denmark had not suffered at all in the Swedish war which ended in 1603 and had increased her reputation and consolidated her position. Soon after peace was declared there was a superfluity of money, in the country as well as in the royal coffers. Under a very energetic King great activity was displayed by all classes. Navigation and trade increased in a marked degree. Many Danish sailors had taken part in the first voyages of the Dutch to the East Indies, and a good number of Dutch, some men of property, others with experience of the sea, desired nothing better than to make common cause with the Danes, a feeling which was to no small extent encouraged by the religious persecutions which were taking place in Holland at the time. After important reforms, as the history of Christian iv shews, had been carried out in the country itself, it was a very opportune moment for this great King to contemplate a voyage to the East Indies. When these circumstances are taken into consideration things appear in a very different light from that in which they are usually represented. The fact that in after times the Dutch were so powerful in the East Indies, and so jealous of other nations, leads one to think that Christian iv. regarded them as his strongest opponents as early as the years 1616—18. It is true that on December 14th 1617 the Dutch, in printed letters patent, forbade any of their subjects to enter the service of foreign East India Companies. But this prohibition was principally aimed at England and France, and was not enforced in the case of Denmark. And although, after the manner of all traders, they may have been unwilling to see a division of profits, yet when their East Indian trade began, they shewed the Danes every sign of apparent friendship. The Portuguese were the real enemies of the Danes in this matter, for they regarded the voyages of all other nations to the East Indies as attacks upon their rights, and robbery of their prescriptive possessions. And when things developed into open hostilities between the Danes and Portuguese in the East Indies, the Dutch, who had not everywhere gained the ascendency over the Portuguese, were rather pleased at the appearance of new adversaries against the latter.

3. Formation of the East Indian Company in Denmark

Before his resolution bore fruit, the King no doubt collected accurate information as to conditions in the East Indies from Dutchmen who had been there. There were not a few merchants of that nation settled in Copenhagen at the time. Roelant Crape, Peter von Santen, Ameling v. Ossenden, and others who had already been in the East Indies, took service with Danes at the time of the Company's formation, and took shares in it. Many people in Holland also did the latter, as may be seen from the list of shareholders, in which many Dutch names appear. Among

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them is that of David de Willem of Amsterdam, who invested 5256 rix-dollars in the Danish company; Johann de Willem of Copenhagen, presumably his brother, took an equal number of shares. The following words, written by Professor Ole Worm on August 18th 1616, no doubt refer to Roelant Crape, who took the foremost part in the enterprise. "Our merchants are contemplating a voyage to the East Indies, to which our most gracious King will not refuse help. They will be guided by a certain Dutchman, who has been sent here at the instance of several citizens of Amsterdam." These words cannot refer to Marcelis Boschouwers, as is clearly shewn in the story of his life in Chapter 6. Roelant Crape, a Dutchman who was well known in the East Indies, was in the confidence of the King before Boschouwers appeared in Denmark, and he left there for the East Indies 3 months before him. He retained the King's confidence, too, long after Boschouwers' death, as appears from a letter written by him to the King in his own hand, in broken German, and dated from Masulipatam September, 11, 1628.

Boschouwers' treaty on behalf of the emperor of Ceylon was therefore in no way the basis of the East Indian trade in Denmark, but simply an incidental expansion of the idea. The Company was established with the assistance of many other Dutchman, before anything was known of him and his proposal in Denmark. Christian iv. had encouraged the foremost merchants in Copenhagen to take part in this trade. They drafted the regulations in accordance with his outline, in 33 articles, which the King confirmed by letters patent, dated at Anderskov, March 17, 1616. The articles are preserved in the archives of the Danish Chancellery in the Zeeland register for that year, and no doubt they are in the archives of the Asiatic Company, whence they were imparted to Baron Holberg. As, owing to altered circumstances, these articles were not carried out in their entirety, it will be sufficient to give an extract from them here.

The Company shall have the exclusive privilege, for 12 years, or longer, at the King's good pleasure, of trading to the East Indies, China, Japan, etc., not only round the Cape of Good Hope, but also through the Straits of Magellan or by other routes already or not yet discovered. Each member shall invest in the Company according to his capacity until an adequate fund has been collected, but no one shall put in less than 150 rix-dollars. The size of the fund was therefore not previously determined; it was not even divided into equal "shares" as is usually the case today. But this word appears in the articles, and means the unequal portions of the interested parties. The Company was to have nine directors, including the Admiral and Vice Admiral, who went with the Company's ships. Each of these directors must invest 4000 or at least 3000 rix-dollars in the Company. For their trouble they were to have a commission of 2 p.c. on the value of the goods on the outward, as well as the homeward voyage. They were to take an oath to the King to carry out their directorship honourably, and, as far as possible, were to settle the accounts at the outset of each expedition. The first voyage was to be undertaken with two ships, the second was not to be begun before one of the 2 first ships had arrived home and the third fleet was to leave a year after the departure of the second. As soon as there was a profit of 15 p.c. in the coffers a distribution was to be made to the shareholders. If Dutch, Portuguese,

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English or other ships caused the Company any injury, the King would support the Company so far as they were in the right. The Company's ships were to defend themselves against hostile violence and keep for it such captures as they might make, but the King was to have a third and the Chief Admiral a tenth of the clear profits from such captures. In acknowledgment of his patronage the Company paid to the King 2000 rose nobles on the first voyage, but on the following voyages the Company would pay duty on the imported and exported goods as was done in Holland according to the customs tariff printed at the Hague in 1609, or to other tariffs, which in the course of time might be printed and introduced by the Company.

The carrying out of this plan required time, which appears to have been spent in obtaining accurate and full details regarding the Dutch trade in the East Indies. For amongst the papers concerning the beginning of the Dutch Company, I find many Dutch treaties, printed and written, regarding the equipment of their ships, the instructions given to the sailors and so forth. Perhaps people were slow and hesitating in contributing towards the trade, which was not yet sufficiently well known in Denmark, and in which such great risks had to be taken. For in the list of first shareholders, in which the dates of investment are marked, there is nothing before 1618. The King himself only paid his contribution, which, with earnest money, amounted to 16,715 rix-dollars, on the 17th March, 8th May, and 13th June of this year. After a time, however, he gave further large sums. He has noted in his diary: On the 18th July 1618 I lent the directors of the East Indian expedition 12,000 dollars. On the 18th September I lent the East Indian company 16,750 rix-dollars. On the 30th November, I gave Christian Ulrich Guldenlowe 5000 dollars, which was invested in the East Indian trade. On the 13th November the directors received from me 9000 pieces of eight. Further, I lent Thomas Lork, Jacob Mickelsen, Claus Condevyn and John de Willem 4000 pieces of eight, to be used to the best advantage of the East India Company. On the 20th October 1619 I lent the burgomaster and Council of Malmo and the citizens there, 13,000 rix-dollars, which was invested in the East Indian Company. On the 20th October I handed to Johann de Willem 10,000 rix-dollars, which he was to use for the purchase of a ship for the East Indian trade. On the 8th December 9000 rix-dollars were sent to the Netherlands through Joh. de Willem's servants, to be spent on a ship there, the director's documents regarding which are there extant..

The zeal with which he pursued the affair enticed shareholders from all classes. Among them were many nobles, almost all the professors in Copenhagen and various town councillors from the smaller States. I will give the names of a few, particularly such as represent families still flourishing. Chief Admiral Albert Scheel took shares to the amount of 3630 rix-dollars. Heinrich Fuhren the elder 2093, Heinrich Fuhren the younger 1253, D. Jonas Carisius 1050, D. Caspar Berthelsen, the ancestor of the Bartholone, gave 315, Christian Vangeberg or Longomontan, the famous astronomer, 200, D. Thomas Fink a wealthy professor and treasurer of the University, 2100, the municipal authorities at Aalburg 5250, those at Ripen 2940, the town of Drontheim 2656 etc. To these

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the following must be added from a royal letter of the 29th July 1618 to Councillor Jonas Carisius and Michael Wibe : The directors of the East India company have pointed out that a considerable sum is still required for the equipment of the first ship. Since this trade will, with God's help, be to the advantage of our subjects, they should do all they can amongst people of wealth, in Copenhagen and elsewhere, to induce them to invest in the Company according to their capacity. This letter was received by many holders of property on November 25th 1618, requesting them to urge the wealthiest amongst their tenants to invest in the enterprise, since the King did not wish to carry on this trade with foreign money.

Conditions on the Coast of Coromandel

However useful it would be always to combine the history of European trade with accurate information regarding the countries where this trade was pursued, the wish is not always attainable, especially in the case of the East Indies, where neither the geography nor the history of the country has yet been sufficiently worked on. There is certainly no lack of written matter on the subject, partly translated from Oriental languages, and partly put together by travelled or well-read Europeans. French and English writers in particular have won distinction in this work, the former principally owing to the great store of Arabian, Persian, and other Oriental manuscripts which have been collected in the Royal Library at Paris, as appears from the writings of MM. Petit de la Croix, Herbelet, and Degguignes. They have also the descriptions of the travels of very able men in the previous century : Bernier, Thevenot and Tavernier. The English have more recently betaken themselves to a study of the Indies, for these countries only became of real importance to them after the great extension of their power and trade. There are also a fair number of Portuguese and Dutch who have worked on these materials, the former mostly in the sixteenth, and the latter in the seventeenth century. But their very number makes it more difficult to obtain trustworthy evidence, since one does not know whom to trust. The authors of the Newer Universal History of the World consider the history of the Mogol Kingdom, published by Franz Catrou, from which Baron Holberg principally borrowed the discription of the lives of Akbar and Aurenzeb in his History of the Heroes, as practically nothing better than a novel.

The Work of Prince v. Migomme from his Voyage from Ceylon in 1615 till his Death in 1619

The activities of this Dutchman among his own countrymen are to be found clearly set forth in Baldeus, but his business in Denmark must be described from local sources. He left Ceylon with a permit from the Emperor on May 9, 1615, and on the 2nd June arrived at Masulipatam, where he fell in with the Dutch Director and excise officer, Hans v. Hase. The latter took him with him to Bantam, on the island of Java, to advise upon the question of the assistance asked for by Ceylon. But the Dutch general there, Gerhard Reynst, had just died, and his countrymen in the East Indies were so much occupied with other matters, that they could not think about Ceylon. It was therefore decided that Boschouwers, who always assumed the title of prince of Migomme, should go himself to

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Holland, to lay the commission with which he had been entrusted before the States General, the Prince of Orange, and the directors of the East India Company. Here, according to Baldeus, he was annoyed because the Dutch did not shew him the honours due to his rank of prince and imperial ambassador. This of itself is quite credible, but was not the principal cause of his turning to Denmark. For, as he himself points out in the negotiations with Giedde, the authority he had received from the emperor did not apply only to the Dutch, but, in the event of their refusal, to such other powers as might be prepared to come to his support. And the Dutch, who were prudent enough to do one thing at a time, had at that time neither the will nor the power to meddle in Cingalese affairs. It was all important for them to establish themselves as the premier power, with the exception of the English, in the Moluccas. Their cruel treatment of the English in Amboina in the year 1623, is a proof how far they were carried by jealousy. When, therefore, Boschouwers heard of the formation of an East India Company in Denmark, which was seeking a suitable locality for a colony in Asia, nothing was more natural than that he should see in this an opportunity of furthering his mission. No doubt the Dutch were not pleased at this step on the part of Boschouwers. But they were still far from being in a position to enforce a monopoly of the navigation to the East Indies, and they did not, therefore, hinder him, any more than many others of their merchants and sailors who took service with Denmark at that time. The Dutch, rather, made every possible effort to be on good terms with Denmark The condition of Europe, shortly before the outbreak of the Thirty Years ' War, which appeared to threaten equally the Protestant religion and the liberty of the Dutch, necessitated their seeking the friendship of the court of Great Britain, and also that of Denmark, which had just made an alliance with the former. The published letters of the contemporary English ambassador at the Hague, Dudley Carleton, provide complete and trustworthy evidence as to the relations between Denmark and Holland in the years 1616—20. On the Danish side the imperial councillor, Andreas Sinklar, and the King's councillor, Jonas Carisius, frequently came to Holland, and in February 1618 the latter brought a declaration by the King regarding the trade to the East Indies. And on the Dutch side an imposing embassy went to Denmark about the middle of 1618, at the moment when the preparations for the equipment of the East Indian fleet were in full swing. I have given a detailed account of this in the History of King Christian IV, Vol. III, page 89. The King demanded an assurance from this embassy, that the States General would give orders in the East Indies, that no obstruction would be offered to the Danish vessels there. So writes Carleton on November 3, 1618, and adds " As the order on this point has not yet gone forth, and a Danish ship has already sailed for the East Indies in anticipation of it, it will give a new occasion for ill-feeling between the two nations." Moreover this ship was openly bought in Holland for the service of the Danish Company ; and on the 26th November, 1618, a royal rescript was issued to Ove Giedde : It is true that some time ago Danes and Norwegians were prohibited from taking service on ships of other nations, but from a desire to oblige the States General, his particular friends, the King will be content that any Danish subjects in the Dutch service whom he may chance to meet on his voyage to the

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East Indies shall not be interfered with on that account. All these circumstances shew the real relations of Denmark and Holland in regard to this trade in quite another light from that in which one regards it after reading Baron Holberg's narrative, which in turn is founded on the short account by Baldeus, a man who was writing long after the Peace of Westphalia, at a time when Holland already had completely the upper hand in the East Indian trade and did not hesitate to show her jealousy of other nations.

According to him, Boschouwers did not come to Denmark as a traitor to his countrymen, and not even with their open disapproval. He came there in November, 1617, as the King himself notes in his diary " On November 7th an ambassador from the King of Celo in India came to Friedrichsburg. On the 8th the King of Celo's ambassador had an audience with me."

In view of the circumstances described in Chapter 3, there is no doubt that the expedition to the East Indies had been determined upon nearly two years before Boschouwers' arrival, and would have materialised without any aid from him. I have already quoted in 3 the remarks regarding its establishment made by Prof. Worm, one of the first shareholders in the East India Company, as early as August 18, 1616. The words " a certain Dutchman " who would shew the Danes the way to the Indies, do not mean Boschouwers. For he could not even have arrived in Holland from the East Indies by then, as the dates at the begining of this Chapter shew. They must therefore mean Roelant Crape, whose proposal, which was especially entrusted to him to carry through, really had for its objective the princedom of Tanjore.

But Boschouwers' proposition opened new vistas to the already established East India Company. The ruler of one of the richest countries of Asia, where the Dutch had not yet by any means an assured position, and which was close to Tanjore, was ready, in return for assistance in the form of a considerable body of soldiers, whom he wished to use against unruly subjects, and also, if need be, against the Portuguese, to grant most important trade concessions.

In the main one cannot deny the claim of Boschouwers to be a genuine ambassador from the emperor of Ceylon. But in minor matters, by which he thought to make his negotiations easier, he was obviously guilty of deceit. He feared that the letters of authorisation with which he was provided might not be sufficient to command the King's confidence. He therefore manufactured some for himself. They are still preserved among the royal secret archives, and I will describe their external form as well as their contents. They are written simultaneously in Malabar and Portuguese, on a strong kind of paper of the sort ordinarily used by us. The Malabar has a strange covering, for on both sides of each written sheet are fastened two clean sheets and sealed backwards and forwards on to the thread with ordinary gum, altogether 25 times. This cover has only been cut in some places, so that in its present condition the whole of the text in Malabar cannot be seen ; presumably those who examined the credentials contented themselves with the Portuguese translation written and uncovered on the same paper. The great imperial seal, as it is called in the document, hanging to it, is stamped on red sealing-wax, and is of

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rather clumsy workmanship. It consists of a shield divided in accordance with the rules of heraldry, and containing about ten separate, and not easily distinguishable coats-of-arms. The shield is surrounded by the chain of an order, and over this is suspended a great crown. The authority is dated the 22nd March 1615, at the imperial camp at Dombre. The Titles attributed to Boschouwers are Prince of Migomme, of Couklekorle etc., Chief of the Order of the Golden Sun, President of the High Council and the War Council, second in the Secret Council, Admiral, and Captain General of the Sea in the Empire of Ceylon. The purport of the letters is in the first place to crave help from the Dutch ; and, if the appeal is unsuccessful, to declare the previous treaty void and the Dutch a hostile and faithless people. And further, inasmuch as our trust in Marcelo, Prince of Migomme, by reason of his wisdom, is as great as in our own person, we give him full authority to negotiate with other Kings, princes and high personages regarding the aforementioned treaty or to make new treaties and pledge himself in our name.

All the circumstances cited by Ove Giedde shew that these letters of authorisation of Boschouwers were forged, although Giedde himself found difficulty in believing it, and always tried to assert the contrary to the emperor. The emperor's secretary said this on first looking at the document, the emperor himself declared it many times, and adhered to it even when he signed the treaty. He laughed when, during the interview, Ove Giedde gave him his full title, in the form prescribed by Boschouwers, and asked what the Golden Sun meant. He was angry, too, with Martin Finche and Peter von Zante, two Dutchmen who had accompanied Boschouwers to Denmark, because he believed them to have been privy to the fraud which had been perpetrated. This cannot all be regarded as mere sham, when one considers the appearance and substance of the letters of authorisation, and compares them with the treaty actually signed and sealed in Giedde's presence. For the two documents, the one genuine and the other highly suspicious, which were supposed to emanate from the same ruler, differ from each other in every respect, in titles, seal and in their whole aspect. I shall describe the genuine document in Chapter 8. There are plenty of external signs of forgery in the other, which are easily detected from the foregoing description. I will therefore confine myself to the contents. It is not likely that a ruler who always placed his highest hopes on the support of the Dutch, and who could have but little knowledge of other European nations besides them and the Portuguese, should have made use, in letters which were to be presented first of all to the Dutch, of the following provocative words : In the case of refusal, he would regard them as a hostile and faithless people. Boschouwers appears to have chosen this expression in order to increase the impression made by his mission in Denmark.

In virtue of the credentials he had presented, he concluded with King Christian, on March 30th 1618 at Copenhagen, a treaty of alliance and commerce, the original of which, signed by Boschouwers, I have before me at this moment. It is drawn up in Dutch, and consists of 9 parchment sheets in large quarto. From it hangs the seal of Prince v. Migomme in red wax in a silver capsule. It is beautifully engraved, although the alleged imperial seal, on the other hand, was done so badly. Possibly

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he had the latter made in a hurry during his voyage to Denmark, while his own was manufactured at greater leisure. The escutcheon of the Prince of Migomme contains 15 separate coats-of-arms quite different from the imperial ones, and is decorated with the sham order of the Golden Sun. The legend on the seal is M. Deyo Piagetty Migomme Bandar. The treaty is very circumstantial, and the substance is as follows. A seven years' alliance has been made between the King of Denmark and the Emperor of Ceylon, and for such time the King promises to support the Emperor of Ceylon against his rebellious subjects, and, to this end, to hand over for his sole use ships, ammunition and 300 tried soldiers. For this, full compensation will be granted to the King of Denmark immediately on the arrival of the fleet, and, in addition, a magnificent reward will be given him in return for the assistance he renders, and the risk he runs without receiving any previous benefit.

For twelve years the Danes shall have the monopoly of the trade with Ceylon, and after the lapse of that time shall have, at any rate, a preference over other nations. It was further agreed in this treaty that Cingalese subjects should go to Denmark in furtherance of the trade as well as Danes to Ceylon. The Emperor of Ceylon was therefore to maintain a permanent ambassador or agent in Denmark, and both potentates should levy customs in equal proportions on the goods going to and coming from Ceylon. But the duty should only be paid in Denmark, and the share of the Emperor of Ceylon should be received by his ambassador there. The duty on goods from Ceylon to Denmark was to be 6 per cent, but on those from Denmark to Ceylon only 1 to 2 per cent. But for the first voyage no duty at all would be charged. The Emperor of Ceylon was to assist the Danes to establish trade with other places in India, both in the islands and on the mainland. The Emperor of Ceylon promises to further the Christian faith in his country according to the Augsburg confession.

Who, on comparing this treaty with the account of Ceylon set forth in Chapter 5, does not perceive that some of the features are impracticable, nay, chimerical. One is forced to the conviction that Boschouwers deceived the King in this almost more than in the forged letters of authorisation. It is obvious that he must have represented the power and wealth of the empire of Ceylon as far greater than the reality. We know that, even at the present day, none of the people in the East Indies are sufficiently enterprising to sail to Europe. Yet Boschouwers makes his Emperor promise reciprocity of trade and navigation, this Emperor who was almost without ships, and whose best harbours were in the possession of the Portuguese. This would have been equally outside the power of the so-called Cingalese emperor even if his circumstances had not changed so much for the worse after Boschouwers' departure, as was actually the case. People in Denmark placed too much confidence in this foreign Prince, when it is remembered that they had not such trustworthy information regarding India as can now be obtained. Relying on him, and as a result of the treaty, a twofold trading company was formed, one, which was really established, *i.e.*, for Danes trading to Ceylon, and another, which at first was represented by the person of

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Boschouwers alone, *i.e.*, for Cingalese trading to Denmark. Both companies, according to the treaty, were to be amalgamated as regards customs, and if such a reciprocal trade had actually materialised, the Danes would certainly have derived the greatest advantage from it. It was to this hoped-for amalgamation that Boschouwers desire, expressed during the voyage, to have a picture of both rulers, clasping each other's hands, painted on a captured ship, referred, and Ove Giedde's repeated offer to the Emperor of Ceylon to divide equally with him the value of the prizes already taken, and which might be taken in the future. This explains also Roelant Crape's request regarding the two companies. But clearest of all is the heading of the statement of accounts in the same part: Expenditure of the Amalgamated East India Company of Denmark and Ceylon. The result of this treaty, apparently so advantageous to Denmark, was as a matter of fact very injurious. For, since it was taken for granted that they would be able to raise a considerable sum of money as soon as they arrived in Ceylon, (Ove Giedde reckoned the compensation which, according to the treaty, the emperor would pay on his arrival, at 94,449 rix-dollars) the Danish ships took with them only a moderate stock of goods and money to start the trade, as may be seen from the statement of accounts (in St. II p. 187 and 188). And the lack of money was a principal reason why the first voyage was not more successful.

During his stay in Copenhagen Boschouwers was treated to various festivities and marks of favour. The King noted in his diary " On April 1618 I entertained the ambassador from India " A son was born to him, to whom the King stood godfather, and whom he named Christian after himself. And for this reason Giedde gave the son, who died on the voyage, a solemn funeral in Ceylon. Boschouwers also received, while he was in Denmark, a handsome sum of money. For the statement of accounts shows that 5371 rix-dollars were given to him at the Company's expense. But in carrying out the enterprise suggested by him they did not put themselves entirely in his hands. Thus it was decreed, in the last article of the treaty, that he should not land in Ceylon until another of the principal subjects of the emperor came on board the Danish fleet, and that until the treaty had been carried out, his family, property, and suite should remain on the ships.

He had no part in the leadership of the fleet which went to the East Indies, and was not even on the same ship as the chief commander, Ove Giedde, but on the second largest ship, the David. During the voyage he complained many times of the latter's behaviour, and Ove Giedde himself mentions these complaints here and there in his diary, from March 27th 1619 on. The first ground for these was probably that the Dutch traders and sailors, of whom there were a large number in the Dutch fleet, sided rather with Boschouwers, as their countryman, than with Ove Giedde. While they were lying off the Green Cape the latter punished a Dutch sailor named Jans Janssen very severely for his frivolity, as he called it, and for the lies which he told the Imperial ambassador, and by means of which he almost persuaded the Dutch and other foreigners to rebel against our countrymen. From this time forward the greatest mistrust existed between them. It may be that Boschouwers was of an

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impatient and hasty temperament, as Giedde declares in a letter written during the voyage, which Holberg quotes—History of Denmark, Part II, p. 661. But the Danish commander was not blameless. I have already, in the story of his life, touched upon his extreme severity, which appears clearly enough from his own diary. The complaints of his self-will and want of judgment in maritime and commercial matters are too common for one to be able entirely to absolve him. More will appear in the sections following. In his annoyance with Ove Giedde, Boschouwers seems to have tried to separate from the rest of the fleet off the west coast of Africa. But his ship was brought back, Giedde changed the officers who had been too subservient to Boschouwers, and so arrived simultaneously with Boschouwers at the Cape of Good Hope. Here the last and most violent quarrel took place between them. Boschouwers and others of the leading men in the fleet had given letters for Copenhagen to the English fleet they met there, containing a report of the progress of the voyage, and the causes of their dissatisfaction with Ove Giedde and other Danish soldiers. The commander ordered these letters to be brought back to him; he opened one which the ambassador had written or dictated himself, and ordered that no letters should be sent to Europe from the fleet unless they had first been read and approved by the Great Council. He also made representations to the ambassador regarding the affair, as he himself states, through the Danish nobles Thyge Stygge and Erich Grubbe. The ambassador was greatly incensed over this proceeding, and entered a solemn protest against it, with which the customs and revenue officers of the fleet associated themselves. I have before me both the reprimand and the protest. They are drawn up in Dutch, and dated at Table Bay, July 21 and 24, 1619. As to which of the parties was in the right can only be decided by reference to the King's instructions, but one cannot blame the ambassador for regarding the opening of his letter as a great insult. Giedde's excuse was that such letters might fall into the wrong hands, and reveal their weakness to enemies (if any existed). The other side considered this a hollow excuse, and pointed out that it was their duty to give a true report of the condition of the fleet to the East India Company in Copenhagen. In spite, however, of all the efforts of the Danish Commander to suppress this correspondence, various letters did arrive in Copenhagen written from Table Bay in July 1619, and they shew Ove Giedde, and others in whom he put the greatest confidence, in no favourable light. I have before me an extract from these letters, made at the time.

After this violent quarrel Boschouwers, who, even at the Cape, was very ill, seems to have tried once more to separate from Ove Giedde, in spite of the fact that the latter once more changed the officers on the David. And on Aug. 30, 1619, he succeeded, either by chance, or intentionally, and with the consent of the crew. For in the southern regions below Africa the ship David lost touch with the fleet, and arrived in Ceylon somewhat earlier than the rest of them, so that Giedde did not see it again till May 1620. Then he was informed that the ambassador of Ceylon and his son had died as long as eight months before, in Stephan V. Hagens Bay, where they had taken in provisions. (St. II p. 3.) His death took place, therefore, in October 1619.

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According to this, Baron Holberg's view (Danish History II p.334,5) that Boschouwers' death did not occur till after Ove Giedde's arrival in Ceylon, or that it was concealed by him from some strange political motive, is unfounded. Holberg derives it from a treaty quoted by him, in which Boschouwers, or Prince V. Migomme, is spoken of as though he were alive. He need, however, only have looked at the date and contents of this treaty, to see that it was not concluded by Ove Giedde in Ceylon, but by Boschouwers himself at Copenhagen, with King Christian IV, and that it is none other than the one of March 30, 1618, described above.

The Emperor of Ceylon seemed to take Boschouwers' death to heart, without, however, showing the least suspicion. For as soon as he was informed of it he sent several people to comfort Migomme's widow, and he also promised Ove Giedde to make a grant to her of some villages in Ceylon for her maintenance. And some of the leading Cingalese who had known him, came on board the ship David to see the corpse. This, with the widow and all the property he had left, remained on the ship for some time, while Ove Giedde was awaiting the result of his negotiations with the Emperor. But after he realised that Boschouwers had gone beyond the authority given him by the Emperor and had acted contrary to the real interest of his King, he had his estate filed in September 1620, in order that he might obtain some compensation from it. We do not find that the Emperor made any objection to this proceeding, but that, on the contrary, the estate was actually used by the Danes for the furtherance of their trade. The widow was allowed to keep some of her property and a maid to attend her. She first betook herself to Kandy. Ove Giedde wrote to her that if she was not receiving ample maintenance at the Imperial Court, she might go to Tranquebar. This she did shortly after, and ended her life at this place, according to Baldeus. Roelant Crape offered to Ove Giedde to look after her there, until instructions regarding her arrived from Denmark.

7. Voyage of the first Danish fleet to the East Indies.

In Chapter 3 it was shewn that the decision to embark on this trade was taken before anything was known of any Prince V. Migomme in Denmark. In the first place the principal scheme aimed at establishing trade with the principality of Tanjore, and Roelant Crape was probably the originator. Hence it happened that he was sent off more than three months before Ove Giedde and Boschouwers with a single yacht called the Sound. But when the negotiations with Boschouwers made Ceylon the principal objective of Danish trade, Crape received instructions to set his course thither first of all, and to inform the emperor of the imminent arrival of his ambassador, and of the assistance he had obtained. The King has noted the departure of this ship in his diary in the following words. " On the 18th August 1618, our yacht sailed from Kronenburg on its way to the East Indies and the Kingdom of Ceylon. May God favour it and guide it safely ". The voyage of this vessel was successful until its arrival. Crape reached Ceylon some time before Ove Giedde, and brought the emperor the joyful news of the fleet that was following him. But here disaster soon overtook him. The catastrophe certainly seems to have been due to his want of foresight, although he excused

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himself by saying that he had not received sufficient instructions. It was certainly not the wish of King Christian IV to treat another European nation in the East Indies as enemies without provocation, for he always maintained good relations with the King of Spain and Portugal, Philip III, although it was owing to the Portuguese that the Cingalese enterprise came to grief. Crape asserted that, without receiving precise instructions when he started, he was only accredited to the emperor of Ceylon, and that the latter was committed to hostilities against the Portuguese. He captured from them 5 loaded vessels called sampans. But the Portuguese, who were all-powerful in these regions, surprised his ship, the Sound, in the harbour of Karchall in the principality of Tanjore. As a result of this attack the ship went ashore, and Crape and some of the crew, 13 in all, were saved. But the rest were killed or taken prisoners by the Portuguese, and two of them were executed as pirates. The Naiche of Tanjore, whom Crape seems to have known before, took those who escaped under his protection, and maintained them until Ove Giedde's arrival. He also assigned to Crape the town of Tranquebar, in order, as the latter always asserted, to compensate him and the survivors of the crew of the Sound for their arrears of pay.

Such was the evil fate of the ship which went out as the fore-runner of the fleet.* This did not all consist of ships belonging to the Company, which in Giedde's writings are all called civic ships, but the King, at his own expense, equipped the Elephant and the David, because he had promised the emperor of Ceylon support in the shape of 300 soldiers and ammunition. This equipment was in no way charged to the Company, although it benefited so much by it, and hence no trace of it appears in the statement of accounts in Part II. The King hoped to receive his indemnification direct from the emperor of Ceylon, in accordance with Boschouwers' treaty, and hence it arose that Ove Giedde, as the King's Commander, often regarded his lord's interest as distinct from that of the company. The two ships belonging to the Company, which were added to those of the King, were named the Christian and the Copenhagen. In addition, a Dutch flag ship accompanied them, but only as a provision and dispatch boat and she returned home from the Green Cape. It is clear, therefore, that this fleet is wrongly given in Baron Holberg's History Pt. II p. 659. For the yacht Sound did not belong

*On 13 Decr. 1618 the Seventeen wrote from Amsterdam to the Governor General and Council that in September a ship sailed from Denmark for India, that four more vessels were ready in November, with Ceylon as their destination; and suggested that this was due to the instigation of Marcellis Michiels who called himself Ambassador from Ceylon. These ships must be watched to prevent their infringing the Company's right.

On 24th Nov. 1618 King Christian informed the States General of the proposed expedition and asked for friendly treatment. The States General replied on 4th Jan. 1619 with an assurance of friendliness so long as its Company's privileges were not infringed, but it could not consent to any of its own subjects who had served its Company, transferring his services to the Danes.

See also letter from Andries Soury, Masulipatam, 3 Aug. 1621. He finishes "Such is the history and the end of the miserable Danish voyage, full of discords, quarrels, fights and murders."

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to it. Neither did the Patience set out with Ove Giedde from Copenhagen but was taken from a pirate off the Green Cape. The Dutch flagship, on the other hand, was dismissed at this place.

The expenses of the Company in fitting out these ships are reckoned in the contemporary records at 154,422 rix-dollars. It is remarkable that even then Spanish pieces of eight were being sent to the East Indies; remarkable too that they did not require to be fetched from Cadix, but came from the Royal treasury, as is proved by the passages quoted from the diary of Christian IV in Chapter 3. The cash which they took, which is included in the above sum, amounted to 31,500 rix-dollars. Amongst these was a considerable quantity of lead and tin. There is also another interesting detail, to which the King refers, in this equipment: On June 30th 1618 I gave Ellen Marsvin (the mother of his wife, Christina Munk) 3,537½ dollars for 283 oxen which were slaughtered for the East Indian expedition.

Events and Negotiations in Ceylon after the arrival of the Danish Fleet

As soon as he arrived in Ceylon, Ove Giedde found his most cherished hopes shattered. There he heard for the first time of the death of Boschouwers, then that Roelant Crape had lost his ship and with the remnant of his crew was in necessitous circumstances, and also that the so-called emperor of Ceylon was not the mighty ruler that he had been represented to be in Denmark. Further, since the occurrence with regard to Crape's ship, he had to be prepared for the open hostility of the Portuguese. His first endeavour was to see what could still be obtained from the emperor, his second to get into communication with Crape, as a man who knew the country. A Cingalese ruler, of whom he had not previously heard, and who, it seems, had only recently come into prominence, King Mayadunne, at once caused him embarrassment. From the very beginning he made him large offers; but Giedde wished to follow his instructions, and these directed him to apply to the emperor alone. But the latter himself created the final difficulty, for, from fear of the Portuguese, he allied himself with his rival Mayadunne, and even conducted his negotiations with Ove Giedde through him.

On May 26, 1620 the Danish Commander wrote to the Emperor, that he had come to his support with 5 well-manned ships. He would negotiate with him as soon as the sum due under the treaty, which he reckoned at 94,449 dollars, had been paid. Thereupon he sailed from Panua to the Bay of Trincomalee, lying at the mouth of the main river which flows past Kandy between the provinces of Trincomalee and Kottariya, and he made use of the services of the Kings of both these countries to carry on futher negotiations with the emperor; but he could not immediately arrange for his people to go to Kandy, because the emperor was said to have forbidden it.

Not till June 24th did Ove Giedde receive a direct answer from the emperor by two delegates, *i.e.* a secretary, who spoke Portuguese, and afterwards accompanied the Danish leader, and a Modeliar or noble of the Cingalese court. Since, however, the emperor's letter contained no reference to the hoped-for indemnity, Giedde showed the ambassador

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the treaty concluded by Boschouwers and his alleged authority, which they at once declared to be false. Thereupon Giedde, the very next day, sent Melchior Bodicher with one of the deceased Bochouwers' own servants, to Kandy, to lay before the emperor the terms of the treaty. Soon after he also succeeded in sending two Danish officers, accompanied by the Cingalese Secretary, to Kandy, while the Modeliar remained on the ship as hostage for their safety. The Danish delegates were Lieut. Heinrich Hass, one of the most trusted men in the Company's service, and Jan Peterson, a mate. I have before me, in a strange hand, a report in German which they sent to Ove Giedde, giving an account of their mission. They left the Bay of Trincomalee on June 28th and arrived in Kandy on July 8th, where they at once had an audience, and presented a new dispatch from their commander, as well as an extract from the treaty concluded at Copenhagen. On the 10th of July they were again summoned, and the emperor, whom in their narrative they merely call the King of Kandy, assured them that the only authority he had given his ambassador was to form an alliance with other European nations on exactly the same terms as that he himself had previously made with the Dutch. Not a single clause in the treaty was drafted with his knowledge, except that regarding the Christian religion; to that he had agreed. Neither had his ambassador informed him, in the letters he had received through Crape, of the burdens entailed upon him, and in particular, of the immense cost of the munitions and men, but had only rejoiced his heart by the news of his imminent return and the assistance he was bringing with him. He was, however, unwilling to lose the friendship of the King of Denmark, and he was prepared to make a new treaty, and to send an embassy to Denmark for this purpose. At the same time the emperor asked whether, supposing he managed to pay the charges demanded of him, such large expenditure must always be associated with any assistance he might receive from the Danes. He sent messages begging Ove Giedde and the other Danish leaders to be his friends, and to do their utmost for him with the King of Denmark, for he was not to blame for what had occurred. He also gave the delegates a letter for the King of Denmark, and another to Ove Giedde. On July 29th they were back at the Bay of Trincomalee, with the Cingalese Secretary.

The same day Ove Giedde, who was then lying ill, summoned the Great Council to ask their opinion of this difficult question. The members of this assembly replied that they did not know what to advise, and could take no part in the matter beyond following his instructions. The commander sternly insisted that they should express their views, otherwise he would find himself under the necessity of appointing others to the Great Council in their place. They consulted among themselves, and, according to Giedde, out of spite against him, decided that he should go to Kandy himself to make the best terms possible with the emperor. He at once made preparations for the journey, and in the mean time the Cingalese Secretary made him the following new offer: The Danes might have two fortresses in Ceylon and a warehouse in Kandy itself. One fortress was to be situated on the Bay of Trincomalee, and the emperor himself would lend assistance in building it. He would grant the Danes a selling preference over other nations. Giedde, on

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the other hand, insisted with threats, on the fulfilment in every detail of the treaty made by Boschouwers. He first went with the ships Elephant and Patience from the Bay of Trincomalee to Matecalou, in the Kingdom of Palligamme, partly because there were more provisions to be obtained there for the ships, and partly, too, because the land route to Kandy was shorter and easier from there. On the 8th of August he began the journey by land, accompanied by the Cingalese Secretary,, the above mentioned Heinrich Haess, Peter V. Sante and others, and Martin Finche was taken as Portuguese interpreter. The way, which according to the map, could scarcely have been 20 geographical miles, proved to be difficult, for the inhabitants, in many pla. es, had left their homes in a panic and there was therefore a shortage of provisions. Giedde did not get to Kandy ; and the emperor may have had his reasons for not receiving him there, possibly because the town had been devastated during the war with the Portuguese. He met him at Venthanen, the capital of a principality. The meeting did not take place until August 17th, and no particular ceremony was observed, beyond the fact that Giedde was conducted to the emperor to the sound of music. He delivered his address in German, and it was repeated by the interpreter in Portuguese. The emperor at once replied that he could not understand the nature of the treaty made by his ambassador. Giedde offered to explain it in detail, which he did the same evening. It was during this audience that the emperor laughed at the title conferred upon him, and even asked what the Order of the Golden Sun meant, of which he was made a Master. When Giedde, astonished at such a question, asked whether he should strike out the title, the imperial secretary naively replied that it might as well remain, for it did no harm. At the next audience Giedde continued to insist upon the fulfilment of Boschouwers, treaty in every particular, and treated all the assertions of the emperor very unreasonably, it appears to me, as falsehoods and excuses. He even urged his proposals by means of grave threats, which more than once alarmed the emperor, who was keenly anxious for foreign help against the Portuguese. In the end the emperor made a perfectly reasonable objection : even if he could manage to pay the sum demanded of him, he would still lack money to trade in accordance with the terms of the treaty, so that nothing would be gained by it. To this Giedde replied that the two treaties which had been made, the one with the King, the other with the Danish company, were two different things, and the one would exist without the other. And the fulfilment of the commerical treaty would be an easy matter, for, according to its provisions, all profits would be equally divided between Denmark and Ceylon, and the booty captured on the voyage thither already amounted to a considerable sum. By this he meant what had been obtained by the capture of the two ships off the Green Cape and from the derelict vessel at the entrance to the Red Sea. By pointing out these advantages to the emperor, he almost persuaded him. For he at once offered to make Ove Giedde a prince and admiral in Boschouwers' place, and even to give him the latter's possessions. But the same day, after considering the obnoxious treaty more carefully, he once more asserted its invalidity. It is therefore clear that the difficulties involved in these negotiations were not caused by Boschouwers' death, as is universally assumed by

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Baldeus, Baron V. Holberg and others, but by the nature of the affair itself, and perhaps also by the marked change which had taken place in affairs since Boschouwers left Ceylon. The emperor was not then rich enough to raise on the spot the sum of nearly 100,000 rix-dollars demanded of him for ammunition and soldiers. Moreover, it was a serious matter for him to break with the Portuguese again, without adequate support, after he had been forced to conclude peace with them three years earlier. It was for this reason that on Giedde's arrival his people enquired so anxiously what the real strength of the Danes was. On embarkation the soldiers had numbered 300, and perhaps in a country like Ceylon even these might have been able to accomplish something. But on their arrival their numbers were greatly reduced, some were ill, and not a few had died or run away while they were lying off Ceylon and Tanjore. In addition, Giedde had no instructions from his King to carry on indirect hostilities against the Portuguese. At last the emperor himself seems to have realised that it would not be easy to establish trade from Ceylon to Denmark, which was one of the principal points in the treaty. Instead he repeated the offer to make an agreement with Denmark, such as he had previously made with Holland, by which the fortresses which were taken from the Portuguese by their joint efforts should be divided between the conquerors. He also volunteered to send ambassadors to Denmark, and shewed the greatest readiness to do anything else that was asked of him. In fact he accepted with joy Giedde's proposal that a Danish fortress should at once be erected in his country.

Difficult as these negotiations were to set going they were nevertheless completed within four days, because the emperor was making a good bargain for himself After many refusals Ove Giedde at last found himself committed to the conclusion of an entirely new treaty. It was drawn up at Venthanen on Aug. 25th, in Portuguese, which is expressly declared to be the language of the original, and translated by the Secretary into Cingalese. But the emperor first examined its provisions very closely and rejected certain points suggested by Giedde. This treaty is extant in Portuguese in the archives; the Imperial signature only is in the native tongue. There are two other oriental characters beneath it also, which probably represent the signature of the emperor's ministers. The external appearance is, as was pointed out in Chapter 6, different in every particular from Boschouwers' forged authority, and amply shews that the Emperor was not wrong in his assertions that this was false. The seal here is quite small and almost unnoticeable, and not, as in the case of the letters of authorisation, suspended, but impressed on a silken thread. It is curious that the title of Cenvirad Adassin, as he signs himself here, is made a very long winded affair, when in the interview with Giedde, he only used the title of King of Kandy. For as a matter of fact, he styles himself Emperor of Ceylon, and, in the list of his provinces, King, prince, duke and count in order of importance. He also signs himself chief Master of the Golden Sun. The apparent contradiction of what was said above on this point is explained by the fact that the emperors of Ceylon really had such a title, and that it indicated their claim to be descended from the first Chinaman to come to Ceylon (for both Cenvirad and his successors often use this title in

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the letters quoted by Baldeus) but that the chain of the Order of the Golden Sun was a pure invention of Boschouwers, of which no one in Ceylon had ever dreamed. The treaty which was concluded in Ceylon consists of 24 articles, and the basis of it would have been about as advantageous for Danish trade as that of Boschouwers', which was cancelled by it, if it had really been put into execution for any length of time. At the beginning it is expressly stated " Whereas Migommerale perpetrated all these things, including the letters and the treaties, falsely, without our orders or knowledge, we can neither be responsible for them, nor accept the obligations he incurred ".

The most important article, not hitherto mentioned by any writer, is the formal cession of the whole land of Trincomalee to the Danish throne. This country had not yet been invaded by the Portuguese, and, owing to the navigable bay into which falls the principal river of the island, which flows through Kandy, is very favourably situated. The cession is made on most advantageous terms for Denmark. Thus the second article says : The land of Trincomalee shall remain for ever in the possession of your Majesty and your successors the Kings of Denmark, and your Majesty may rule there as you please as in your Kingdom of Denmark. The only reservation made is, that if the emperor of Ceylon should capture from his enemies other lands and fortresses which would be as advantageous for the Danes as Trincomalee, an exchange may be effected. Meanwhile the King of Denmark promises to allow his subjects in the land of Trincomalee to visit the pagodas, until God Almighty shall enlighten them. Thus even the introduction of the Christian religion is expressly agreed to by this treaty. This consent had already been embodied in Boschouwers' treaty. and was the only point the emperor acknowledged to have been inserted with his consent. The other terms are that the ambassador may construct a fortress in the country as soon as he likes and may make it as large and garrison it as strongly as he pleases. The Emperor volunteers to contribute to the building of this 100 soldiers, 500 carpenters, and as many assistants, 15 to 20 smiths, and 12 bricklayers, as well as the necessary tools, and further to supply the garrison according to the numbers given by the ambassador, with victuals and other necessities at his own cost, such as rice, arrack, fish, meat, pepper, butter, oil, salt, honey and wax. He would also bring the whole of his force to the support of the fortress in case of hostile attack either before or after its completion. An almost more important article is, that any fortresses which may be captured by their joint efforts shall, together with their ammunition, belong to the King of Denmark alone, but the spoil shall be divided equally between the two rulers ; and that the Danes may build fortresses, not only in Trincomalee, but throughout the Kingdom of Ceylon, wherever they please, and that the emperor will assist them by supplying workmen, iron, wood, stone, and lime. With regard to trade, the following important concessions are granted. The emperor promises to help the Danish ships to obtain the cargoes they require, such as areca, cardamom, wax, cinnamon, pepper, crystal, ivory, pearls and other products speedily, and at the current prices in the country ; no other ships, therefore, shall take in cargoes before the Danes, who are to have

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the preference in the sale of linen and other goods marketable in Ceylon. In the 19th and 20th articles the emperor goes so far as to promise to allow no other European nations to trade in his lands, and expressly renounces his right to conclude commercial treaties with other Europeans. If the Danes desired ebony or other kinds of wood which were not to be found in their land of Trincomalee, they were to be free to cut such wood anywhere in Ceylon, and the emperor would give them workmen to fell the trees and bring the wood down to the ships. The Danes were to be free of duties throughout Ceylon, while, on the other hand, the duty on imports and exports in Trincomalee was to go to the King of Denmark, with the exception of those goods which the emperor ordered for his own use, carried by oxen, which were to be duty free. Stranded vessels and property belonging to the King of Denmark or his subjects were to be handed over to them untouched. Further, the King of Denmark, as well as the emperor himself, was to be allowed to coin larines, fanams and other units of money and no other ruler in Ceylon was to have this liberty.

A more advantageous commercial treaty can hardly be imagined. It is therefore quite untrue to allege, that the enterprise of the Danes in Ceylon failed owing to the death of Boschouwers, and that they had resort to the establishment of a Colony in Tranquebar in desperation. The fact that the treaty was so promptly concluded on these terms shows rather what a favourable opportunity it offered them. If it had not been for other circumstances prejudicial to their interests which nullified the agreement almost at once, the Danes would have obtained a monopoly of the trade in one of the finest countries of Asia and the Portuguese would not have had the power, nor the Dutch even the desire, to hinder them. These circumstances were, partly, the weakness of the fleet which was intended to prepare the way for their future fortunes, and, partly, the military preparations which Denmark was obliged to make immediately after Ove Giedde's return, in view of the unrest in Germany, and the war which broke out in 1625. The force which Ove Giedde had with him was too small. It was seriously weakened by disease during the lengthy voyage, and also during the stay in Ceylon, where Tyge Stygge and several officers died. In addition to this there were many cases of desertion, partly caused by Ove Giedde's excessive severity. Of the survivors, owing to the want of discipline amongst them and the constant misunderstanding existing between Ove Giedde and the principal traders, it was not possible to make much use. Besides this there was a shortage of money. In consequence of their overconfidence in Boschouwers' promises, they had not taken sufficient to cover the cost of the first cargoes, and the emperor had not the necessary funds to make them any advance.

Nevertheless much was done in the direction of carrying out the treaty. On Aug. 23, 1620, Ove Giedde took leave of the emperor. The latter presented him with some precious stones, and also originally with an elephant. The treaty provided that the King of Denmark hould receive a gift of two large elephants with their tusks, and two working elephants. In Giedde's narrative, however, only his own is mentioned, and this, as far as I can ascertain, did not get to Denmark. When it was shipped

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on board the sampan which had been hired for it, it put its foot through the bottom. By Aug. 30th Ove Giedde was with the fleet again. The first thing he intended to do, was to confiscate Boschouwers' property, in consequence of the fraud he had perpetrated, and to avenge himself on Peter V. Zante, as his accomplice. The latter had said that if he could go to the emperor himself he would still undertake to persuade him to carry out Boschouwers' treaty, especially with regard to the payment of the required sum. To this Giedde refused to consent, partly because he was amply convinced of the impracticability of the proposal, and partly because it would mean losing the favourable winds for their voyage to the coast of Coromandel. On the contrary, on Sept. 1st, he sentenced Peter v. Zante, as a wilful offender against the King's commands. His punishment was the forfeiture of his seat in the ship's council and of the privilege of eating and sleeping in the cabin. On Sept. 7th a Modeliar of the imperial court arrived at the fleet to repeat the Emperor's offer to assist in the construction of a fortress by supplying workmen, provisions and tools. But as Ove Giedde was hurrying away to the coast of Coromandel, he was obliged to leave the execution of the project to others. Little or nothing, however, appears to have been done during his absence; and the idleness and indiscipline amongst the Danish workers no doubt induced the same among their Cingalese assistants, and made the emperor himself more dilatory, or more cautious. As Ove Giedde was concerned at the delay, he sent Erich Grubbe, in December, from the coast of Coromandel to Ceylon to put matters straight. Not until March 25th 1625, (*sic*) was he himself again on the island. On his arrival, he learnt that the ship David had already sailed for Denmark again under Niels Rosenkranz. But this had not occurred without Giedde's knowledge. On the contrary we see from his diary that he had himself urged an early departure. The cargo of this ship consisted of ebony, which Giedde had ordered to be felled in Ceylon before his departure, and spices. The trade with Ceylon did, therefore, actually come into being, and the first ship that returned to Denmark, took in its cargo on the island and not at Tranquebar. In fact, Giedde obtained part of the cargo for his own ship, the Elephant, in Ceylon. It is to this that the words in the contemporary chronicle of Lambertus Alardus refers: Eodem anno (1622) Rex Daniae ex Ceilone Indorum insula binas naves ebeno et aromatibus onustas recepit. Ove Giedde would also have seen, on his return to Ceylon, the first Danish coin minted there in accordance with the treaty. It was a larine with the inscription: Don Erich Grubbe. It is astonishing that this Danish nobleman should have taken the liberty to put his own name on the new coin. He had only been in charge of affairs in Ceylon for a few months. He prefixed the "Don" to his name in imitation of the Portuguese, whose customs had been largely introduced in Ceylon. Besides this the reports which Giedde received were all unsatisfactory. Nothing had been done towards the building of the fortress; more, it appears, owing to the indiscipline prevailing among the Danish workmen than through the fault of the emperor or the inhabitants of Ceylon. For, as Giedde himself admits, the emperor had sent 60 men for the purpose. The Danish soldiers, on the other hand, had become unruly and had plundered their own ship, the Patience; indeed, according to reports

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received by Giedde, they had boasted that they would kill all the Danes. For these soldiers he had brought over were probably for the most part German mercenaries who were dissatisfied over their arrears of pay and the victuals provided for them. The great merchantman, Christian, had been sunk in the Bay of Trincomalee, and Ove Giedde found it impossible to salvage any part of the ship or the cannon it had carried, although he employed divers to make the attempt. The crew of this ill-fated ship afterwards went on board the Elephant, but only after receiving Giedde's assurance that no ill should befall them. The crews on the remaining ships became more and more insubordinate to Ove Giedde. Besides this, the emperor had promised, in his treaty, to send an embassy to Denmark with Giedde, and he assured him he had made arrangements for it. In view, however, of the Danish commander's long stay in the principality of Tanjore, he had dismissed the persons appointed to it, so that the embassy could not go. Giedde was very anxious, before his departure for Denmark, to obtain definite information from the emperor on all matters outstanding. He therefore sent the undertrader Martin Finche, to Kandy, the same man he had employed as interpreter the previous year in the negotiations over the treaty. And even he failed him. He apparently never delivered the letters, and, in Giedde's own words, ran away like a scoundrel. In this difficulty Erich Grubbe offered to go himself to the emperor with a fresh letter. Giedde did not want to postpone his departure for Denmark too long, and he therefore agreed with Erich Grubbe, who left Palligamme for Kandy on May 9, 1621, that he should only wait 8 or 9 days for his return. Nevertheless he waited there three weeks in vain, for he did not embark on the return voyage to Denmark until June 1, and then he had not heard anything of him. Giedde became alarmed lest Grubbe might have died; to satisfy himself he left letters for him and some money for his servants, and commended them to the care of the King of Palligamme, to whom he presented gifts on their behalf. However, no ill happened to Erich Grubbe in Ceylon, in fact, he returned from the East Indies shortly after Ove Giedde, probably on the ship Copenhagen. For in 1623 he went there a second time, as is related in Chapter 11. Some weeks before his departure, on the 12th May, Ove Giedde received another delegation from the emperor, who, however, knew nothing either of Martin Finche or Erich Grubbe. Two letters, brought by an imperial Modeliar, contained merely friendly greetings. The emperor asserted that he was relying on Danish support, although he was thereby exposing himself to much annoyance from the Portuguese. He begged Giedde to take charge of his affairs himself at the Danish court, as he could not send an embassy there. Now that he knew the strength of the enemy, *i.e.* the Portuguese, he must come to Ceylon again with a great fleet. Giedde replied in a threatening tone, still trying to force the emperor to pay a considerable sum in return for the men and munitions and telling him that otherwise he need expect no help. This excessive importunity was, if I am not mistaken, one of the chief faults in the conduct of the Danish commander. It was of no avail, for the poor sovereign had not the money to give away; it was wrong in itself, for the emperor had made perfectly just objections to Boschouwers' promises, and had shewn his readiness to meet the demands in another

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way; finally, it could only have the effect of weakening the love and trust of the emperor and his ministers. It was probably simply on this account that the East India Company was robbed of the more important advantages which would not have been lacking under a different administration and more favourable circumstances. Ove Giedde does not say whether he even left a small Danish colony behind him in Ceylon. He reports, however, that shortly before his departure, King Mayadunne begged him, with streaming eyes, to build a fortress in his territory, a request which Ove Giedde was obliged to refuse, for he was not even able to complete the fortress which he had planned in the Emperor's territory. According to his narrative no one appears to have remained in Ceylon except Erich Grubbe and his servants, and perhaps a few others. It may, therefore, be concluded that Roelant Crape was to manage the trade in Ceylon, temporarily, from Tranquebar.

EXTRACT FROM EDITOR'S PREFACE

(Translated from the German)

An account of the life of Ove Giedde appears in the funeral oration on him by Michael Henrichson, re-published in 1706 in the collected edition of his funeral orations. The story of his East Indian voyage also appears there, but is not so reliable as regards names of people and places as his own account.

In 1618 he was appointed Admiral to the fleet destined for the East Indies, and ambassador from the King to the Emperor of Ceylon and neighbouring Kings. The difficulties of the voyage were not only due to the fact that it was the first voyage undertaken by the Danes so far afield, and that much depended on its success, but also because the Cingalese ambassador, Migomme, who was accompanying the fleet, was not entirely to be trusted. There were many foreign merchants and sailors, particularly Dutch, on board, who gave rise to great discontent. They started December 29, 1618, and arrived May 18 1620. The length of time is not to be wondered at when one remembers how little experience there was of the monsoons and calms in the tropics, that his steersmen often went wrong, though Ove Giedde had a better idea of the direction but had to be guided by them, and that the ships which were often separated, anchored far more often than is the custom at the present day. He lingered, partly in Ceylon and partly on the coast of Coromandel, till May 1621, *i.e.*, a whole year, in order to settle the affairs of the King and of the new trading company. The return journey was much quicker than the outward one for he landed at Karmsund in Norway on February 4, 1622, and so was not much more than nine months on the way, though he stayed for some time in Table Bay, at St. Helena and at Plymouth.

The MS. is very valuable and it is doubtful whether the whole collection of accounts of sea and land voyages in England possesses a similar example *i.e.*, the first voyage of any nation to the East Indies written by the Admiral's own hand. It is clear that he presented the account just as it was to the Chancellor Friis Von Kragerup, so that he, and through him the King might see the whole account of his voyage. On the last page he says " On May 1st 1623 I delivered the above written diary. Offne Gedde mpp."

He had a double personality on this expedition as

(1) Admiral of the Danish Fleet.

(2) Ambassador from the King to the East Indies.

The account also is in two parts. The first contains the actual description from day to day, (*i.e.*, the diary) of the voyage out and back during more than three years. The second concerns his achievements as ambassador, and is also divided into two parts, the negotiations in Ceylon, and those in the kingdom of Tanjore on the coast of Coromandel.

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II

DIARY OF EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE IN CEYLON BETWEEN THE EMPEROR, HIS SUBJECTS, AND US, FROM MAY 18, 1620 TILL JUNE 1, 1621

MAY 1620

ON the 19th, the day after we had reached the Island of Ceylon and were lying by a shore called Panawa, we sent two boats with their crews to the shore, to ascertain the state of the country, as well as to purchase provisions for us which were brought out by ten or twelve persons. (omission from text). From these we guessed we were among subjects of the Portuguese, since they were dressed in the Portuguese fashion, and were besides courageous looking people, and we therefore sailed away the same day. However, we learnt at Palligamme, that their chief was Prince of Uva (who is called Antonius Baretto) who lived there with his people, and was an enemy of the King of Candia.

On May 23rd, the day after we had anchored under Palligamme the King sent out to us the mayor (alcair) of the town with an ambassador who offered us various refreshments.

On the 24th the King sent out some of his nobles to the ship and they desired me to go to the King on shore ; they meanwhile were to remain on the ship. However when I excused myself, and sent the King a present, according to the custom of the country, he sent his nephew with another gentleman on board to me, with kettle-drums, music and a great following who bade me welcome on the King's behalf.

On the 25th May, after the aforesaid gentlemen had returned to the shore, the King himself came out to me, and with great ceremony took a ring from his finger with a sapphire in it, and put it on my finger, and then he discoursed at such length on the opportunity offered to the King of Candia, the position of the Portuguese, and the arrival of the ambassadors and ourselves, that I soon learnt that there was nothing to be found in the land but lying and treachery, which I perceived this nation had learnt perfectly. And after I had discussed everything with him, and had bestowed gifts on him, I followed him in accordance with his desire to the shore, with the ship's boat fully manned. And when he had sent away all his people he had a piece of linen placed on some poles near the boat on the shore under which I took food with him, and then went on board. But he promised us Oxen, Wine and other provisions, none of which, however, we received.

On the 26th the King had sent his interpreter on the ship David, to look at the bodies of the ambassadors whom he had previously known, with the object of finding out whether we were of their complexion or not.

The same day I wrote a letter in German to the Emperor, which was read out to the great Council, in which I said: that since my most gracious lord had agreed through his Ambassador (as I had no doubt he had already been informed by Jachten) to assist him, we had come to his country with five fine ships and crews ; we desired therefore, that he would give

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orders that the sum promised in the agreement should be paid at the first opportunity. And after that was done I would go up to him myself, to carry out my instructions and settle matters in accordance with the agreement. And although his ambassador with his young son had died on the journey, his wife and ready counsellor was still on the ship and she would be allowed to talk with His Majesty, when he so desired. And this letter was despatched to the King of Candia by the hand of his followers.

On the 30th the aforesaid King came to me, bringing with him three people to look for our anchor, which had drifted away from the squadron, and a pilot to take us into the Bay of Trincomalee.

On the 4th of June, after we had reached the shore of Kottiyar on the 2nd, the King sent word to me at the same place, that the vessel lying off the shore belonged to the Portuguese, but they had abandoned it, and it was loaded with *areca*, which he asked us to take and pay him for when he would procure for us all the provisions we required.

On the 7th the King of Kottiyar replied to our request that our people might go to Candia, by saying that he had instructions from the King of Candia that when we arrived there, he was to let none of us go up to Candia, but only to receive letters from us and forward them to him. The reason was that our people would be killed by the Portuguese, who were scattered all over the country.

On the 9th I handed to the King of Kottiyar a letter for the emperor, whereupon he promised us an answer in eleven days ; on this I said that since I did not know whether my former letter had reached His Majesty, I now sent two of my lord's noble subjects to him, to whom His Majesty might explain everything concerning the agreement which had been made, and I also desired that he would send some of his nobles down to us with them, in order to comply with (the terms of) this agreement, from which great benefit and profit were to be expected. When the letter was written and the King of Candia would not allow any of our people to take it, I wrote underneath : that although the King of Kottiyar would not allow any of my followers to go to him, I did not doubt that he would either come to us in his own person, or send down some of his nobles to us who would be able to carry out all that had been promised.

The same day the King of Kottiyar requested that if the great King Mayadunne desired to treat with us we would not do so, but would stand by the King of Candia to whom we had been sent.

A little while after there came on board two ambassadors from the aforesaid great King Mayadunne, who is the true heir to Ceylon, and begged me to send him word on which part of the shore I would speak with him, so that he might come to me there ; and they informed me that four or five places in the country of Ceylon were enough for him, the rest he would give to my lord. Thereupon I sent answer, that I had nothing to say to him, but if he wished to speak with me, he might come to the ship, whereupon they took their leave.

On the 14th of June, King Mayadunne sent two of his nobles to me with an interpreter, and desired that I would send to fetch him and two officers to the ship, stating that he had some business to transact with me on

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behalf of the King of Candia. To this I agreed and on the 17th of the same month they came again and brought with them two letters written in Indian which the King of Candia had written to Mayadunne, saying that since we had arrived there, and he himself could not treat with us because of the Portuguese, Mayadunne was to go out to us, and negotiate with us, and he would then help us in any way he could.

With these letters came two of Mayadunne's chief subjects who requested on Mayadunne's behalf, that I would make a treaty with him in which case he would come to me on board the ship ; saying that neither money nor precious stones would be lacking. But I answered and said that we neither could nor would treat with any one but the Emperor of Candia. Nevertheless if later on we should be acting in accordance with the Emperor's will by granting his request we would willingly do so.

On the 21st we sent to the King of Kottiyar a courteous request to allow our people to go to Candia, saying that we were resolved to get there either peacefully or by force ; this request was carried to him by Erich Grubbe, Peter Nielsen and a chief mate on the following day. At this he became much frightened and he and all his nobles fell on their knees before them and begged that we would rather kill them, since that was what the King of Candia would do to them and all their friends ; but in the end they were obliged to do as we asked them.

On the 23rd the King of Trincomalee came on board and remained on the ship for the night, promising to give us many animals and a daily supply of provisions. And though I made him presents, as I had done to the other Kings in the country, consisting of guns, weapons and also pretty stuffs, such as he desired, he kept his promise just as well as the others had done.

On the 24th at 3'clock, the Emperor's ambassador came aboard, (he was his secretary and spoke Portuguese) and an old and great nobleman, and having first greeted me on the Emperor's behalf in the presence of V. Zanten and the great Council he at once, without any further talk, asked to be informed how strong we were, and whether we could chase the Portuguese from the country which was an impudent request, as well as how many of us had died (though I told him several times that for this a certain price must be paid by the Emperor) saying, that the Emperor had understood as much from V. Zanten's letter (for they had no one who could understand my letter) which he gave me to read, and it was the letter which I asked V. Zanten to alter and which on the 27th of May last was placed among his records. And since I perceived that he had letters from the Emperor, I asked him for them. So he delivered the Emperor's letter to me, of which the purport was that he had received a letter which made him both sorry and glad and that Crape* had been to him the previous year with a royal embassy and he prayed God to reward my lord for the great kindness he had shewn him, for he did not deserve

* Roland Crape, Director of the East Indian Company, went to East India five months before Ove Giedde with a single ship, and had been both on the coast of Coromandel and the island of Ceylon long before him. But he was not in a position to accomplish anything to further the negotiations. His ship had been taken by the Portuguese, and with the survivors of the crew he had placed himself under the protection of the Naichen of Tanjore. (From the German).

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it ; also that he sent the two persons to comfort Migommerale's wife. When this had been interpreted as it is here written, I questioned the Emperor's secretary regarding the position and prospects of the Emperor and his realms, also whether our Jachten's officers had been to the Emperor. To this he replied, his ambassador had been gone a long time, nearly five years, and meanwhile the Emperor was plundered and persecuted by the Portuguese ; so that at length during the last three years it became necessary to make a treaty with them. He further said that Director Crape had been to the Emperor with the letters which had been given him, and that the Emperor was very glad of our arrival. And he asked me again several times whether we were strong enough to be able to chase the Portuguese out of the country. To this I at length replied that it was first of all necessary that the undertakings given by his ambassador should be ratified and carried out ; then we should certainly do our best to oppose and withstand the Emperor's enemies as we had promised, so that with God's help no aid should be lacking. And I asked if he and his Emperor had understood the promises which had been given, and whether His Majesty had provided all the equipment required by the agreement. To this he replied that his emperor wished to hold to the undertakings his ambassador had given but with regard to payment he knew not what to say. Therefore I said, that if he desired to become acquainted with the undertakings I would have them put briefly into Portuguese, and that he could have them the next day ; he desired to have this done, and therewith went away with Erich Grubbe on the ship Copenhagen, which was lying at Kottiyar, to the rest of his followers.

On the 25th June I had the chief points of the treaty read over to the Emperor's ambassador, whereupon he answered and said : that the emperor had been advised of everything by Crape, excepting only with regard to the cost, of which he knew absolutely nothing, nor had he instructed his ambassador to agree to this. For it was impossible for him either then or at any other time, to find the sum in all Ceylon, either in stones, goods, money, or anything else ; and his ambassador knew this quite well, for his land had been laid waste by the Portuguese, and Candia had been plundered long before he left the country, where he and everyone else had lost their precious stones and valuables, hence two years after his ambassador left the country, he was forced and compelled to treat with them, if he wished to preserve his life and his country. And in order that we might believe this they wished to give us their reply in writing, which they did, its purport being, that seeing that they had been sent to me by their lord to discuss the treaty, which had been established between the two powers, the answer they gave on the Emperor's behalf was as follows—that he would comply with every point except the payment and defrayment of expenses, which was 94449 daler, which he could not pay either now or at any other time, and that it had never been his intention to do so ; but that I could send some of my nobles to hear this from his own lips since they were not instructed to reply on this point ; that before the ambassador Marcellis de Boschouwer left the country, when Candia was ravaged and captured by the Portuguese, the Emperor himself escaped to a high mountain where he had a fortress. At that time he might have had a force of about 5000 men, but now he

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could not provide more than 3000 or 4000 men at the most. For Anthonius Baretto, Prince of Uva, and his people had deserted him, and made a treaty with the Portuguese, and at the same time he had slain the Emperor's officers, so that he had not one good officer left ; and the same Prince of Uva also robbed the Emperor of his finest jewels and precious stones, for he well knew where he kept them. Among these he had got a cat's eye, which was the Emperor's greatest treasure, for owing to its beauty and great size its value was incalculable.

I now asked the ambassadors whether they would remain on the ship, if we sent some of our chief men to Candia, till they returned. To this, the secretary replied that the King had no one but him who knew the language, therefore he must go with them, but he had a long dispute with the nobleman who had accompanied him so that at last he said he would remain with me, but that I must be both his father and mother, which is their form of recommendation.

On the 26th I let the Emperor's ambassadors go to Kottiyar as they wished, in order to make whatever preparations might be necessary for their journey with our people. They returned the next day (saying) that the King of Kottiyar would make the road safe for them ; and desired that they be dispatched at once. The same day they asked whether King Mayadunne had not spoken to me on behalf of the King of Candia ? for he had written to him saying that he would treat with us, since the King himself could not do so. And they said that they had both sat in council with the King of Candia, when letters were written, one in Cingalese and one in Malabar. To this I replied yes, but that I was sent to his Imperial Majesty of Candia only and was therefore not ready to treat with anyone else. And those were the letters which Mayadunne sent me on June 17th which I read to the secretary and explained in writing, and which are to be found entered on the 17th.

On the 28th I sent the Emperor's secretary and our people with letters to the Emperor ; saying that I had shown His Majesty's representatives the agreement which had been made although they had been handed to him previously by our Director. But since they could give no accurate or suitable reply regarding them, I was sending two officers to him with them, to expound and to interpret the agreement to His Majesty in the hope that His Majesty would ratify them and carry them out strictly at the earliest possible moment, seeing that His Majesty himself, as well as my lord, would suffer great injury and harm through the long delay, which had taken place up till then, not only on account of the expense which was mounting up, but also of the time lost, during which the one ship David could have paid for the whole of the equipment and expenses. In the memorandum which I gave the two officers to take with them, they were instructed among other things, to remind the Emperor that we had already acquired so much by way of booty* that he could pay half the charges with this.

* The " booty " consisted of the two pirate ships captured under the Green Cape, Patience and the Hunter, and the goods thrown into the sea by a strange ship, and recovered in the neighbourhood of Socotra. (From the German).

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On the 29th Hendrich Haess wrote to me that people had come to Kottiyar from Candia with replies to my letters, so that the secretary would allow the nobleman to remain with us in order that he might have one or two of our captains with him. He wished also to warn us, that we should leave neither people nor property on shore at night since we could not tell what our enemies might attempt.

The same day Mayadunne sent some of his followers to me to request that his brother might speak with me on the following day. After consultation with the Council I consented to this and on the 30th he came out to the ship and requested that if King Mayadunne was pursued by the Portuguese, who were robbing him, I would save him by taking him on board.

On the 1st July King Mayadunne sent a message to me that the Portuguese had been within 5 miles the night before, and he had therefore come down to the shore, and begged that the next day he might come out to me, and asked me to succour him. The same day it was decided that we should take the said Mayadunne under my lord's protection from the Portuguese, and help him to get to one of the Islands near where the fleet was lying.

On the 2nd I sent Erich Grubbe to fetch Mayadunne and he remained with me till towards evening and asked me to take his goods and his people over to the island ; this was done and he presented me with a wonderful sapphire and a ring with rubies in it.

On the 12th July there came a messenger with a letter to me from the Emperor, saying that the Emperor desired me to send some of our captains to him, and that we should keep a careful watch. The same messenger stated he had talked with our people 10 miles from Candia.

On the 17th one of the Emperor's noblemen talked to me ; he had been sent to ascertain what the Portuguese were about to do and whether they intended to build a fort at Matecalou.

On the 23rd the King of Kottiyar sent to tell me that Mayadunne's people were stealing and robbing in his land, and begged my permission to kill them. He also complained that our people had shot 5 of the best cows of the King of Candia. To this I replied, in the presence of the Emperor's old nobleman, that if Mayadunne's people came into his land and robbed, he might certainly take them prisoner or kill them. And for the cows I would pay whatever sum they wished. But I asked him to provide us from that time with 6 or 7 animals a week, for which we would pay him ; in this case none should be shot as had been done hitherto. But if he would not give us his promise he might expect the same thing to happen in the future as had taken place before, and we should shoot daily, since the squadron was in great need, and the Emperor's old nobleman also said this was the Emperor's will.

On the 26th of July King Mayadunne sent me a letter (which they call an ola) which the Emperor had written to him, saying that he was very glad that Mayadunne had talked with me, and that from that day we three would support each other against the Portuguese.

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On the 28th Peter V. Zanten and the great Council with other officers came to the Island to visit me (where I had slept for a fortnight). Meanwhile our people came thither with the Emperor's secretary from Candia, bringing a letter to my lord (who was present *Sic*) and one for me. This I at once had read out and explained in the presence of every one by Morton Finche whom V. Zanten brought as his interpreter. Its purport was

(1) That he was very glad to hear of our arrival

(2) That Migommerale had instructions to treat with the Dutch or with other Kings in the same manner ; that when he and the others had driven the Portuguese out of the harbours which they had captured, the Dutch could take two of them with their castles. And

(3) That a like agreement could be made with the King of Denmark and that my lord could take 2 harbours with their fortifications, by which his fame would be increased, and from which he would derive great profit. He desired that I would keep this agreement, since my name and honour were concerned in it. All of this the aforesaid secretary read out, before he handed the letter to me, and said besides, that the letters patent which we had told him previously Migommerale had handed to my lord, with the Emperor's own hand and seal to it, were false. For anyone could easily imitate the Emperor's hand and he who had made one seal could make others. Our people reported that the Emperor could not be a party to any agreements regarding payment, with other things which were included in their written report, which they handed in to the great Council and confirmed as true ; and in fine they said it was evident that we need expect no payment.

On the 1st August I sailed with the Emperor's secretary from Trincomalee with the intention of journeying to the Emperor from Kottiyar.

On the 3rd I ordered the secretary and the mate to land in order to arrange for the journey to Candia, and do whatever was necessary to make it successful.

On the 4th the mate came out again and said that there were reports on shore that the Portuguese were 2 miles from there, and had slain the Prince of Uva, and that the secretary had remained to ascertain whether this was true.

On the 6th the secretary came out to the ship and reported that the aforementioned news was true, and that therefore we could not make the journey, and he begged that I would make a written agreement with him since the Portuguese would do him no harm unless I was with him. So I asked him, if he had any authority from the Emperor to make another agreement (as he said), to give me the terms in writing. To this he replied, yes and wrote down some terms which (he said) would be all the emperor would agree to. The purport of these was :

(1) That my lord should take two fortresses

(2) That he should have a house in Candia for all his merchants in the land

(3) That he should build a harbour in Trincomalee

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(4) That whatever came into the country should be sold only to the Danes.

(5) That the Emperor would help us to build fortresses in Trincomalee with Foetallie, men and whatever else he could give us.

Anh de said he could not put his signature to anything else, since this was all the instructions the emperor had given him by word of mouth. And as I saw that he was simply lying in order to gain time, I asked whether the Emperor was going to offer my lord nothing in return for His Majesty's gracious favour and for the great expense to which he had been put. He answered that possibly the Emperor would do so if I talked to him; and he begged me to agree and to write a letter to the Emperor. But I replied I did not wish to write anything, and told him to say to the Emperor that since he was so insolent he should shortly receive a new message from us. At this he became frightened, and could not say a word, however much he would have liked to. And I made him sit down, while I wrote to the Emperor as follows: that since he was not carrying out what he had promised, and was shewing no kindness to my lord, he must be prepared for my lord's enmity; I requested, however, that since he either would not or could not execute the whole agreement, (which would probably cost him his honour and his whole country,) he would allow us to purchase cargo for our ships and I also urged him to consider the consequences of his action, and so forth. And with this he went ashore in great fear.

On the 7th the secretary came out to the ship again in the Emperor's own boat, and said he had sent off my letter, and that the Portuguese had been drawn away to Galle Point again, so that the road was safe and he begged me to go with him. When I agreed to do so (although in the view of the 2 ship's officers present it appeared imprudent) he asked leave to go on shore to obtain such men as would be needed to carry our baggage, and this was given him. He reported moreover, that the Prince of Uva had slain the King of Panawa, (because he informed the Portuguese of the Emperor and his gift which at that time had been recently made) and was plundering his house, when the Portuguese attacked him suddenly with 1,500 men, who had come secretly from Galle Point, and they slew him cruelly, after he had tried to escape on to a high hill, where no human creature had been before and where he fell down.

On the 8th the secretary came out to the ship himself, and I at once rowed to Mattuaram, in the ship's boat with him, and there in the Lord's name we began our journey. There I took food with the King of Palligamme, and rowed away with the King himself, with other boats to the sound of music, and came about 10 o'clock at night to Palligamme, where the King bade me welcome with great splendour and music according to their custom and regaled me in state with the yolk of an egg (sic) and afterwards accompanied me with a great number of people, to another house where I was to pass the night.

On the 9th August, we rowed away thence and came towards evening to Siambandure, which the King of Matacalou is building and he is the second brother of Palligamme; here I was received by a whole crowd of people with playing of drums and accompanied part of the way from the town to his house where he met me outside his door (for he was ill) and

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there I talked with him and afterwards he accomapanied me back to the town and installed me in a pretty house where he entertained us right well according to their customs, until midnight on the 11th when we got some men and went away although we could only persuade them to come with us by giving them large presents.

On the 11th August we spent the night in a field a short distance away, where, in accordance with the secretary's instructions I had two small calves killed, which we boiled, as we had nothing else to eat.

On the 12th we slept in a village called Patipal, which the people had deserted, as was the case in other places, and there, too, we killed what we required for food.

On the 13th at midday we came to a village called Nilgal, and at night we slept in a town called Hocheville, where we received absolution, (Miseriam), as we did also in other places.

On the 14th we came at midday to a large village called Bibilli, where there were some people who treated us kindly. Pepper grew near the town, and some of the inhabitants wanted to sell some. On hearing this I asked the price and said I would buy some, but when the Emperor's secretary heard this he drove them away, so that I could not ascertain the price. At night we slept three miles from this in a wood by a stream called Cannpaduble, where we ate what we had with us.

We left there on the night of the 15th, and stopped three miles further at midday at a small lake, where the Emperor's messenger came to me and said that the Emperor had sent word that he had been in a village called Remiachalle the day before, and would meet me in the evening at Venthanen. We went two miles before we came to Venthanen, and a nobleman came to meet me half a mile from the town with a large crowd of musicians and forty or fifty excited people who followed me into the town. There they had spread coarse linen on the ground 20 or 30 paces from the house, on which I could walk and then I was ushered into a little house, of which the roof was of linen.

On the 6th (sic) August the secretary came to me and said that the King was a little way off and he therefore begged that I would go to meet him on the road. But I excused myself, saying I had various matters of business to transact. So he went away and at 12 o'clock came back and said the King had halted a little way off for some of his council and he would come to me at once. He desired me not to delay and not to blame the King, because he had not met me with a large number of people.

When the Emperor arrived I had myself announced by Hendrich Haess, as having been sent to him as His Majesty the King's ambassador, and begged to be informed whether I could be received in audience. Thereupon I received a reply saying I would be received the following morning, as the Emperor wished to have his head washed.

On the morning of the 17th I was escorted to the Emperor by a large crowd of people with music. I put forward my proposal in German, having previously given it to my interpreter, Finche, to translate into Portuguese. This having been done, I handed to the Emperor the credentials I had received from my lord, and then greeted him on my lord's

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behalf in accordance with my instructions. To this the Emperor's only reply was that he could not understand what his ambassador had done and what agreements he had made. So I said that his ambassador had certainly agreed, on his behalf, to everything that I was now about to explain to him. On this he asked me to leave him. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon I was again summoned, and the same evening by candle light I expounded the agreement and all the terms one by one to the Emperor, and at the same time I pointed out to him all the advantages and profits which he could secure from this agreement, and the support in men and ships, and also that we had already obtained so much booty that it would pay the first part of the costs. I also said that in a month's time we could seize, with the ship Patience (which we had taken as booty and of which half belonged to him) enough to cover the whole payment; at this he was surprised and said that he now understood the agreement sufficiently, and that he would think the matter over till the next day; and with this he asked me to withdraw.

That morning when, in making my proposal, I enumerated the Emperor's titles, he put his hand before his mouth, looked at his council and laughed. And in the afternoon he sent his secretary to me with the credentials, with a request that they should be put into Portuguese, and he asked what the "Golden Sun" meant in the inscription. I replied that his ambassador had given us this and the whole inscription, and asked whether this was not the Emperor's real title. At this he laughed and said that the Emperor did not know what it meant, but that his title was simply King of Candia. But when I asked whether I should delete the other, he said it might as well remain, since it did neither good nor harm. And I translated the credentials as he desired and sent them to him.

On the morning of the 18th I was again with the Emperor, and since all he had to say was the familiar remark that he could not understand the agreement that his ambassador ... ...only made without his instructions and that no persuasion would be of any avail, I said, that it was easy to see that the Emperor himself had signed and sealed the letters patent as a result of which my lord had sent him this assistance, yet he now said that his late ambassador had acted treacherously in doing this; finally I demanded leave to depart and said he should reflect that since he thus cast aside this assistance no potentate would help him from that time forth, but would soon begin to show their enmity to him; and that the Portuguese would certainly keep their hold on him till one day they would be able to overpower him, and take his country from him; I said various other things, which I thought would make him reflect after which I expected to be able to persuade him to modify his views. At this he hung his head despondently for a long time and spoke to his Council and at length he said, Yes, that even if he paid my lord the cost of the expedition, if he could not pay the sum required for trade, all the rest was of no use. To this I replied by pointing out to him that it was a special treaty, provided with safeguards (?), and he himself and his subjects could have half the profit from it, which with God's help might after a time run into some millions yearly. That if he carried out at every point the agreement which his ambassador had negotiated and concluded with my lord, (which had

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nothing whatever to do with the other), he could depend upon it that it would be adhered to and carried out at every point by my lord; the original would be found in His Majesty's ship David, with my lord's own signature and special seal to it, as his secretary had seen, and it would be duly handed over to him. And in order that it might be kept as a sacred contract between my lord and him, I was instructed to remain in his country, until my lord graciously recalled me by sending out others of his noble subjects from Denmark. Then he answered me very joyfully that he would observe the agreement at every point not because of the misdoing of his ambassador who had treacherously acted against his instructions, but because of the friendship my lord had shewn in his letter. And then he asked how we could attack the enemy and what sort of scheme we could devise against them. To this I replied that if the agreement was observed and the people came into the country, and opportunities offered, then, with God's help, ways and means should be employed which would assuredly succeed if they were kept carefully secret. He was greatly pleased with this and asked me to leave him for a short time, so we shook hands with great pleasure and friendly feeling on both sides.

At mid-day the Emperor sent his secretary to me to say that he would observe the agreement, not because of the action of his ambassador, but because of my lord's kindness, and he would make me admiral of the seas, and a prince, as his ambassador was, and would present me with the property which had belonged to Migommerale, so that I could live on it. To this I replied that I thanked him, that I desired no other title, property or gift from him save that he would carry out what had been promised as early as possible, in order that my lord might be informed of it, and that he himself might receive more help at the earliest possible moment.

At 3 o'clock the same afternoon the Emperor sent to summon me again. And when I began to speak of the agreement he replied, that it was first of all necessary to speak of the expense incurred; and that whatever Migommerale had done he could not hold to it or carry it out. For he had acted treacherously and had made out his own letters patent on the way, and sealed and signed them, and with much long-winded talk he abused Migommerale. And turning to Morton Finche, my interpreter, (for he knew him to be of their race) he asked who had counselled his ambassador to commit such treacherous acts. To this Finche replied boldly that now they could say whatever they wished, since he was dead, and could not defend himself. So I said that the Emperor had already pledged himself that day to ratify and observe the agreement made between my lord and him in all its terms, and I certainly hoped he would not go back on his word, since the word of an honourable ruler or his ambassadors ought to be of equal weight and value and should be so safe and reliable, that whatever they said should be good as already done. But he talked at length of Migommerale's treacherous behaviour, and throughout ran the sentence—that he neither ought nor could agree—so at last I replied, after I had expostulated with him again about the whole matter, and found I could not effect nor obtain anything from him but lies, as it seemed to me, and procrastination, that I and any honourable man could easily see that he equalled his ambassador in treachery and treacherous behaviour, since he was now breaking his own word and pledge

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which he had given me himself a few hours before by word and hand and now he was going back on these, which was a thing which became no honourable ruler. And I said that since I had been sent out by an honourable sovereign, who had shewn him such gracious friendship, as one brother would not shew to another without greater reward, and since he met my high and mighty and most gracious lord, and me as his Majesty's representative, with nothing but lying and procrastination, I desired leave to depart. At this he asked me to leave him, and said he wished to consider the matter until the following day.

In the morning of the 19th August I was again with the Emperor and among other things he asked me whether he was bound to keep an agreement which his ambassador had made treacherously, and whether he or Migommerale must bear the onus of it. To this I replied as I had done the previous afternoon, that my lord had undertaken the expenditure on the ships and men, which had come to him, not on Migommerale's word and promise, but on the Emperor's hand and seal. Therefore he answered as before that his ambassador had done that on the journey,* (*i.e.*, forged the signature and seal) and I asked where his great seal was ; and finally he said none of the terms of the treaty could be observed. He asked me to come to an agreement with him on the same lines as the Dutch had done ; *i.e.*, that whatever fortresses and towns could be won should be divided between my lord and him. To this I replied (after we had some discussions about the agreements with the Dutch, which I said had been signed by him and his whole Council in a form different from that which he described, and he denied that these agreements had been signed either by himself or his Council, save in the manner aforesaid) that I was not authorised to make any new agreement of an improper kind, but I reminded him of, and pointed out to him yet once again, the temper of the Portuguese and his enemies, as well as of some of the tyrannical acts committed by the Portuguese there in his country towards other Kings, and I advised him not to cast aside my lord's kindness so lightly ; with other things, which however, were of no use. For he replied, that he would always serve my lord in whatever other way he could, but he could not become a party to the treaty. And he asked me why I had put to sea, since I could not make a treaty on the terms he desired, and said I might just as well have stayed at home. Thereupon I answered, that I had been sent to him as ambassador by an honourable Christian sovereign not knowing that he was anything but an honourable ruler, in order that all the terms of the treaty might be observed, and to perform at his court the other duties of an ambassador. And since I had clearly seen that the rulers of Ceylon (and I said this aloud) did not keep to an honourable intention for long, I desired that as he had summoned me to him and had pledged his faith and his own head for my safety, he would allow me to return to the fleet again and then in a short time I should be able to reward them for the way in which they had flouted me, so that they would repent of it. And as I could not put an end to this perpetual question whether we were strong enough to drive the Portuguese from the country, and how we should do it, and when I had replied to this several times (although I did not remark, that we had not been sent out against the

* Translator's note.

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Portuguese) I said I neither would nor could say anything further on the subject, but that I would take my leave. When he heard my final intention, he wished to send his ambassadors to Denmark with me. To this I asked in reply what they could do there? Since the Emperor had met my lord's remarkable kindness and the expenses he had incurred with such insolence and treachery. But at last, in view of the Emperor's importunate requests, I consented to take them with these words, that I knew well that they would not be particularly welcome since the great friendship which my lord had shewn him had been rewarded with nothing but lies and cunning. At this both he and his Council remained silent for a long time, and at last he said to me I could go when I wished; he would send some of his nobles later to discuss the matter with me. Therewith I left him and requested him to weigh the question carefully with his Council and carry out the treaty as he had promised, like an honourable ruler.

At three o'clock in the afternoon the secretary came to me and said the Emperor had ordered some men to guide me back to the ships. And he said the Emperor would write to my lord, and send the letter to me. Then I asked the secretary whether the Emperor would not shew his friendship to my lord by giving him a ship's cargo or some other present. To this he replied that the Emperor said he would be quite pleased that my lord's ships should take anything they could obtain in the country, that it was not the season for pepper, cinnamon, and other spices; and he had no stock of wax and such goods, and could not get any for six months. But if a few pounds of wax or pepper would be of use to my lord, he would certainly let him have them and in other respects would be a good friend to my lord. So as I saw that the claims of gratitude were entirely forgotten I pretended I would return to the ships with that. Whereupon they did not trouble about it, but were very glad to get rid of me and said the men were ready. And when I saw they really meant this I asked the secretary, if we were to build a fortress in the country, what the Emperor would do to assist. He replied that the Emperor would help in every way he possibly could, and asked to be allowed to inform him (of this intention). When I consented to this, he went to him and returned at once with two of the Council who said that the Emperor was pleased at this and would assist with everything there was in the country.

In the morning of the 20th I went to the Emperor again with some points I had noted down to bring before him, to which he almost agreed so I went back again to prepare this agreement, which however was not ready until late in the night.

On the 21st I could get nothing settled, for the secretary was with us the whole day discussing the agreement which he wanted to translate into Cingalese. The same day the King sent two of his nobles to me on his behalf to ask me to alter everything in it, for Mayadunne wished to come to him as a friend. So I promised to do my best.

On the morning of the 22nd I went to the King and after many complaints, palaver, and vacillation, I returned to correct the agreement, and shortly after sent it up to him by Hendrich Haess, to ask whether he was satisfied with it. But he came back again and said the King was not

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pleased with it, but begged that I would write a fresh inscription, which I did, and when it was ready I made the secretary read it out to the King. But he came back and said I could not be allowed to depart till the following day. So I sent Hendrich Haess up to him to say that I intended to go that same evening. If it was not convenient for me to have speech with him at once, I would let him (*i.e.* Hendrich Haess?) remain behind; for he could sign the agreement and bring it with him. At this I was at once summoned and when we had discussed the agreement, and it had been explained and made clear (which took until 10 o'clock in the evening) it was signed by him and his two councillors, with much laughter and talk; and the King requested me to take leave of him the following morning and presented me with his son's horse to ride away on. He sent the elephant which, as mentioned in the agreement, he was to hand over to his royal majesty, after us, so our people rode down on it.

In the morning of the 23rd I went to the King and received my discharge, and spoke a little of Mayadunne, Migommerale's wife (to whom at my suggestion he promised to give some villages) * and Peter v. Zanten, whom he said he did not like at all on account of the bad advice he had given to his ambassador; also of the Portuguese, and he said that if we would like his soldiers to accompany us to the ships we could have them. And when I was loading up, the secretary came to me and said that the Emperor had sent me some stones of the country, if I would take them by way of thanks, and he had likewise sent some to my people, all of which were of very little value; but in their eyes meant a great deal. So all their officers, high and low, did not forget to ask for presents and gratuities in return quite unashamedly, although they had already received many gifts.

On the same day I left Venthanen on the afternoon, and travelled six miles in the evening to a village called Vargamme, where we obtained tolerable supplies of food. On the 24th we slept in a wood by a house and some lemon trees, called Milgal, where our followers came with the elephant and the baggage.

On the 25th at mid-day we were at Patifal, where I took five men with me and went five miles in the evening, and slept the night by a lake near a town called Talleville.

On the morning of the 26th I came to the town of Talleville and later on to Battevitti where we obtained some fresh milk, and at mid-day we arrived at Siambandure where I immediately obtained a canoe, which is formed of a large oak with wood at the sides to prevent it from overturning; and first I talked to the King of Matecalou who came down to the shore to me with a great crowd of people with music so at 10 o'clock at night I came in turn to the King of Palligamme; and there two men were obliged to remain behind on account of blood-poisoning; for the same reason we had been compelled to leave behind some at Venthanen, who were fatally ill.

On the 27th I waited with the King until 4 o'clock for our people, and as they did not come, I rowed down to the town of Motuaram with the

*(Not in dictionary, but cf. German "Dorfer."

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King; and arrived there at 10 o'clock and the same night the Captain of the ship Patience, who had arrived there in the course of his travels, came up to me in the town.

On the 29th, as our people had arrived with my baggage, I went out to the ship with the Emperor's people, and set sail at once and on the 30th arrived at the fleet.

On the 7th September. I sent the Emperor's nobleman, who had come down with me, with a letter to the Emperor, regarding the material, men, and other things which would be necessary for the fortress; and I presented him with various small articles. And then I myself sailed to the coast of Coromandel, and when we had lain there some time I sent the ship Patience to Ceylon.

On the 2nd December, Erich Grubbe came to me and received instructions to go to Ceylon with a letter to the Emperor, saying that the Emperor should be ready with the Ambassadors whom he wished to send to my lord, as we should not remain there long with the ships, and I sent him and his princes two pairs of pistols and holsters and some silk cloth of gold (?).

At Erich Grubbe's request, I sent him a copy of the letter and at the same time I handed to him a written memorandum of what he was to do *viz.*

(1) He was to see that the fortress was completed at the earliest possible moment.

(2) He should remind the Emperor of Ceylon, either personally or through others, about the materials, lest there should be some negligence in the matter.

(3) He was to get the letter I was giving him and another sent up to the Emperor, and at the same time write about what was required for the fortress.

(4) He was to send me by the ship Patience a correct list of all the soldiers.

(5) If, after all, nothing was done about the fortress, the soldiers should be supplied by Christian* and they could have a house on the shore, since the ship Patience was to come back to, us.†

1621

After we had sailed away from Dannisborg on the 13th of February and come to Ceylon on the 21st March, I sent a letter to the Emperor on the 24th of the same month saying that I there learnt that nothing had been done about the fortress, but whose fault it was I did not as yet know. If however, he could send down men and materials within fourteen days, I would keep my promise, and his ambassadors could

i.e. the Ship.

†As Ove Giedde was occupied with the Naichen of Tanjore and with the direction of the new little colonies at Tranquebar from Sept. 1620 on, he handed over the conduct of affairs in Ceylon, and particularly the building of the fortress which the King of Candy approved, to Erich Grubbe. In March, however, Ove Giedde himself returned to Ceylon. Erich Grubbe had also been employed previously on the negotiations regarding Tranquebar. (From the German).

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come down at once, bringing anything else he wished to send to my lord since the ship was starting for home at once, and everything depended on this.

On the 26th, all Mayadunne's captains came to me and said that they had been in Mayadunne's confidence so long ; that I should build a fortress for him. And if this were not done, they themselves would deal with the man who had raised our soldiers against us (This refers to a meeting of the soldiers on board the ship Christian, Editor's Note). To this I replied that there was much concerning the building of a fortress regarding which I wished to speak to him, but I advised them not to plan any evil against him. They said they would procure everything necessary, but, when I aske d them about it they had no advice to offer.

On the 28th March, Mayadunne asked me to build him a fortress and he would pay my lord for it in course of time. When I had excused myself, and said we were sailing in a few days, he was much grieved and began to weep.

On the 18th April, having left Cottiyar on the 8th and arrived at Palligamme on the 16th I wrote to the Emperor saying that I had written to him on the 24th March last, and since I had received no reply I had come hither myself in my lord's ship and would remain there ten days in case he should wish to send down any of his representatives to settle matters. And if he would send us some rice and arrack for our long journey he would be doing us a great service.

On the 23rd I sent one of my followers called Morton Finche to Candia, with a letter to the Emperor saying that I had already sent two letters to him, and received no reply, wherefore I sent my letter to him again with an interpreter, saying that I would watch for his ambassadors for eight days more ; and I reminded him of other things. But I believe this letter did not arrive, for the messenger, who was a scoundrel ran away.

On the 9th May Erich Grubbe came to me and I sent him to the Emperor with a letter saying that since I had written him several letters about the treaty which had been arranged and had received no reply to them, I did not know whether he was to be regarded as our friend and ally or as our enemy. Meanwhile since I hoped the latter was not the case I was sending a captain of my Lord to him to ask him to send down with him letters, his ambassadors, and whatever gifts he wished to send my lord, so that it might be clearly understood what he desired of my lord. And I would wait there another eight days, so that he might send back the aforesaid captain to me. Then I instructed Erich Grubbe to remind him.

(1) Of the conduct of the Portuguese.

(2) That if he refused this aid he could hope for no other.

(3) That if the Emperor pleaded as an excuse that he could send my lord nothing by way of recompense since he had nothing left, then he was to say that either I myself, if he wished, or Erich Grubbe would remain in the country with him, until further instructions could come to hand from my lord.

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I waited there at Palligamme for Erich Grubbe and an answer to this letter for three weeks and two days, although it had only been arranged that I should wait eight or nine days, and then set sail, as we had no message from Erich Grubbe.

On the 11th I wrote to the King of Palligamme saying that if he did not bring back my two men who had run away from the ship on the 20th April and whom he had sheltered I would burn and destroy him and his whole land. And I sent him a letter by Jens Bilde, by whom he sent a reply, saying that I should have them the following day.

On the 12th there came an old nobleman from the King of Candia with two letters saying

(1) That it was not his fault that the fort was not ready, but the fault of our people, who did not carry out what I ordered them to do.

(2) About the misfortune to the ship and the departure of David.

(3) That he was placing great reliance on our assistance although it cost him much trouble with the Portuguese.

(4) That he had had his ambassadors in readiness but had promised them in marriage so that it would be some time before he could get them.

(5) That if he could not make the journey with me I was to provide and order everything myself, and come with a great fleet, since I knew the enemy's power ; and thus everything would be accomplished. And

(6) That he had ordered materials for us from the Princes of Matecalou and Palligamme.

But this was not the truth.

On the 13th of May I sent the aforesaid old nobleman with a letter to the King of Candia saying.

(1) That it was impossible for our people to build any fortress with the sixty men whom he had sent to them without material, money or anything else that was necessary.

(2) That I would say nothing further regarding this failure but would write only of what concerned his welfare and I therefore desired him to reflect that no ruler in the whole world would do for another ruler what my lord at great personal disadvantage had done for him. And for this the Emperor had shewn my lord not the smallest courtesy. But if he wished to obtain any aid from my lord again, he must at once send my lord a great and worthy reward, both to signify the gratitude he owed him and to induce him to send further aid and succour. And if he could not do this he must come down there himself within twelve days and make all necessary arrangements. But he must not forget the aforementioned reward, provided he wished to be assisted and freed from the hands of his enemies. And

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(3) That I could obtain absolutely no help from the King of Palligamme, but that he was encouraging disobedience and insubordination in order to entice our men away from us.

The aforementioned old nobleman reported that Jan Pieterson, was in Velaxe having escaped thither with five others, Frenchmen and one Dane, and promised that he would bring them all back to me again ; for this I promised a large reward, and advised the nobleman to say nothing at all about Erich Grubbe.

While I was dispatching the old nobleman on his errand, there came a message from the King of Palligamme, saying that he was down on the shore and asking whether I would come to him or whether he should come to me. To this I replied that I could not speak with him, until I had received back our people.

On May 14th the King of Palligamme sent me back the two men of our crew who had run away. So in the afternoon I went to him on shore, where he gave me food, but I took him wine. Finally he promised us many things and asked for a pass to the vessel lying there. To this I replied that when they had laid their course, and I knew whither they were bound it could be done. And meanwhile, a heavy rain came on, so I took my leave and went to the boat, and he ran after me secretly with a naked dagger and demanded that I should give him a pass there on the shore ; so I pointed to my sword and said that I should be obliged to use it against him if he came in this way. At that he was dismayed, and threw the dagger away ; then I told him that his request could not be acceded to there.

On the 19th I had some of the painted cotton stuff from the coast sent to Adigare and the Scribe to help him to obtain oxen for us.

On the 31st I wrote to the King of Palligamme saying that he must assist Erich Grubbe if he were alive, and our other men, in every way, and provide them with necessaries until I came again (making out that I was only sailing to Sumatra, and should return from there) and I presented him and all his officers with some pieces of cotton and other trumpery, and then sailed away in the name of the Lord, on the 1st June in the same year.

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III

LOG OF VOYAGE OF DANISH FLEET FROM MAY 16, 1620 TO MAY 31, 1621 SO FAR AS IT RELATES TO CEYLON AND THE CORMANDEL COAST

On the morning of the 16th May, we saw with great joy the promised land.

On the night of the 18th the pilot, who was on the " Patience ", steered away from land, contrary to orders, so I immediately sent out signals and made for the shore again, and the others did the same ; we could not however gain harbour before the afternoon, but were held up off the coast.

In the evening of the same day, in heavy weather, we anchored off Ceylon at a place called by the inhabitants Panawa, where, as we learnt from our people whom we sent ashore in two boats, (1) The Emperor had made a treaty three years before with the Portuguese. (2) That the Emperor, whom they called King of Candy, was not the chief King in the land, (3) That our vessel had been taken by the Portuguese to the coast of Coromandel, that she had previously captured five Portuguese ships with areca, and that the captain and thirteen men were alive. (4) That the town of Panawa was not three miles from Batacalou, but nearly six of our Danish miles, and there their leader always lay, with 400 men, ready to join with any one who would fight against the Portuguese, and they asked us to come ashore there and build a fortress.

We felt suspicious about this, for the people who had come aboard seemed fine men and were dressed like the Portuguese. And the same day we sailed away, without getting anything there, but afterwards we learnt that their leader was the Prince of Uva, who was called Antonius Boratt (sic).

On the 20th I issued an order, which was made public on the 24th, that every one in the fleet, whoever he might be, high or low, should conduct himself according to the command of His Gracious Majesty, the King, and that the officers should neither leave the ships themselves, nor allow others to do so, unless they received instructions. And so it was arranged that no one should be sent ashore, but that they should observe their instructions and not transgress them, under pain of death and degradation, so important was the business in hand.

On the 22nd three natives came on board who were willing to shew us the way to Palligamme, and we set out for it that night.

On the 23rd we sent three boats ashore to obtain nuts and provisions for the fleet, and we procured a fair amount.

On the 24th the mate of the " Copenhagen " came to us and reported (1) that the " David " and the " Copenhagen " were lying three miles from us, as we could easily see, and that they had met close to Ceylon. (2) That the ambassador and his son had died eight months previously in Stephen v. Hagen's Bay, that the " David " had taken stores on board there, and the " Copenhagen " had obtained good provisions at the island of Socotra.

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On the 26th both ships came up with the fleet and both of them had lost an anchor, so on the 28th I sent out two boats after them, but they could not recover them.

On the 27th of May orders were given that van Zanten and I should send up letters to the Emperor by some of the King's people, and notify him of our arrival.

On the 31st we weighed anchor to sail to the Bay of Trincomalee.

On the 2nd of June I anchored under the shores of the King of Kottiyar's country and at once sent one of our men on shore with a native to enquire after the mate of the yacht, who was supposed to be there.

On the 4th the mate of the yacht arrived and said that everything had happened as Prince Uva's people had told us at Panawa on the 19th of May; he brought three letters with him from the director, one to the ambassador, another to the merchants, and the third to Peter v. Zanten, each of which was delivered in due course. A copy of the latter (but not of the other two) was afterwards delivered to me on the 20th, which spoke of (1) the ships that had been captured by the yacht in the director's absence, (2) the loss of the yacht; (3) the kindly affection of the Naichen with whom he was living; (4) the trade on the coast there and in Ceylon. (5) He said that a " bare " of pepper, which is 480 pounds, could be bought there for 24 daler, and (6) that he wished both companies to combine, since the buying could not be carried out without the knowledge which the Danes possessed; from this the projects of the late ambassador with regard to our Danish shareholders could be clearly seen; and the director afterwards openly confessed to me that these were his intentions. And (7) he mentioned the difficult situation n Ceylon and other matters, which were pointed out in the same copy.

On the 5th orders were given to sail for the Bay of Trincomalee with the first favourable wind.

The same day I made a soldier called Melchior Bodicher swear that, since he was acquainted with the Portuguese language, and we wished to use him as an interpreter, he would behave honestly, and neither say nor reply except what he was instructed.

On the 12th of June I was rowed round the bay in a boat, and there found three beautiful rivers flowing down to the shore of King of Kottiyar's country, which take their rise in the great river of Candy which lies right inside the bay and besides these there is a river which runs through the land of Trincomalee, where Mayadunne lives.

On the 21st instructions were given that we should send word to the King of Kottiyar, humbly praying that he would allow our people to pass through to Candy, adding that, if he would not do this, we intended they should make their way by force.

And we at once sent two men with the letter, but they had not gone more than two miles before the Emperor's ambassadors met them, and they came back with them.

On the 24th two imperial ambassadors came on board to me, but they brought no important information.

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On the 25th orders were given in the great Council, that since we had received such an unfavourable message from the imperial ambassadors, we should send one of my lord's followers (called Melchior Bodicher) with one of the ambassadors' own servants, who should be fully informed and instructed in the presence of the Great Council and v. Zanten of everything concerning the treaties and the advantage to the Emperor, so that they would be able to carry back the Emperor's answer accurately etc.

It was decided that we should save King Mayadunne from the Portuguese, if it should be necessary, in order that, if the Emperor should not keep to the treaty made by his ambassador, we should be able to remain in the country, according to his promise, and obtain the promised payment.

On the 26th it was decreed (as the Captain of the " Patience " ordered) that all the ship's officers should row round the bay and seek for a place where the ship could be careened without damage, and where necessary repairs could be done to it, and whence it could be launched again ; they did this and then delivered a written report, and it was soon after unloaded and overhauled.

On the 28th it was decided that two persons who had sworn allegiance both to His Majesty and the Emperor, should go up to Candy ; that they should be provided with a short summary and explanation of everything dealt with in the treaties, and that they should negotiate further regarding these in accordance with the memorandum which would be given them, and which, together with the letters which were to be handed to them for the Emperor, should be read out publicly in the presence of the Great Council and v. Zanten, so that everyone should know that they were being officially sent with them.

And after that, Hendrich Haess and the chief mate of the yacht, who were to take an oath before the Great Council were instructed to carry out the orders given them as far as possible and do their utmost to induce the Emperor to carry out the treaty.

During this month the chief mate of the " David " came to me and requested that, since there did not appear to be much money to be earned there I would give him a boat and about 1000 daler, with some officers and men, in order that they might seek the profit of my lord and the Company below Sumatra, at a town called Bantam, where in 1601 he loaded a ship with a cargo of pepper which only cost 144 daler.

On the 3rd July the Great Council wrote to Peter v. Zanten, and asked whether he could obtain any provisions for the fleet, to which he replied that he thought we should be able to find safe shelter and provisions at Batecalou.

On the 4th the ship " Copenhagen " was instructed to sail with letters to the coast of Coromandel, and there find out about provisions and also about Crape, and whether it was possible to bring the former with them, according to the arrangement in the memorandum, which was given them.

On the 5th July I ordered all the inhabitants who had fled from their houses for fear of the Portuguese, in canoes and boats, to bring these

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to the island where Mayadunne was living, so that the Portuguese, who were assembled in full strength, should not be able to inflict any damage on the fleet by their means.

On the same day orders were given that twelve barrels of bread should be handed over to the "David" from our other ships, since their bread was all eaten. And instructions were issued that, since the Portuguese were roaming about the country, and it was necessary to fetch water, the boats should all go together at the same time with trustworthy officers and men, and while they were engaged on this work they should keep watch, so that if the enemy were in the woods they should do them harm.

On the 28th our people returned from the Emperor of Candy, bringing us news that there seemed no likelihood that His Royal Majesty would be able to secure any payment, and they also had a letter for me from the Emperor on the point.

On the 29th, according to my instructions, I summoned the Great Council and asked them in writing their advice and opinion as to whether we ought to attack at once in order to enforce a reply that would be to the advantage and honour of His Majesty and our fatherland; and I said I wished to have their instructions in case things went wrong.

On the 30th of July the Great Council handed me in writing their decision on the question I had asked them the previous day; and the gist of it was that they would obey me in whatever I commanded them to do, but that they could give me no other advice in the matter. So, when I had asked them several times, and they still refused to say whether they thought we ought to attack, and only referred me to their written reply, I told them plainly that, since they had been appointed to the Great Council by my most gracious lord, and they would give me no advice in that capacity when it was required; I should be forced to appoint others to it who would assist me wherever and whenever necessary by word and deed. At this they immediately, in a great passion, decided that I myself should go up to Candy, to make the best possible agreement with the Emperor. And notwithstanding they had not come to this decision as a result of real reflection, I arranged matters in the fleet as well as I could, and started out on the journey in the name of my Lord, in the hope of accomplishing something.

On the 1st of August, at six in the evening, the "Elephant" and the "Patience" left the fleet and with God's help set out for Matecalou.

The same day I had a letter delivered to each ship, the contents of which were, briefly, that the ships "Elephant" and "Patience" were to follow me to Matecalou and there take in rice, areca, poultry, nuts and other provisions, which at the end of a week they were to convey to the fleet, and then await my arrival there; unless the Great Council would allow the Patience to wait for me fourteen or sixteen days longer off Matecalou, in which case she should keep along the coast in case any of the enemy should pursue her; and finally they were all instructed to keep careful watch on all the ships, and also to preserve harmony and keep in touch with each other; as they would have to answer for this to my lord. At the same time I enclosed a sealed letter

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to the ship "David", which, if I did not return in four weeks, the Great Council was to open, and carry out the instructions therein; in this I advised them to sail with the fleet to the coast, and there load the "Elephant" with pepper (if it could be obtained there) and send her home as soon as possible. (2) To let the "David" and the "Patience" sail to the Red Sea to see what they could get for freight and then sail home with it.

I went aboard the ship Christian, and there appointed Christopher Stygge captain till my return, and urged the crew to keep the peace and behave well and be obedient and dutiful to their officers, according to their articles, which they all promised to do.

On the 3rd of August we set out for Palligamme.

On the 8th I started with seventeen others on the journey to Candy, and on the 15th arrived at Venthanen, where the Emperor met me.

On the 23rd of August I left Venthanen in the afternoon with our people, and arrived with three others at Palligamme on the 26th. Of the rest some were obliged to stop on the way on account of sickness, and some were left sick unto death in Venthanen.

On the 27th the captain of the "Patience" came to me in Mottuaram, where he had arrived some hours previously.

On the 28th we purchased from the King of Palligamme, on the Company's behalf, a great boat, which was lying there on the shore, which he undertook to equip for us so that we could transport to the coast the great elephant which the King of Candy had given us.

On the 29th we sailed hence on the "Patience", and on the 30th reached the fleet.

On the 1st of September it was decreed in the Great Council (1) that although v. Zanten thought he might yet succeed in making the Emperor execute the treaty, yet, as it would delay us so that we should not be able to reach the coast for six months, he should not be allowed to do this. (2) That the ambassador's body should be buried without any ceremonial procession, but that a few days later his son should be laid in the earth with the greatest ceremony the season would allow. (3) That the property of the ambassador and his wife and the property and letters of Peter v. Zanten should be registered; this was done on the 4th of the same month in the presence of three members of the Great Council, by clerks who took it down from the inventory; (4) That Peter v. Zanten, for sundry breaches of discipline committed in defiance of my lord's instructions, should be turned out of his cabin, bag and baggage, and at the same time dismissed from the ship's Council; (5) That the ambassador's wife should not keep more than one girl with her, all the rest of the ambassador's people and servants should be engaged in my lord's service, if employment could be found for them.

On the 7th of September orders were given (1) that I, with the ship "Elephant" should sail to the coast of Coromandel, and there make a treaty with the Naichen; (2) that Peder Nielsen should immediately sail to Palligamme with the ship, "Patience", and there pay the King for the boat after our departure; for this I was to give him the money

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and afterwards he was to repair with the aforesaid ship, the boat and the elephant to join the ship " Elephant " on the coast of Coromandel ; (3) that the officers on the two ships which remained there should make their crews cut down a cargo of ebony trees ; and (4) that when the Emperor's people and the material and other things for building the fortress came down, they should do their best to get it built as soon as possible.

On the 9th the secretary came to the fleet with three boats loaded with rice and areca, which he had just purchased at Palligamme and Matecalou, according to instructions, and these were distributed among all the ships.

On the 10th we left in the ship " Elephant ", and took both the money chests from the ship " David ", and later delivered them to the director.

On the 12th we arrived before Negapatam, where the boats (champanas) were lying along the shore and unloading and landing their cargo ; they saw us and I wanted to sail up to them. But as we were in 3½ fathoms of water, we dared not go any nearer land, but fired several shots at them and went our way. In like manner they fired several shots from the town.

Afterwards in the evening we lay two " Wexes " away, by a town called Karchal, (which is also called Karcheel) where the Portuguese took our ship Orsund.

On the 13th we lay off the town of Tranquebar, which was afterwards called Dannisborg, and there we found the ship " Copenhagen ".

On the 14th I sent one of my own servants to Tanjore, which is the principal town in the country, with a letter to the Naichen and the director.

On the 17th the ship " Patience " came to us and the captain reported that the elephant had broken the boat in two off Ceylon ; so that he could not bring it with him, and that they had beached it for repairs, hoping that it would still come on with the same monsoon.

The same captain had taken a boat (champana) off Negapatam, laden with salt and cotton linen ; which, on the 18th, he was ordered to set free, since they had a permit from our chief steward and the director, and dwelt in the Rajah's country and were Moors (?Mohre). (We did this) in order that our trade and treaty should not be prejudiced there.

On the 18th orders were given that we should administer the oath to a Spaniard who had fled from the Portuguese, and take him into our service, in accordance with his desire.

The same day I caused a boat to be taken which was afterwards released.

On the 24th the " Patience " arrived with two boats which they had taken two miles out at sea, and I myself caused another to be captured loaded with areca, but the Great Council decided that they should be set free, seeing that they had a Portuguese passport, in order not to injure our chance of trade.

On the 28th I wrote to Erich Grubbe, telling him to come out to his ship.

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On the 2nd October I sent Morton Finch with the interpreter whom King Mayadunne had lent me in Ceylon with a letter to the Naichen to which he brought me a reply on the 7th saying that I was to come up myself, with a few followers, to the director, who was half a mile from Tranquebar.

On the 14th we saw six galleys coming from the north so I set sail with the " Elephant " and the " Patience " and sent out the " Elephant's " long boat with men and provisions to find out what they were, but we with the " Elephant " were obliged to lie a little way off, since there was no favourable land wind. But the boat returned the same evening and told the captain of the ship " Patience " that they were Portuguese galleys, so he pursued them, and at night one of them ran aground and stuck fast, but the others went their way to Ceylon.

On the 16th the director sent me 12 daler, which were seven days toll from the town of Tranquebar, the first return received by my lord from the Indian lands.

On the 21st I received a letter from the Naichen, in which he asked me to come up and said he was sending horses down to me for the purpose for he greatly desired to talk to me.

On the 22nd I sent two of my lord's firelocks ashore to be presented to the Naichen, with a hundred bullets and the necessary appurtenances, as well as my followers and the baggage I wished to take with me on the journey. I also sent 1000 dlr. to the director, and gave orders that all our people on shore who were in good health, should come out to the ships.

On the 24th of October I broke His Majesty's sealed envelope addressed to the " David ", which I had received off Ceylon and I took out the credentials given me by my lord the Emperor of Candy, with the intention of shewing them to the Naichen, if he wished to see them.

On the 27th I set out on my journey to Tanjore, and came to the town on the 30th.

On the 2nd November I had an audience of the Naichen for the first time, and after that I negotiated with him daily regarding the treaties, until the 20th when I left again.

On the 2nd December I sent the " Patience " to Ceylon with the soldiers and a letter to the Emperor, although as a result of the soldiers' insubordination they did not leave till the 5th.

On the 7th I landed to see about the building of the fortress.

On the same day Crape received a letter from a Dutch yacht asking whether they might come to us off Ceylon ; they had written about this twice before and Erich Grubbe had received their letters and delivered one to me on November 28th. But I did not wish to reply to it, since it seemed to me that it might be prejudicial to my Company's trade.

So on the 8th I wrote to him through Crape, who wanted to know what reply he should make in the matter, (saying) that my lord was not an enemy of their country, and that henceforth any one of that nation who came with a proper pass should be shewn every honour and (mark of) friendship since our people would expect the same of them.

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On the 9th, 11th and 12th of December I took proceedings against the chief steward, who was sentenced to relinquish his office at the King's good pleasure, and was further condemned to return home with the first ship.

On the 14th Crape pledged his word to me as the King's representative, that he would perform the offices both of chief steward and of director, and conduct himself honourably and well.

On the 18th I made arrangements regarding the fort with the sergeant and a lance-corporal, under which they were to act as foremen; (they undertook) that the rampart should be well laid and the ? well pierced, and for this they were to receive 60 daler.

On the 23rd thirty men with ? and tulwars started to plunder the town, and they got into a man's house before the black soldiers called Tallars could be collected; after that our soldiers had to keep watch over them.

The same day I gave two inhabitants of Tranquebar a pass to sail to Peace Harbour in Ceylon, which was not in the possession of our enemy.

On the 24th I agreed with some master masons that they should build a high gate for Dannisborg at their own expense, it was to be 17 ells long, and 5 ells broad, with a corps de garde 8 ells long, 6 ells wide and 4 ells high, and for this I granted them 55 daler, but said that they must have it ready within forty days from that time.

On the 25th and 30th of December Crape and I made an agreement with the soldiers who were to remain at Dannisborg, that they were to have 6 fanams, which is ½ a rixdaler a week, and free rice, and that they should be given at once 20 pieces of cloth and 2 months' pay. They received this on January 1st, in accordance with the traders accounts, in order that all mutiny and insubordination might be put down, and to induce them to serve faithfully, obediently and well, to which they were made to pledge me their oath. But they desired to send a petition to my lord regarding the booty and the division of the profits, asking that their shares might be sent them by the first ship. On the 27th Dec. Almanaih, the mayor, took an oath, according to his form and ours, that he would be loyal and true to the King's Majesty and to his lands and dominions, and obedient and submissive to my lord's officers at Dannisborg, as it behoved him. And as he was to be, as it were, sheriff in the town, he was to have 3 pieces of 8 a month. On the 30th I had 2 barrels of rice carried ashore from the Elephant, and muskets for 20 men, from the Copenhagen.

On the 1st January 1621 an Englishman escaped from the Elephant in the night with the small boat, and as they had no other on the ship (for the Patience had taken over the Elephant's long boat) he escaped to Negapatam. I therefore wrote 2 letters to the chief there, saying that since I had promised the Naichen that the inhabitants of Negapatam and Tranquebar should be friends and have free intercourse, he must send me back my lord's people. He sent me a reply in writing that it was contrary to all Christian custom; otherwise he would gladly do it.

On the 5th the bailiff sent word to me that there were 12 great Portuguese armadas approaching with some gailiots or war vessels which had been ordered to come up with us within 5 days. I therefore gave

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instructions that all those of the ship's crews who were not too weak to move should come out to the ships, (2) that the ships should be made ready for sea, so as to move against them whenever they came, and if the enemy should arrive by stealth, and prove too strong for them, the ships' officers should arrange to draw the ships together, so as to be better able to beat them off. And I also sent word to those on land to be on the look out.

On the 12th I wrote to Crape to say (1) that he and the other merchants and officers must decide and record in writing whether they had need of either of my lord's ships, *i.e.*, the David or the Patience for the Company's use. (2) whether in accordance with their agreement they would release the ship Elephant and send her home before the rest. They were to consider carefully (1) that they could not provide cargoes for both ships with the money in the fleet, even if the Naichen were to come to our help with the 12,000 dlr. he had promised. (2) that if the money and goods were spent on cargoes and they had nothing with which to trade, the people on shore would have nothing to do, unless the two aforesaid ships should be sent to procure something for the exchequer, since it seemed fair to capture what we could from those who wanted to capture us.

On the same day Crape and the merchants made their decision, in accordance with my written request, and sent it to me in writing on the 13th. They said at the first opportunity the David and the Patience should sail from Ceylon for Socotra or thereabouts and there see what Providence and chance would offer them; for this they could have 200 dlr. from the Christian and whatever occasion might demand; (2) that I should let Crape know how the booty, if Providence granted any, should be shared between my lord and the company, and that an account should be kept of it, and it should be turned to the greatest possible profit; (3) that whatever pepper could be bought for the money which was to be found in the fleet should be loaded into both ships, that is, into the Elephant and the Copenhagen, so that if any ill-luck befell, the loss would not be increased by that, since they were to sail home together, as soon as possible.

On the 21st of January instructions were given by the officers of both ships that Crape should himself go up to the Naichen to ascertain whether we could have the 12,000 dlr. and whether we could obtain pepper in exchange 4 or 5 weeks hence; both ships were to await its arrival for 12 days after that date; and Crape should order what could be made to suffice for one of the ships on the journey; if these enquiries were not successful it should set sail a few days after.

On this day, January 21, 14 or 15 Bahar of pepper arrived at Tranquebar.

On the 25th I went ashore, and found no one at work because they could get no fanams *Sic.* But the next day some more arrived.

On the 26th January I received a letter from the mayor asking me to give passes to the inhabitants of Negapatam; to which I replied on the 27th that I could not shew them any favour unless they would send back our people who had run away; and this I begged he would order them to do otherwise they might expect no slight injury from us.

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On the 27th I returned to the ship for I was too weak to remain on shore.

The same day I gave a pass to one of the inhabitants of Tranquebar, for he had paid my lord's dues and claims out of his property, but he was only to put in at a port not in the possession of our enemies. I sent a letter by him to Niele Rosenkranz telling him to get his ship ready for sailing, (2) to take on board 5 months' provisions from the ship Christian, according to Crape's orders, and (3) to cut down ebony trees for ballast.

On the 2nd February the sheriff came out to me, and reported that 17 galleys were lying at Manaer off Ceylon, which should be with us in 3 days.

On the 5th February I announced to the Council that since the excise officer (Crape) was very doubtful whether he could obtain our cargo for some weeks, owing to the deceit and treachery of the Naichen and his subjects; I therefore pointed out that if we should in consequence, have to remain there some considerable time, we should be in great need of provisions; nevertheless I offered the excise officer and the other servants of the company, on my lord's behalf, all help and support, henceforward as hitherto, on this condition, that they would submit their requirements in writing ; and that otherwise within three days from that time, I should sail for Negapatam to insist on the return of our people by fair or foul means, and then go on to Ceylon, to discharge the soldiers there, or transfer them to the ships, and then with God's help go from there to Denmark.

On the 7th the skipper of the Elephant came off the shore and reported that Crape had received a letter from Tanjore saying that the Naichen had sent word that if we wished to leave his country with all our possessions we should inform him of the fact and he would send back to me everything I had given him, for he did not wish us to suffer any harm through his fault.

On the 8th February Crape sent me an account of what provisions we could have from the Companiy's ships for the Elephant *viz.* 6 casks of meat, 4 of grain and 2 of peas.

On the 9th I had the articles which I had altered somewhat, read and sworn to by the officers and men at Dannisborg, and afterwards handed them over to the sergeant of the guard, until another commander was appointed.

On the 10th the excise officer left Dannisborg and wrote to me, saying among other things, that I must look for another excise officer ; so on the 11th I rowed ashore at dawn and there I found him, for he had been overtaken on the road and brought back by the skipper of the Elephant and the Naichen's people, and I asked him why he was thus breaking his oath ; he soon told me what was wrong ; and we settled everything, by arranging that I and the other officer would provide both His Majesty's and the Company's ships with officers and men in Ceylon, so far as possible, for which purpose the Patience should, if necessary, be abandoned (2) that 4* Treqvarter-Sager should be transferred from the Christian to the

*Lit. three quarter things.

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Elephant and all dried fish, peas, beans and grain contained in the Company's ships. (3) that a commander and 20 soldiers should if possible, be sent to Dannisborg from Ceylon with instructions to concern himself with nothing but the house and the soldiers.

On February 13 we set sail in the Elephant in the name of the Lord.

On the 22nd the ship Copenhagen, which had been lying off Tranquebar, came to us to enquire for the letters of the excise officer which the skipper was bringing with him.

On the 3rd March we sent our boats ashore to the coast of Ceylon, where we obtained sufficient water and wood for both ships as well as some fine planks which we made into oars of which we were greatly in need. The people had fled from the place because of the Portuguese.

On the 21st we arrived in the bay before Kottiyar, where we learnt that our ships were not there, but that the David had sailed for home, the Christian had been wrecked, and the Emperor had not observed his contract regarding the building of the fortress; the letters on this point were given me by the Officers, with a copy of the letter to me from the whole crew of the Christian, in which they complained sorely of their captain, and of the heavy work they had to carry out under conditions of confinement and discomfort, without any relief. In consequence they wished to seek a cargo for the ship and sail for Denmark from Bantam, since the Vice Admiral and their captain (sic) are their enemies, and they (sic) do not know who are friends and who are enemies, for Niels Rosenkranz alone had kept his word, to share equally with them whatever money, provisions or anything else they had.

The same day I received a letter, by Mayadunne's interpreter, from the ship's Council on the Patience saying that the ship Christian had perished and the crew had divided the money amongst them. (2) That the soldiers had plundered the ship Patience and the property of the dead. (3) that they intended to sail away in the ship to Mottuaram and there purchase everything they could get for the benefit of the fleet. But the skipper came to me the same night, having left the ship at Mottuaram (Palligamme) and said he had been sent by Erich Grubbe, Heinrich Haess and the other officers to await our arrival there.

At the same time I received a letter written to me by Erich Grubbe, which had not been sealed, or the seal of which had been broken, saying (1) that when they arrived with the ship off Ceylon, the soldiers took matters into their own hands and plundered it; (2) that they were under the command of the skipper of the Christian who had more money to give them than I; (3) that they had pledged themselves to put all the Danes to death; and (4) that he had sailed hence with the Patience to purchase what was necessary for the fleet at Palligamme. (While Ove Giedde was in the Kingdom of Tanjore, one of the company's ships, the Christian, went ashore off Ceylon at Kottariya. Great confusion prevailed, during which the soldiers plundered not only the stranded ship but also the Patience. *Editor's Note*).

On the 22nd I sent the skipper of the Elephant with boats to the wreck of the Christian; they could see absolutely nothing of it except foresails, yards and a number of masts, none of which could be salvaged.

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On the 24th I sent Jan Petersen and my black interpreter to Palligamme, with a letter to Erich Grubbe and Heinrich Haess, desiring them (1) to inform us whether anything could be obtained there for the ship's homeward voyage ; (2) to order some rice for us ; (3) asking that Heinrich Haess should come to us within 6 days ; (4) that Erich Grubbe should advance money for wine till we arrived there. And (5) I said that I would expect a reply from them there in 3 days.

On the 25th March we took off the Elephant's rudder and had it cleaned on shore ; the only damage was that it only hung from the 3 upper hooks and did not reach the three lowest holes.

In the evening of the 29th the skipper of the Copenhagen came to me and announced that those on board were ready and had resolved to sail again to Tranquebar and wished to know my opinion on the matter. I therefore ordered him to present their written resolution, as well as the customs officer's instructions (sent with it) ; this they did the following day, and this was their resolution ; that since the ship Christian was lost, and they had nothing wherewith to buy a cargo, they wished to sail to the coast again, especially as they were in danger where they were from the people living round about ; they desired to have my decision in writing on this point, and also asked me to give them a sea brief for the ship, since there was none to be found on board.

On the 31st I sent the aforementioned skipper of the Copenhagen to the wreck with 2 divers, but he came back without salvaging anything.

On the first April Erich Grubbe and Heinrich Haess with the chief carpenter of the Christian, came to the Elephant bringing letters from the David's officers in which they said that they intended to take the ship home, and that they had allowed the ambassador's wife in response to her letter to go inland.

The same day I entertained all the Copenhagen's officers and treated them as splendidly as the occasion allowed and all promised to help us as far as they could.

On the 2nd I sent a letter to the ship Copenhagen in which I desired them to come to our relief by giving us 2 stocks for anchors as well as all that the Christian had been ordered to hand over to the Elephant, and I advised them to sail to Palligamme with the Elephant and there buy as much unhusked rice as they could get ; for this I would assist them with money and cotton goods and whatever was to be found in the Elephant. Whereupon they made the three following resolutions (1) that since I was ready to forward them money and goods with which to trade, they were bound to do this ; but I must give them the order in writing ; (2) that they were not bound to provide the ship Elephant with anything ; and they were not going to do so. A little while after, however they allowed us 2 stocks, 2 barrels of meat and 2 casks of water.

In the evening of the 3rd the ship's council of the Copenhagen sent their second trader to tell me that they did not wish to go to Palligamme. To this I replied that they had themselves heard from our people of the rice which could be bought there and I advised them to go there, since, if they did not, it would entail serious losses on the Company.

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On the third of April too I sent the Elephant's long boat up the river at Kottariya, to fetch some planks, beans and wax; for this I offered them payment, for I could not buy any there. Later they brought these back.

On the 4th I sent the skipper of the Elephant to the Copenhagen, to find out when we should sail. But they replied obstinately that they did not wish to leave there for Palligamme, unless I would compensate them for any harm they might suffer thereby. On this point they sent their chief mate to me, who stated plainly that they had only a few anchors and cables, and should they happen to lose one in the shallows they would be in sore straits. So I agreed that they should sail whenever they pleased, even if Erich Grubbe had not their sea brief with him; but I said it certainly seemed to me that it would be prudent to leave Hans Moller behind to purchase such rice as they could carry in the Company's sampans; this they afterwards decided to do, but they appointed Morten Finke to the task.

The same day I sent Erich Grubbe and Heinrich Haess back to Palligamme, and gave them money and cotton goods with which to purchase wine and rice for the ship Elephant. And Erich Grubbe delivered me a letter from Jan Petersen, written to him, in which he said that he wished to have nothing to do with the men on the Patience; he wished to wait for me in Kottariya where he intended to try to salvage the masts and goods from the Christian. He also handed me a letter from the ship's council of the Patience to him, saying that they could not remain at Mottuaram any longer, but would go to Trincomalee or along the coast to search for me, at the same time he asked where they should take the skipper and traders of the Christian on board, as they had offered to do.

The same day I gave Jan Cornilsen a note, authorising him to receive payment for his services as shewn in the ship's book, according to the contract; and the same day I gave permission to an old man who had been a servant of the ambassador to take service with the English or the Dutch wherever he could, since I did need him for my lord's.

On the 5th April I went on board the ship Copenhagen, and wished them all a good voyage, and exhorted them to behave honourably and well, and I presented the officers in the cabin with a large flask of brandy and the crew with 20 dlrs for a farewell drink if they could get anything. At the same time I gave a pass to the ship, stating that I knew that the sea brief from my lord with which the ship Copenhagen had been provided, had been taken out by the captain, and that it should be forwarded at the first opportunity, and I therefore begged that no one would treat them with discourtesy. I wrote to the customs officer regarding (1) the misfortune to the Christian, the departure of the David to Denmark, the scoundrelly behaviour of the soldiers, and I also told him that the ship's council of the Copenhagen would not go to Palligamme. (2) That they had come to the relief of the Elephant with 2 barrels of meat and 2 kegs of water. And (3) that the Patience had sailed from Palligamme for Tranquebar on the 13th of March; I therefore requested him to order matters regarding it as seemed to him best, and likely to redound to the

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greatest advantage of my lord and the Company ; and so the aforesaid ship and crew left us in the forenoen of the same day.

On the 6th we raised anchor ; and sailed hence to the river, and lay in 7 fathoms, for previously we had been in a depth of 40 fathoms, and there, close to us, the depth was 3½ fathoms. And when we had obtained a fair quantity of tamarind, wax and honey there, we set sail before daybreak on the 8th, and did not arrive at Mottuaram till the 16th; here we ran close in opposite the river, a good musket shot from the land and lay in 6 fathoms. But we had previously made our pilots take soundings there and they had taken hawsepieces ahead of us ; and I sent some of the crew ashore at once to trade for arrac, rice, fish and anything we could obtain.

On the 18th I wrote to the King of Kandy asking him to observe the agreement he had made with me. I wrote in like manner to the King of Palligamme, asking him to help us in obtaining what we needed in his land. I also wrote to the ambassador's wife, who was at Kandy, saying that if she could not obtain sufficient there to live in comfort, she might come to Dannisborg and remain there till further instructions arrived from Denmark.

The same day the chief mate, Thammis Duggert, came to me and said it was impossible to make the voyage home with our people, but he advised us to sail to Mesulapatam, where we should find good seamen among the blacks.

On the 19th Heinrich Haess came on board with some arrac, and took away some barrels for more. He presented me with one of the larines which Erich Grubbe had had struck in the country, on which is stamped in large capital letters : Don Erich Grubbe.

On the 20th April we sent the carpenters ashore to make a pump for us, since we had only a few kegs fit for use. At the same time 2 of our sailors ran away, but the king sent them back to us again later and they were tried.

On the 23rd I sent a Dutch trader with a letter to the King of Kandy, but he ran away, like a scoundrel, on his way there.

The same day I wrote to the King of Palligamme, and to Erich Grubbe, asking him to catch our runaways and send them back to us. I also wrote to the crew of the Christian, asking them to come to the ship, where no ill would befall them. And the same evening the crew of the Christian came to the Elephant and said they were willing to obey the others. (sic)

On the 26th the skipper of the Elephant returned. bringing with him the constable and chief boatsmain's mate of the Christian (I sent him and the provost to fetch them and to buy rice on the 24th). And as (they reported that) rice could be obtained we sent up a man with money and linen to the provost, who had remained there.

The same day Erich Grubbe wrote to me about gifts to the King of Palligamme, for he said that without them he would do nothing we wanted ; (2) regarding 80 dlrs which he had spent on sampans, which he asked to have repaid.

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On the 27th we sent our long boat ashore to be caulked, for it was not very sound.

On the 30th I sent 2 men ashore to go inland to build a house in which to dry fish, for which I promised our captain of the hold a suit of clothes.

On the 1st May I had a message sent out in all directions about wood for pumps.

On the 2nd I went up myself to the carpenters, who were intending to make pumps on the 4th or the 3rd ; for this I promised the chief a suit of clothes.

On the 3rd our customs officer ran away, but we recaptured him later.

On the 4th two galleys arrived from the south and anchored within sight of us. I therefore had my lord's flag hoisted, and fired a shot at them, (but it was intended as a signal to our boat and crew in the town for there were only 5 of us on board) They at once set sail again ; and when they had passed us, far out at sea, one fired a shot forward ; so the decks were cleared, lest they should be intending to attack us at nightfall. In the evening all our people came out to the ship, except those who had gone far inland to trade.

On the 5th we saw 2 other sailing vessels which were either galleys or sampans, in the company of the 2 seen before ; they were said to be all full of soldiers, on their way to Jafnapatnam, and afterwards to the coast.

The same day I sent Heinrich Haess ashore to order all our people to come down and bring with them everything they had purchased. And at the same time I ordered the ship's boat to fetch pumps down to the ship.

On the 6th we took on board all the carpenters, with the pumps from the shore, and afterwards I sent the skipper of the Elephant up into the town about planks for a boat ; later in the night I sent him up again with a black, who had promised to send our under customs officer back, and the skipper returned with them on the 7th.

On the 9th Erich Grubbe came to me, and as he offered to go, and had three horses, I sent him to Kandy with a letter to the Emperor which I first of all read out to him.

On the 11th I wrote to the King of Palligamme, saying that if he did not send back my two men, who had run away from the ship on April 20th, but supported them, I should burn and devastate all his country, and I sent the letter to him by Jens Bilde, by whom he replied that I should have them the following day.

On the 14th May the King of Palligamme sent back our 2 sailors who had run away and begged me to come ashore to him. For he was ill with *klapholt*, so that he could not come to me.

On the 16th I sent a letter to the excise officer by a sampan whose owner lived where he was, in which I told him about Jan Petersen and our run-aways and also about the Portuguese galleys which were thought to be looking for him.

On the 17th Heinrich Haess told me that the blacks in the town were secretly conspiring together and the principal ones living there had left, so that they were no longer to be trusted.

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On the 18th I gave orders for our people to come down to the ship and the same day we received our pump filled with water.

On the 19th I sent the bailiff and the magistrate each one of the cotton garments painted on the coast, to induce them to help us to oxen. And the same day all the soldiers came out to the ship except the French.

On the 21st one of our French sailors ran away, and the other French soldiers followed him. We received back one soldier who was caught, and who was one of the chief mutineers and was afterwards condemned to death.

On the 23rd May the revenue officer came down from Matecalou with some goods he had bought there for us, and reported that the King had taken goods to the value of 18 daler from him; when he complained of this to the King of Palligamme the latter said that his brother, the aforesaid King, had two sampans down in the river, of which we should take possession until he sent us back our property, and he gave the revenue officer their names.

On the 24th I held a trial on board the Elephant of the soldiers and sailors who had run away; 3 soldiers were docked of the month's pay due to them, 3 were condemned to go under the keel, and one of these, called Eggert Mogenson, was banished from Denmark for life, and all his property was forfeited to my lord.

The same day the chief mate came out from the shore and spoke very insultingly of my lord, the court and myself; the following day, therefore, he was condemned to forfeit his life, and property from the former of which he was reprieved in response to the intercessions of everyone whom he had himself censured.

On the 25th I announced to the crew the names of those who had been appointed officers. (2) I told them that they must worship God night and morning, and also after they had fed (3) whatever they were eating from and wherever they were, they must not go hence before grace had been offered after eating. And (4) I gave each watch 4 pieces of eight, with which to buy whatever they wished.

The same day I made an agreement with the Adrigar about rice for the Elephant, and " nellu " (which is unhusked rice) for cargo for the sampan which he was to buy for me before the sampans which were lying in the roads near us sailed away any where.

On the 27th we had our sampan paddled out of the river, and the greater part of it was loaded the same day.

On the 28th all our people came on board with what they had bought and obtained by barter.

On the 29th I ordered two iron bound boxes, 2 barrels of aloes and 35 fowls to be fetched from Erich Grubbe's goods.

On the 31st May instructions were given that Erich Grubbe's two iron boxes in which his letters were believed to be, should be opened and the Copenhagen's sea brief taken out, as well as the treaties, which he had arranged at Socotra, on my lord's behalf. This was done, but we had only opened one chest when the pass for the Copenhagen was found; so we did not tamper with the other, but let it alone, since we

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did not know, (although he had often mentioned the treaty to me himself and yet excused himself on one ground or another, when I demanded it from him) whether anything had been settled about Socotra or not. And afterwards we handed over his box and property to two of his servants and gave them 10 daler, to help them till they received a message from him. And since we did not know whether he was alive or not, for he had been away 14 days beyond his time, we sent presents to the officials in the town, as well as to the King, to induce them to help his servants. If they heard no news of him in a month from that time, they might then cross to Dannisborg with his goods in a sampan.

I presented each of the sampans lying there with a pass and parted from them in friendly fashion; although they were obliged to give me 8 planks and some leather in payment. Then they asked permission to travel to the coast under the protection of our sampan, although it was just as ill equipped as they were.

I wrote to Erich Grubbe, saying that, as I had sent him on the 9th in the expectation that he would be able to return in 8 or 9 days and had waited there until that day, and yet had no word from him, we did not consider it prudent or safe to delay there any longer; we had therefore not taken his property on board, with the exception of 2 barrels of aloes (2) that we had opened his chest and taken out the pass, not doubting that if any treaty had been made regarding Socotra, it would be sent to my lord. (3) that I had made many presents to the King and the nobles on his behalf, notwithstanding they had taken about 30 dlr from us, which he might have to demand from them. And (4) that I did not doubt that if he wished to remain there in order to become better acquainted with the opportunities offered by the country and the trade there, until more ships arrived from Denmark, he would certainly be doing my lord a service. And I wrote to the King of Palligamme, asking him to be a kind master to him.

The same day I sent Heinrich Haess with the sampan and handed him his commission as commander at Dannisborg, and told him to obtain his board at the fortress from the excise officer and his salary would be paid annually, as my lord would appoint him to the chief command by the first ship; on this he gave an undertaking that he would conduct himself honourably and well in this position, and guard the fortress, and only deliver it into my lord's hands; and that he would maintain communication with the Company's trader on the spot, so that His Majesty might be pleased with his humble service.

With this letter I wrote also to the excise officer, telling him (1) of our people's infidelity (2) about the sampan's crew and their wages. (3) asking for a copy of the letter he wrote to Ceylon, which I confirmed, and with which most of the soldiers were annoyed (4) I told him about Heinrich Haess' commission and maintenance, and (5) about a document which I enclosed concerning the building of Dannisborg and other of the Company's business.

At midnight I fired a shot to warn the sampan's boat, which was ashore, and when it came all the sampans raised their wooden anchors and gripes, and we hoisted our anchor and set sail. God Almighty grant both us and them a good and fortunate voyage.

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IV

FURTHER HISTORY OF THE DANISH TRADE WITH THE EAST INDIES

Chapter II

I HAVE confined myself so far to the time of Christian IV, who started the trade. But as I have already collected a great deal of material for the succeeding period, I shall try to make a connected account of this also.

King Christian IV did all he could to encourage all classes of his subjects to take part in this trade. On the 19th March 1619, for example, he wrote to the liegeman (? burgomaster) of Copenhagen, Ray Rantzov, pointing out that there were some wealthy people in Koge who had not yet invested in the East India Company. He should urge them to do so, for with God's help, it would be for the great advantage of the people. Since, however, the contributions, although they came from every town in Denmark and Norway, did not meet the expenses, he felt it his duty not only to support the enterprise with handsome sums of money, but also to make provision for its administration. In a letter, from the King, written at Wolfenbultel on March 27, 1627, I find Johann de Willem and Johann Bram, both important merchants in Copenhagen, appointed Bexindhabber, accountants, as they had already been for the formation of the company. But the King supervised the accounts himself. The following orders appear in the archives of the Danish Chancery. On April 19, 1619 to Sigvart Beck and Tage Tholt, the accountants, as well as the six most important shareholders, to reduce the estimate for fitting out the first expedition. In May 1619 Captain Edward Christian was appointed director of the East Indian Company with a salary of 800 rix-dollars (Reichstaler), and in the letter of appointment it is called a royal office. At the same time Adolf Friedrich Graboe, Master-gunner, received an appointment as Vice-President of the Company with a salary of 300 rix dollars. The title of President was borne by the King's natural son, Christian Ulrich Guldenlowe, who was still very young, in consideration of the large amount of capital which the King had invested, out of his own means, in the Company. In May 1619, when a contagious disease was raging in Copenhagen, the tax-farmer himself, Jacob Mikkelsen, was ordered to send in a list of citizens to whom the King had advanced money for an East Indian outfit, in order to safeguard the loan in the case of those who died. Contributions continued to come in. I find in an extract from the ledger made in 1625, that many of the Danish nobility had invested considerable sums, as, for example, the Chancellor Christian Friis, 1200 rix-dollars, Envold Kruse, Councillor and Governor of Norway, 1800. The largest sum was invested by two inhabitants of Bergen, Jan Jansen de Lange and Sander Jensen, who sent 13,189 rix-dollars. I doubt, however, whether in later times, when the profits did not come up to expectation, many allowed themselves to be persuaded into it. I find no further investments mentioned for 1625 and the following years. And that they were already falling off in 1625 is clear from the fact that in that year the King, burdened as he was with preparations

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for the German war, was asked for large sums to enable the enterprise to continue to be carried on. In his diary for 1625 he has the following entry: "On Feb. 14 Councillor Albert Scheel stood surety for the Company for 20,000 dollars." And in a letter to Chancellor Friis, Hirschholm, Aug. 4, 1625, he says: "In view of the East India Company's demand for 50,000 dollars, I have written to my mother, but I do not know whether she can find the money. I see no other way of raising it, or any more that may be needed at the present time. Cordt Von Busk is appointed." This agrees with the statement in the well-known article in the Encyclopaedia, that in the year 1624 189,614 rix-dollars were raised in all, but that this sum went towards the preliminary organisation, and that afterwards the King had to bear the whole burden.

That Christian IV did not cease to advance large sums in later years is shewn by the following entry in his diary in 1639: On March 31st— "I lent the East Indian Company 10,000 dollars, as well as 4,000 to those responsible for supplies of powder."

I cannot give a complete list of the names of the ships sent to the East Indies under this King, with the time of their despatch, and the luck which they met. Their number must have been considerable. This may be inferred from the statement of a priest who returned from Tranquebar, that from the time of Ove Giedde's voyage to the year 1637, twenty-two priests were sent from Denmark to the East Indies, and as it is more likely that some ships went without priests than that there were several on one, at least twenty-two ships must have sailed to the East Indies in the space of eighteen years.

Of some of these ships, however, I can give some account, as well as of the marked trade development which took place from the outset. My principal sources of information, besides the narrative of the priest already mentioned, are a remarkable account written to the King by Roelant Crape himself, which I have before me in the original, and Slangen's History of King Christian IV, especially the last volumes which have been recast by Councillor Gram.

On March 27th 1623, and therefore a year after Ove Giedde's return, the ships Pearl and Jupiter sailed from Helsingor for the East Indies. Heinrich Hass, whom Ove Giedde had left behind in command at Tranquebar, but who had returned to Denmark shortly after him, was in command of both. The priest already mentioned, who was called Mads Rasmussen, and was being sent to Tranquebar to relieve his predecessor Peter Aale, was on the Pearl, and has for the most part only narrated matters affecting himself. He calls his chief, Heinrich Häss, sometimes Admiral and sometimes General, both of which mean simply the highest in command, for previously to this he was a lieutenant and on his return became a major. The ships were strongly manned. On the Pearl Mads Rasmussen counted 143 able-bodied men, apart from the higher officers and their personal servants. The outward voyage was far more successful than Giedde's, for they only took a little over eleven months from Helsingor to Tranquebar. And these ships spent some time in England. They lay in the Downs from May 8th to 19th. They followed quite a different course down the coast of

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Africa from that taken by Ove Giedde. On July 17th they were at Cape Palmas, in Gnei, as Rasmussen calls it—*i.e.* Guinea. From Aug. 20th to 25th they were at Caput de Lo de Consalvie, *i.e.* Lopez Gonsalve, which was also regarded as part of Guinea, in order to collect provisions. But they found the best not far from there, on the island of Annebon, a truly delightful spot, where they found quantities of oranges with edible skins. Rasmussen calls these fruits China oranges. They spent a long time there, and did not leave till October. From there however, until they reached Ceylon they did not touch land and so passed the Cape of Good Hope without, like Ove Giedde, seeking provisions there. But the Cape was not then what it has become since 1648, when the Dutch established their first colony there.

The ships arrived in Ceylon on March 8th 1624, five months after leaving Annebon. Rasmussen says one can smell the aromatic scents of Ceylon at a distance of sixteen miles over the sea. They did not stay there long. For Erich Grubbe, being well known there on account of his previous voyage, was the only one to go ashore, to obtain provisions and good pilots to take them to Tranquebar. Rasmussen cannot say enough of the friendliness and kindness shewn them by the inhabitants. They brought them fine wares and hailed them in Portuguese—" Christian people are good people." Under their guidance they arrived in a few days' time at Tranquebar, *i.e.* on March 14th 1624. Heinrich Häss went off at once to see Roelant Crape, who the author speaks of as a nobleman and a manly fellow, Sr. Maj. Governor of the Castle of Dansburg. He presented the priest on his arrival with some rubies and drinking vessels of mother-of-pearl. He also gave him an elephant to ride on, in order to see the country, which was trained to lie down when he mounted and dismounted. At the same time the Naiche's commander-in-chief was visiting the fortress with four elephants, fifty horses and two hundred black Indians. On the 11th June, too, an English merchant-man arrived in Tranquebar and stayed until July 17th, being very kindly received. Rasmussen and his chief, Heinrich Häss, made an expedition to the chief town of Tanjore, and another to the town of Malinhis, which filled him with the greatest admiration. He noted down some peculiarities which struck him in the East Indies. The heathen priests, he says, wear a very strange costume. They plait their hair, and let one curl hang down over their shoulder. They regard this as their god, and look at it before anything else in the morning, but when praying they generally turn towards the sun. Every woman in the service of a man is regarded as his wife, but one of them is his favourite. Their love is so enduring that death itself does not separate them. I have seen with my own eyes, on the death of the master of the house, when the corpse is laid upon a funeral pile in the presence of his friends and the heathen priests, his favourite wife fling herself into the flames, to be burnt to ashes with the corpse—Nutmeg, Cardamom, cassia, and other costly spices grow here as ordinary herbs do in Denmark. There are also quantities of precious stones.

I quote these remarks because on closer examination they are useful, although the accounts shew that the author was not a careful observer still less a student of nature. He says also that the Danes, whose health

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had been good on the outward voyage, fell ill in the East Indies, and he ascribes this to excessive drinking of arrack. This, he says, is a juice which exudes from the trees, just as in our country it exudes from birches at certain seasons. This is not the same as the arrack known to us, which is made from rice. He must, therefore, mean areca, which is a kind of palm tree already mentioned in Part II, p.171.

Rasmussen only remained in the East Indies for six months, since his predecessor had no wish to be relieved, and returned to Denmark in the same ship as that in which he had come out. On Sept. 27th 1624 Heinrich Häss set sail again in the Pearl from Tranquebar, for Crape hastened her loading in order that they might not miss the favourable wind of that season. There was another Danish ship, the Spaniel, lying at Tranquebar, at the time, but she was bound for Bengal.

For a time the Pearl prospered on her homeward voyage. She reached the Cape of Good Hope in three months, *i.e.* on Dec. 26th 1624. On Jan. 2nd 1625 she arrived in the Bay of Soldan, where she remained till the 13th.

This is no doubt the Gulf of Soldanha, on the western side of the coast of Coffern under the 33° latitude. At the beginning of February they reached the island of St. Helena, a truly delightful spot, where they rested for thirteen days. The author preached there in one of the chapels built by the Portuguese. To their great joy a Dutch ship arrived while they were there. But the Danes were so weakened by illness that they were hardly able to fire their cannon in honour of the Dutch. On the 20th February the officers of the ship landed on Ascension Island, where they enjoyed a wholesome meal and shot a wild swan and a roebuck, but found hardly any drinking water. From this time on they suffered terribly from storms, sickness, hunger and thirst. With difficulty they reached the harbour of Youghal in Ireland, at the beginning of June 1625, for they could not make Kinsale, the principal place in the kingdom after Dublin. The author himself was so ill, that for eleven weeks they feared for his life. And from the time of this illness till the time when he was writing, twelve years after, he had lost all sense of smell. But he was fortunate in that his chief took good care of him and that in Youghal he found lodging with a woman of Danish birth, Anna Bagers. He found, too, in this otherwise little known place kind friends amongst the town-councillors and clergy, Such had been the sufferings of the crew of the Pearl that out of 145 sailors and warrant officers only 75 survived, some of whom were ill.....Partly on account of the weakness of the crew, partly owing to quarrels among the officers, the ship remained more than a year at Youghal in Ireland. For it was not until July 2nd 1626 that they set sail from there and arrived at Marstrand on July 16th and on the 30th at Copenhagen. These are the reasons given by the writer. Probably, however, the war which broke out in 1625 was another cause of their long stay, since they felt it necessary to wait both until the crew had improved in health, and until they had received instructions from King Christian IV. In the interval they saw two Danish ships at Youghal, the warship Flensburg, on its way back to Denmark, and Master Mutte's ship,* on its way out to the East Indies.

(According to Crape's account this ship was a yacht called the Posthorse.

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This second East Indian expedition, therefore, did not prosper on its homeward voyage. The further history of the East Indian trade is well described in the account of Roelant Crape already mentioned. It is written with great frankness and addressed to the King himself, and dated from Maslipatam (Masulipatnam on the Gulf of Bengal in the Kingdom of Golconda) on Sept. 17th 1628. It was not sent by a Danish ship, but *via* Jacatra to Java and from thence *via* Holland. By this means, Crape thought it would be more likely to reach the King's hands in safety.

Its contents are so remarkable that I should like to set it down verbatim from the original if it were entirely comprehensible. There are, however, some, though not important, passages which are illegible ; in addition the broken German mixed with the Dutch would be obnoxious to most readers, and the subject matter is so confused that it can only be made clear by rearrangement.

Up till then all had gone well at Tranquebar and the Naiche had carefully observed the treaty. The Naiche Ragnato died early on Nov. 25th 1626 and the same afternoon 119 women burnt themselves in his honour. His eldest son Rambadra succeeded him, and came with 100 men to the fortress of Dansburg to review them. He was very friendly and afterwards went further afield to see his country. This happened in Roelant Crape's absence while Christopher van Wittinghof was in command of the force at Tranquebar. Crape had had powder prepared in Tranquebar itself for the use of his ships and of the fortress.

For some time trade was carried on by Denmark not only with Ceylon but also from there with Cochin on the coast of Malabar. But with reference to this Crape quotes the letter which he had sent to the King by the Pearl, therefore in 1624, pointing out that this trade was not profitable to the Company, because the inhabitants were treacherous and dishonest. This charge is probably not the only reason why Ove Giedde's treaty came to nothing and Denmark lost such a profitable trade. For since then the Dutch have made good use of the country without fear of the treachery of the inhabitants. The real reason is that, in view of the internal unrest, the Cingalese trade could not be carried on without a considerable number of fighting men, and the men, ships, money and goods that Crape received from the Company were only sufficient for the trade he wished to carry on from Tranquebar.

There are five ships mentioned in this account, as employed in the East Indian trade after the departure of the Pearl, the Spaniel and Jupiter, which were in the East Indies in 1624, the Christianshafen, which arrived about 1625, besides the yacht Nightingale and the yacht Posthorse, mentioned above, which can only have arrived at the end of 1626 or the beginning of 1627. Crape complains of all these ships that they are badly built, or too small, or not sufficiently provided with the most necessary things, and he longs for two really good ships. He says he could have sent the Christianshafen home long before if he had had other serviceable vessels to hand. Some of those named fared very badly. The Jupiter, which besides other commodities, was loaded with 22,000 pounds of cloves, went down off the coast of the kingdom of Orixa, only eight men being saved ; forty-five were drowned or had

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previously died. The Nightingale perished off Bengal, though the crew was saved, the Posthorse Crape had dismantled, and the Christianshafen, the most serviceable of all, lost sails and masts in a storm.

Nevertheless, according to Crape's report, there had been a great development in the Danish trade. He himself undertook many expeditions on its behalf. Now he would be in Bengal and other parts of the mainland, now on the large islands, such as Macassar or Java. On Macassar he set up a counting-house, but only left three persons there. In Java he mentions Jafara as his trading post, where too he established a counting-house, leaving the Spaniel in charge of it; in Borneo he chose Sucadona and Mattam. The trade with these islands was very profitable, because the cotton cloth from the coast of Coromandel, which Giedde so often speaks of in his diary under the name of Klaichen, could be sold at double the price there. In exchange for them they received, especially from Macassar and Jafara, coined and uncoined gold which served for the maintenance of Tranquebar and all the expenses, and quantities of other valuable goods, such as fine saltpetre, refined indigo, cloves, silk, diamonds and cotton yarn. Crape boasts that by means of this trade he doubled the value of the cargo of the Christianshafen. He asks for no more money from the Company, but only for seaworthy ships and some capable assistants as he has lost many old servants.

So that he might miss no opportunity of serving the interests of the Company, he says, he went to Pipillipatnam in Bengal, and hence, at the moment of writing, is at Masulipatnam. He does not find, however, that the trade with this part of the country is profitable to the Company, nor had the beginnings which had been made in Tanssarien, and also in Bengal, turned out well. In the neighbourhood of Tanjore, fourteen miles from the capital, but outside the Naiche's territory he had made a very advantageous contract with a merchant named Mallaja, for saltpetre came from this district. The said merchant was to deliver 400,000 pounds of purified saltpetre a year, at the rate of twenty pieces-of-eight for 450 pounds. But he had not been able to fulfil his part of the bargain, because the ships promised by the Company had not arrived or were not sufficiently well supplied with funds.

In Masulipatnam, however, he had been given very promising openings for the trade to Persia and Ormuz. For there were many Persians living there, who desired that the Danes should have facilities for trading directly with them. In fact the King of Persia was anxious to divert the trade in Persian silk carried on by the Christians at Aleppo, from there to Ormuz. For he grudged his enemy the Sultan the advantage which he derived from the customs on Persian goods at Aleppo. The Persian trade would be a very great gain. For raw silk or larines could be exchanged for East Indian spices and the spices would fetch as high a price there as in Europe. A larine, as already noted, Part II, p.180, was a Persian coin, very much esteemed in the East Indies and even counterfeited. The voyage to Persia, and especially to Ormuz, was very easy, on account of the clear open sea, and far less dangerous than that to Macassar.

In spite of Crape's pleadings for more and better ships for carrying on the East Indian trade, the burdens of the war in which King Christian

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IV was engaged with the Emperor Ferdinand II prevented him from fitting out any new ships for the East Indies at that time. Even as late as the year 1635 I find no mention of Danish expeditions to the East Indies. But I cannot believe that the King left a trade of such importance to himself without assistance year after year. The words quoted above of the priest who had been to the East Indies shew exactly the opposite. For he says that between 1619 and 1637, twenty-two priests had been sent from Copenhagen to the East Indies. We must hope therefore, that the blame is to be laid solely on the silence of the writer, and that at some future day, means will be found of filling this gap in the history of Danish trade. But there are some remarkable accounts of the years 1635 to 1646 in Slangen's History of King Christian IV, revised by Councillor Gram. For the sake of completeness I must add them here, although with some annotation, and in accordance with my edition of Slangen's work, which is ready for the press.

In the year 1635 a richly laden ship returned from the East Indies. Two others left Copenhagen for those lands, the St. Anna and St. Jacob. Roelant Crape was raised to the nobility.

On Nov. 4th 1637 he returned from the East Indies, of which he had been Governor and where he had carried on the administration of Danish affairs with such success. On his departure he appointed Berndt Pessart as head of the Danish trade in the East Indies. His appointment is dated Nov. 9th 1636 in the office at Masulipatnam. We see, therefore, that at this place, too, where Crape had been as early as 1628, a Danish office had been established. The cargo which he brought with him on the St. Anna, consisted of cloves which were profitably disposed of on the Baltic and in Holland.

The success which the shareholders had with this ship and the presence of Roelant Crape, gave them new courage. And, in addition, another competent member of the Company offered his services—William Leyel, a native of Helsingor, who had spent many years in the Dutch trade in Java, and also in Persia. On June 20th 1639 the King nominated a new board for the Company, consisting of four persons, each with a salary of 500 rix-dollars. They were Roelant Crape, Jacob Mickelsen Burgomaster of Copenhagen, Johann Bram, who had been among the first accountants of the Company, and the William Leyel mentioned above. He however was chosen the same year to go to the East Indies with the Christianshafen. Claus Rytter, who had also been to the East before, was to go with him in the ship the Sun. Both were to undertake the supervision in the East Indies in co-operation with Berndt Pessart, mentioned above, and each was to preside alternately, a month at a time, at the Council in Tranquebar ; but the first two were to have the power to dismiss Pessart if they found that he had not carried out his instructions. This order of the King is dated October 21st 1639. In the following November the two ships started from Copenhagen, and remained in company till March 2nd 1640. But off Teneriffe they were separated by a storm. Claus Rytter, in the Sun, reached Tranquebar in safety. But Leyel's ship, the Christianshafen, had suffered so severely that he was forced to run in for repairs to Santa Cruz on Teneriffe, where many Spanish ships were lying at the time. The Governor of the Canary

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Island, Don Louis Fernandez de Cordova, was also in the town, and at once demanded that a deputation should be sent to him from the newly arrived ships. When they did not return, Leyel became uneasy, and tried to escape. But as this was impossible, owing to contrary winds, the Governor ordered Leyel himself to appear before him. As he did not do this at once his ship was fired upon from the fort, and the Spaniards would have sunk it if Leyel had not ultimately appeared before the Governor. He was arrested and his ship seized on the pretext that no nation but the Spanish and Portuguese were allowed to sail to the East Indies, in spite of the fact that Leyel shewed the passport given him by the King, and protested, through a lawyer, against these proceedings.

The Spaniards went so far as to strip the ship of sails and rudder, and to take the crew and cargo into custody. But they allowed Leyel to retain 600 rix-dollars and gave him permission to go to Madrid and lay his case before the court there. On arriving there after a rapid journey, Leyel could not at first obtain a hearing. But it happened that in that same year King Christian IV had sent Councillor Hannibal Sehersted to act as his ambassador in some important business. The court, which was feeling the burden of the war in the Netherlands, was at that time very anxious to secure the friendship of Denmark, which did not stand so well with Holland as it had formerly done. In that year, Spain was seriously weakened by the rebellion in Catalonia and the secession of Portugal. Hence Sehersted was able to obtain whatever he asked. Nevertheless the affair was not settled until February 1641. He demanded not only the release of the ship, but also compensation for the loss of time, and the punishment of the Governor as a disturber of the peace. Leyel received a passport and money to continue his voyage. The Governor of the Canary Islands was recalled from his post. And the compensation for this and other incidents of which Sehested complained was estimated at 100,000 rix-dollars. But, as the Spanish Court was short of money the debt was discharged by the payment of 25,000 loads (1 load-2,000 Kgms.) of salt, which were exported duty free. This was of no small advantage to Denmark. For while a load of salt in itself was reckoned at only four rix-dollars, it sold, by reason of the many taxes on it, at not less than thirteen and a half rix-dollars.

Nevertheless this incident was a serious setback to the East Indian trade. Leyel did not sail from the Canary Islands until March 2nd 1643, and arrived in Tranquebar on the 5th of the following September. Eschel Anderson, who was commandant of Tranquebar for many years after this, was staying in the Canary Islands while the Christianshafen was held up there, and went to India in her. He says this himself in a letter to King Frederick III which will appear later in this collection.

Rytter was not very fortunate with his ship, the Sun, either. On his arrival in Tranquebar he found everything in a state of greatest confusion, for Berndt Pessart had been a bad steward. As there was no stock of merchandise he took nineteen months to collect his cargo at different points on the coast, and he was twice arrested in the course of his journeys on account of the debts owed by his predecessor. On the return journey to Denmark he went ashore in the Downs in 1644.

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On his arrival in Tranquebar Leyel had great trouble with Berndt Pessart, who went by the name of president. Leyel gives a report of his doings in several letters to King Christian IV. The last of these is dated from Dansburg, November 15th 1646, and Councillor Gram gives an extract from it in Slangen's work mentioned above. Leyel is seen as a competent and zealous servant. To the great detriment of Danish commerce, however, he did not live long, and died in the East Indies, soon after the death of Christian IV.

On his arrival in Tranquebar Leyel could get no statement of accounts from Pessart. He had sent two ships to trade in Bantam and Macassar, and was on the point of sailing himself in a third to Emeldy, a harbour in the Kingdom of Golconda. Leyel determined to go there too in the Christianshafen, not only to see what were the trading possibilities there, but also to prevent any further dishonesty on the part of Pessart. He learned that Pessart had incurred heavy debts in Masulipatnam ; and he escaped from him with his ship before Leyel was ready for him. Leyel at once wrote to Tranquebar, dismissing Pessart from his office in the King's name, and ordering his arrest. Pessart however, reached Tranquebar before Leyel's messenger, took the letter from him, and threw him into prison. And as he had some of the leading men in Tranquebar, among them two priests, on his side, he took measures to prevent Leyel's assuming the governorship or even being permitted to enter the place. He then hired a Portuguese ship, with the object of going to Japan on his own affairs. He took with him all the money, and the account books, as well as cannon and other weapons from the fortress. On June 11th 1644 Leyel arrived off Tranquebar again. But the inhabitants, in accordance with Pessart's orders, refused to let him land, and would not hold any communication with him. For four days he waited in vain ; finally he went to Karachall, a Portuguese colony, two miles from Tranquebar, and from there sent a Portuguese to the inhabitants to bring them to a better frame of mind. As even this was no use, he found himself forced to institute a regular blockade of Tranquebar and to cut off the inhabitants from the necessities of life. Then some of them came to him to beg him to deliver them from Pessart's gang, and especially from the power of the two priests. Finally the trader in charge of the office came, as well as others of the principal inhabitants.

And when they had heard the King's commands, they opened the town to Leyel, and begged forgiveness for their insubordination. He found everything in the most deplorable condition, the fortress in ruins, and stripped of necessities, no money, no accounts, many debts and the royalty to the Naiche more than a year overdue. This is the first mention of any royalty to the Naiches, for the treaty concluded by Ove Giedde and Roelant Crape contains nothing about it. But it is conceivable that the Naiche would not extend the two years for which he had ceded Tranquebar free of tax without payment of such royalty.

Meanwhile Pessart came to a bad end. He was caught by the Dutch in the Straits of Malacca and taken to Batavia where his ships and goods were pronounced to be a fair prize. In the following year the General at Batavia gave him back his ship, on condition that he went to Manilla

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under the Danish flag and in the name of the King of Denmark, and, under the guise of doing a little trade, reconnoitred the land, because the Dutch had a scheme for seizing it from the Spaniards. But Pessart reached a part of the country inhabited by savages. These surprised and shot him while he was eating, in June 1645.

Leyel lost no time in putting matters straight in Tranquebar, and carrying on the trade with the three Danish ships he had with him. He also took up the trade with Ceylon again. In Bengal, however, as a result of the trouble caused by his predecessor, he could get nothing done. During his time the population of Tranquebar increased largely as a result of the Dutch pressure on the Portuguese. They came especially from Porto Novo, one of their colonies in the kingdom of Schenschi, or Gingi, not far from Tranquebar, which henceforth belonged to Holland. Leyel allowed the fugitives to build a great church in Tranquebar. In his letters to King Christian IV mentioned above, he describes schemes for trading with China and the Philippine Islands and hopes that permission can be obtained from the Spanish Court for the last.

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V

CHANGES IN CEYLON, AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY WITH DENMARK

CHAPTER 12

OUTWARDLY the Portuguese were at peace with the Emperor Ceneradt Adassin, but they took every opportunity of injuring him, of establishing new fortresses and gradually obtaining possession of the whole coast of Ceylon. As early as 1622 they built a fortress in Trincomalee, the province which had been formally ceded to Denmark in 1620. They armed this fortress with Danish cannon, from the Christian, wrecked in those regions in 1621, when Ove Giedde had in vain endeavoured to raise them with the help of divers. At the same time the Portuguese General Philippe d'Oliveira slew a rajah of Malabar who had come over to Ceylon from the mainland, in order to take possession of the state of Jafanapatnam, which forms the northern point of the island. In the year 1627 the Portuguese secretly invaded the province of Batecalo, and there, on the river Palligamme, established a fortress, so unexpectedly and so quickly that it was too late for the Emperor to stop them. Thus the Portuguese secured two new fortresses in precisely those regions where the Danish ships under Ove Giedde had lain at anchor, and they thus cut off the imperial residence at Candy from communication with the best harbour. But shortly before his death, which occurred in 1632, Ceneradt Adassin achieved an important victory over the Portuguese. Their General Constantin de Saa had a large number of Cingalese in his army. In the course of a march against the Emperor these betrayed him and in the fight which followed he was slain. Ceneradt left three princes to whom he had given estates during his lifetime and between whom he wished to divide the land. But the youngest of them, Raja Singha, usurped the chief power and governed the kingdom with great competence and credit to himself. It is true he established peace with the Portuguese, but when he perceived that this was simply giving them time to accomplish his destruction, he decided, in 1636, to invite the Dutch to come to Ceylon. He did this by writing to their Governor at Paliacatte on the coast of Coromandel. The Dutch, who since their disastrous attempt of 1603, had done nothing more in Ceylon, were now very anxious to oust the Portuguese from possession of this beautiful land, and especially to engage in the cinnamon trade. But they had no little difficulty in getting their answer to the Emperor, for the Portuguese were in possession of all the harbours in the country. The alliance was concluded in 1637 and on January 4th 1638 their fleet won a great victory over the Portuguese. In the same year they took possession under Admiral Westerwold, of Batecalou, and were richly rewarded by the Emperor. With the other eight fortresses of the Portuguese matters went more slowly. The last and most important, Colombo, was not besieged until 1655, and captured on May 12th 1656 after the most obstinate resistance. The Dutch Commander-in-chief Gerhardt Hulft, first Councillor and Director-General of India, lost his life at this siege. With the taking of Colombo the Emperor's friendship with the Dutch came to an end, for contrary to their repeated promises they kept everything for themselves. The keen-sighted Emperor soon perceived that he was being cheated, and

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Baldeus includes many letters from him shewing his anger with the Dutch, and his preparations for taking possession of Colombo and other fortresses. But the Dutch were both too strong and too cunning for him. Ceylon, therefore, was in its present condition as early as 1656, that is, the Dutch were in possession of the cinnamon trade and held the whole coast, with the exception of a strip on the western side.

Neither Baldeus nor other writers whom I have consulted mention any further events under Rajah Singha or his successors. Baldeus, who left Ceylon about the year 1665, speaks of Singha as still alive and describes a large number of churches which the Dutch have already built in their part of the country. Even then the greater part of their Cingalese subjects were Christians.

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